

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

ANNUAL REPORT

July 1, 1997 – June 30, 1998

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* Appointed in 1998 by the Board of Directors.

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

Note: The list of Officers and Directors is current as of September 1, 1998.

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The Council's Annual Report is designed to focus attention on the intellectual substance of the organization's activities. A detailed listing of all programs and events is available on the Council's web site at www.foreignrelations.org.

MISSION STATEMENT

The Council on Foreign Relations was founded in 1921 by businessmen, bankers, and lawyers determined to keep the United States engaged in the world. Today, the Council is composed of men and women from all walks of international life and from all parts of America dedicated to the belief that the nation's peace and prosperity are firmly linked to that of the rest of the world. From this flows the Council's mission: to foster America's understanding of other nations, near and far, their peoples, cultures, histories, hopes, quarrels, and ambitions, and thus to serve America's global interests through study and debate, private and public.

The Council is a national membership organization and think tank with headquarters in New York, offices in Washington, D.C., and programs that extend across the country. Its widely respected and recognized research staff—with backgrounds in government and scholarship in almost every international subject—regularly meets with Council members and other leaders and thinkers. These exclusive sessions, known as study groups or roundtables, form the intellectual core of the Council. Their aim is to develop new insights into international affairs and new ideas for U.S. foreign policy, particularly national security and foreign economic policy. Council Fellows produce books, articles, manuscripts, and op-ed pieces, and regularly appear on television for expert commentary.

The Council also publishes *Foreign Affairs*. This magazine has been host to the most important articles about world affairs in this century.

The Council's 3,400 members are divided almost equally among New York, Washington, D.C., and the rest of the nation. They include nearly all current and former senior U.S. government officials who deal with international matters, renowned scholars, and leaders of business, media, humanitarian, and other nongovernmental groups. Council members choose new members, who aim to educate themselves and then others.

The Council is host to the widest possible range of views and advocate of none. It cultivates an atmosphere of nonpartisanship and nonideological engagement among members and staff. The views expressed in task force reports, by members of study groups, or in articles in *Foreign Affairs* are solely the responsibility of the respective authors or groups. This tradition of impartiality enables the Council to gather contending voices for serious and civil debates and discussions. That special convening power is almost unique in American society.

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

1. To add value to the public debate on international affairs, especially in the Council's three major areas of research focus—Asia, international economics, and rethinking na-

tional security. The Council does this in many ways. Council Policy Initiatives (CPIs) identify major foreign policy issues and present policy choices for addressing these issues in language Americans can readily understand. Council-sponsored independent task forces are convened to address urgent foreign policy issues with the aim of producing meaningful consensus. Great Debates and Policy Impact Panels (PIPs) bring together experts to debate, discuss, and clarify timely foreign policy issues. And *Foreign Affairs*, the preeminent journal on international relations, often anticipates future foreign policy problems and educates its international readership.

2. To transform the Council into a truly national organization. More and more Council members now live outside the New York and Washington, D.C., areas. As Council membership continues to grow and diversify, the Council creates new ways to involve these members in its intellectual dialogue. The four principal means of involvement are through a special members' area of the Council's web site; at an annual National Conference; at studies seminars in key cities around the country; and, soon, via a videoconferencing system.
3. To find and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers. The Council does this primarily through a special term membership program for younger Americans and a "Next Generation Fellows" program that brings outstanding younger scholars onto the Council staff, as well as the International Affairs Fellowships and several other fellowships. The aim is to spark interest and involvement in world affairs and U.S. foreign policy.

In recent months, Council members have heard Jiang Zemin, Robert E. Rubin, and Tung Chee Hwa examine U.S.-China relations; Kim Dae Jung, Anwar bin Ibrahim, and Michel Camdessus assess the Asian crisis; Edward Said, Richard Butler, and Nizar Hamdoon search for solutions to crises in the Middle East; Bill Richardson and Christiane Amanpour expound on American engagement in the world; Colin L. Powell and Zbigniew Brzezinski evaluate the National Security Council on its 50th birthday; Henry H. Shelton and George J. Tenet present challenges facing the military and intelligence communities, respectively, at the turn of the century; Mary Robinson review human rights progress; Hun Sen ponder Cambodia's future; Robert Gabriel Mugabe report on trade and investment opportunities in Africa; I.K. Gujral take up ways to improve U.S.-India relations; Ernesto Samper Pizano comment on Colombia's foreign policy; and Madeleine K. Albright reflect on U.S. foreign policy as *Foreign Affairs* turned 75.

As much as at any time during its nearly eight decades, the Council on Foreign Relations today serves its members and the nation with ideas for a better and safer world.

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Over the last year we continued to make progress in a direction that the Board believes is essential to the Council's role as we move into the 21st century: becoming a *more national* and *more diverse* organization. As you may know, we now have more members outside New York than inside New York, and we continue to expand our membership among women, minorities, and younger people with their eyes on the future. We also continue to expand our membership among thinkers and doers from many diverse fields who, in another era, might not have been thought of (or might not have thought of themselves) as really relevant to foreign policy. Because of the dynamic created by globalization, however, these people are right in the thick of it now.

An important new development last year was the decision to implement a sophisticated state-of-the-art videoconferencing capability in our new building. This center will weave the Council together as a genuinely national organization, allowing our members all over the country and, indeed, wherever they are in the world, to participate in our meetings and discussions. It will also offer us broader access to speakers and provide them with the opportunity to address a larger national audience and communicate with the leaders of American society who are our members. Council

members across the country will also be able to work together on valuable Council study groups and other small group discussions.

We devoted the better part of Council Board meetings this year to reflecting on how we can give greater value to our nation's knowledge of and thinking about the world. Out of this has come the sense that we ought to provide better information and ideas to those who in-

form and make decisions for the public. This means working with our own members and providing fair, lively, and nonpartisan discussion and research for Congress, the media, and community leaders—and the means of doing all this with our usual reliability, accuracy, and avoidance of partisanship. We are, as we say, home to many views and advocate of none.

To help us through this evolutionary process, we invited Dan Yankelovich, Mac Destler, Dave Gergen, Norm Ornstein, Gerry Ferraro, Vin Weber, and others to talk to the Board about public opinion (and the lack of public involvement in foreign policy), Congress, the media, and how foreign policy is shaped and made today. They gave us much provocative food for thought on the

new relationships between accelerating globalization on the one hand, and increasing domestic-focused thinking on the other. As evidence of these trends, we need look no



Peter G. Peterson

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

further than recent congressional votes on fast-track authority, IMF funding, and paying our U.N. dues.

The Board has been working hard with Council President Les Gelb and his extremely able staff on many new initiatives over the last year that allow key issues to be debated, while honoring the Council's established tradition of not taking specific positions on particular issues. Most of you know about the terrific debates we've been holding: Fred Bergsten and Bob Torricelli on economic sanctions; Charlie Rangel and Elliott Abrams on Cuba, just to name a few. We also had an especially interesting "mock" NSC meeting prior to President Jiang Zemin's visit to the United States, where members such as Win Lord and John Deutch, who had been such key figures in the China debate these last years, played their parts before a Council audience. Whenever possible and agreed to by the speakers, we try to have C-SPAN cover these events. I want to give special thanks here to Karen Sughrue, our Vice President for Meetings and Media these past five years, for her great contributions to our programs. We will miss her lively and engaging personality and wish her well back at CBS.

We also believe we continue to add more and more value every year to the public debate through the superb efforts of Editor Jim Hoge and Managing Editor Fareed Zakaria at *Foreign Affairs*. This magazine remains the leader worldwide in thoughtful discussion of global issues. *Foreign Affairs*, too, has been instrumental in bringing divergent views into its pages in lively debates. Among the memorable pieces this year were some of the best articles published anywhere about the Asian financial crisis and its implications.

Our partnership with the Pacific Council on International Policy and Abe Lowenthal, its President, continues to thrive. Beyond this, we continue to build the Council's membership and programming outside New York and Washington. Les Gelb has asked his deputy, Mike Peters, to head this effort, and Mike has been doing a fine job. David Kellogg, Vice President for Corporate Affairs and Publisher of *Foreign Affairs*, and Leigh Gusts, Director of Library and Research Services, have done a splendid job leading the effort to get our new web site up. Log onto it, and you will see a good deal of what we do (www.foreignrelations.org). Soon, if your computer has the right capability, you'll also be able to see and hear willing Council speakers on your own computer.

Last, not least, and perhaps closest to my heart, Les Gelb, Mike Peters, Vice President Janice Murray, Facilities



Maurice R. Greenberg and Peter G. Peterson at the November 17, 1997, John Train Lecture, "A Blueprint for the Future of the U.S. Armed Services."

Director Chris Smith, and esteemed Council member Fred Rose have been pulling together and building what they and the Board have decided to call the Peterson Center for International Studies. I am flattered and deeply honored by this decision.

The new center, adjoining our fabled Harold Pratt House, will be home to our excellent Studies Department, where our Senior Fellows, as well as our expanding program of younger Fellows, have brought new vitality to our organization. The new center will also house a hall that will nearly double our current capacity, which recent overflow crowds demonstrate we badly need. It also will house the videoconferencing capability I described earlier.

In closing, let me extend particular thanks to Hank Greenberg, the Council's devoted Vice Chairman, to our Board Directors (I've never seen a Board more dedicated and helpful), and to Les Gelb and all those who work with him. And thank you all for your terrific contributions and support.

Peter G. Peterson
Chairman of the Board

THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Americans this year began to see that man cannot live by globalization alone, and that globalization does not eliminate the need to have a foreign policy. Everyone is saying that now, but not a year ago.

The Council has been hammering at this reality for some time, with only modest dents in the public debate until . . . the Asian miracles turned into something less miraculous . . . Israeli-Palestinian talks stalled at high cost to economic development . . . India, then Pakistan, popped off nuclear explosions at risk of losing desperately needed economic aid. Americans began to realize that the world is still a dangerous place, in some ways more so than during the Cold War. They realized as well that security problems are not about to disappear in the mist of the Shangri-la of globalization.

No one delights in this turn of awareness. But the Council takes the turn as an opportunity to press ahead with its efforts to energize its members and the interested public in thinking about the post-Cold War world.

Adding value to America's understanding of the world and contributing ideas to U.S. foreign policy have always been central to the Council's mission. That is what the Council has been doing in more than 75 years of meetings, dis-

cussions, books, and *Foreign Affairs* articles. But to this traditional package of activities—which still accounts for the great bulk of Council events—we have added some focus and some new wrinkles.

The majority of our Meetings and Studies sessions now concentrate on Asia, international economic issues, and rethinking national security. We still devote as much attention as before to other issues and areas such as Eu-

rope, Latin America, Africa, Russia, technology, the environment, and the like. We have added staff to give us an extra push on our new priorities.

The new wrinkles have given the Council energy, reach, and relevance. Debates, hearings, simulated National Security Council meetings, and news conferences on Council studies have received good attention. Our incredibly able group of Fellows has produced insightful op-ed pieces and made sensible appearances on television. We are putting together reports on major policy issues, focused on policy choices, and staging debates around the country.

Also, don't forget the new web sites for the Council and *Foreign Affairs*, now with audio and video capability as well. The reports of meetings, conferences, and studies on the web

site are phenomenal. And coming in January with the completion of the Peterson Center, we will have the best videoconferencing capability around. Even as we do what



Leslie H. Gelb

THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

we always have done, these new wrinkles represent the future.

No one set of policy or ideological messages comes out of this process. Our membership spans the political and perspective spectrum, and so do our programs and studies. We try hard to ensure that what we produce provides fair and accurate background to issues and a fair accounting of the policy choices. This fairness and nonpartisanship remain at our core.

A wonderful example of this fairness and accuracy has been Alton Frye. After a quarter century of managing the Washington Program, Alton this year prevailed upon me to relieve him of his management position as Senior Vice President in order to return to a full-time research-oriented role at the Council. I was pleased to announce in June that Alton has become the first Presidential Senior Fellow. As such, he has focused on the Council's "Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy" program—a series of roundtables for congressional staffers—which is receiving rave reviews.

Another clear indicator of the Council's dedication to providing fair and accurate information is *Foreign Affairs*, which just celebrated its 75th anniversary. This jewel in our crown still remains central to the Council's impact on thinking about foreign policy. For which thanks go to James F. Hoge Jr. and Fareed Zakaria.

We can judge the Council's value by *Foreign Affairs*, by our programs to reinvolve younger Americans in international matters, by those who still want to speak to our members, by who our members are, by the intellectual sparks our Fellows ignite, by the leadership of Council Chairman Peter G. Peterson and Vice Chairman Maurice R. Greenberg, and by the quality and intensity of our efforts to understand the world and share that understanding with others. We reaffirm our commitment to do even better at informing and energizing ourselves and all those we are asking to listen.

Leslie H. Gelb
President



Speaker George J. Tenet, Director of Central Intelligence, President R. James Woolsey, and Leslie H. Gelb at the March 5, 1998, Meeting, "Future Intelligence Challenges."

A COUNCIL ROLE: ADDING VALUE

The Council on Foreign Relations pursues three main goals—adding value to the understanding of world affairs and thinking about U.S. foreign policy, becoming a truly national organization, and finding and nurturing the next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers. This year, the Council highlights its efforts to provide new ideas, information, and analysis that respond creatively to changes and challenges in the world. The post-Cold War era brought a shift in the international security architecture, as well as a greater emphasis on economic relations among nations. These changes have made foreign policy more difficult and dynamic than it has been in years, thus fueling the debate and adding to its complexity and importance.

The Council makes its contribution to understanding international affairs through a vast variety of programs, including meetings and debates, articles and books, op-eds, and other novel methods for engaging the minds of those who care about U.S. foreign policy and international affairs. Meetings are the Council's historic method of bringing together significant leaders and thinkers—who often are Council members—with other members on a major topic. Debates at the Council offer distinct, opposing positions on topics of current importance with the aim of advancing civil dialogue. Writings by Council staff and members confirm facts,

synthesize arguments, and often suggest new policy directions. The Council's role is always as a forum for diverse foreign policy thought—not as a pulpit for any institutional position.

Tying together several of these methods for adding value, the Council this year introduced two initiatives aimed at the heart of the challenges now facing America and the world—those arising at the nexus of global economic and security matters. One such enterprise was the Council Policy Initiative (CPI), which produced concise, focused options for Americans on defense and trade policies. The second was the Council's immediate response to the Asian crisis, demonstrating a cross-cutting approach to major international issues.

The Council convened several major events that drew directly on the three main research areas that the Council has recently emphasized: rethinking national security, international economics, and Asia. A major corporate conference—The Asia Crisis: Economic and Political Implications—attracted senior experts in foreign policy, international economics, and Asia, including government officials, senior business and nongovernmental organization leaders, and academics. At separate events, International Monetary Fund (IMF) Managing Director Michel Camdessus defined his approach to the crisis as part of a review of the response by international institu-

A COUNCIL ROLE: ADDING VALUE

1) Phyllis E. Oakley, Ruth Wedgwood, and Toby Trister Gati at the October 31, 1997, Policy Impact Panel, "The NSC at 50: Past, Present, and Future."



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2) Presider George R. Stephanopoulos and Leslie H. Gelb at the December 17, 1997, Annual Daughters and Sons Event, "Why World News Matters."



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3) Fareed Zakaria, Henry A. Kissinger, and James F. Hoge Jr. at the September 30, 1997, Foreign Affairs 75th Anniversary Dinner.



3

A COUNCIL ROLE: ADDING VALUE



1) Speaker Elliott Abrams, President, Ethics and Public Policy Center, and Speaker Charles B. Rangel, U.S. Representative (D-N.Y.), at the February 2, 1998, Great Debate, "U.S. Policy Toward Cuba: Is It Time for a Change?"

1



2) Richard C. Holbrooke and George Soros at the January 20, 1998, Meeting of the Board of Directors.

2



3) R. Keith Walton and Mora McLean at the April 8, 1998, Term Member Seminar, "Press Coverage of Sub-Saharan Africa."

3



4) Speaker John F. Lehman, Chairman, J.F. Lehman & Company, Speaker John D. Steinbruner, Senior Fellow, the Brookings Institution, and Speaker Richard N. Perle, Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute, at the May 11, 1998, Council Policy Initiative, "Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy."

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tions, especially the IMF; Council Board Vice Chairman Maurice R. Greenberg provided a CEO's view on the economic climate in Asia; and U.S. House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt delivered his views on the IMF's role in Asia and presidential fast-track trade-negotiating authority. Like all Council events, these meetings stirred debate across traditional issue boundaries, while also exposing new strata, unions, and divisions in the policies affecting Asian security and development, and Asia's impact on the rest of the world.

The Council's efforts to bring the foreign policy debate

to a broader public were successful this year. The Council published books on major international policy topics, including *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy*, edited by Richard N. Haass; *The Reluctant Sheriff: The United States After the Cold War*, by Haass; *The City and the World: New York's Global Future*, edited by Margaret E. Crahan and Alberto Vourvoulias-Bush; *The Expanding Role of State and Local Governments in U.S. Foreign Affairs*, by Earl H. Fry; *Fires Across the Water: Transnational Problems in Asia*, edited by James Shinn; *The New Russian Foreign Policy*, edited by Michael Mandelbaum; *Trade Strategies for a New*

RODOLFO DE LA GARZA

**Mike Hogg Professor of Community Affairs,
University of Texas–Austin**



I'm part of the study group on the book being done by Tony Smith on ethnics and foreign policy. It illustrates the Council's fundamental work, bringing together experts in a variety of fields to assist in the development of a manuscript that has contemporary elements. This project in particular is relevant because there is the suggestion that the ethnics—the new ethnics particularly—really

are going to be different from the old ethnics and somehow undermine national coherence, the national purpose, and the national interest. And the book itself is addressing both the old ethnics—the Irish, the Italians—as well as the new ethnics—the Asians, the Latinos. The topic is important because it raises to the forefront the definition of the national interest: What are we about? How do new groups shape America? How do they participate in a meaningful way if their demands, their interests, the way they view the world are challenged as fundamentally threatening the nation?



The Council recently began an effort to expand its membership in a variety of ways. One of those is along ethnic dimensions. There are two ways to do that: one is to have a subset of activities for ethnic groups; the other is to incorporate ethnic groups into ongoing activities and broaden their definition to make certain that if those groups have a partic-

ular interest, they will be reflected in how those activities are defined. By involving minorities in the activities of the traditional foci, you need to alter the content of those traditional activities.



I think it's essential to expand the Council along a variety of dimensions—the gender and regional issues are very important. I know that New Yorkers don't like this, but the world really doesn't end at the river. There is a lot out there. And what is more important, it has changed in ways that are not necessarily evident. There are differences in priorities, and the social forces accelerating change in America are different in the Southwest, the Northwest, and the East. If the Council is committed to being meaningfully engaged with the American public so as to influence the national debate on these things, it has to move beyond New York.



I would like to emphasize that the incorporation strategy that Les is taking is ultimately the only way for it to work. But it is very easy to do a separate but equal strategy. That's the simplest one to do. The other one is hard because it involves breaking up or expanding established networks. You know the people with whom you work very well. How do you get people in that you don't know, and when you get them in, will the people with whom you normally work be receptive to expanding or rethinking how they view an issue? It's a problematic exercise and it is very time-consuming.



One of the benefits of this outreach is that, in my case, for example, I learned immensely from that meeting and a few others I attended, and have used that information in talks with colleagues and community groups. Another message that becomes different when you travel is how the nation and its leaders view the question of immigration. In New York it is not a salient issue in the way it is in California or in many other Western states. But that is a lesson learned and shared.

Era: Ensuring U.S. Leadership in a Global Economy, edited by Geza Feketekuty with Bruce Stokes; and *Sustaining the Transition: The Social Safety Net in Postcommunist Europe*, edited by Ethan B. Kapstein and Michael Mandelbaum. Council publications such as these, its flagship journal, *Foreign Affairs*, and reports, articles, and op-eds in newspapers and magazines as well as on the Council web site reflected a range of perspectives on international affairs more diverse than any other organization could offer.

Over the last year, here are some of the additional ways the Council sought to enrich the debate:

COUNCIL POLICY INITIATIVES

The first of the newly offered Council Policy Initiatives focused on U.S. defense policy. The defense CPI considered the nation's ability to respond to current and future

threats. Defense policy was chosen because of the radical shifts in security requirements and threats to the United States since the Cold War's end. However, during that interval, U.S. defense policy and the structure of military forces have remained generally unchanged, though today's forces are significantly smaller.

The defense CPI produced four major alternatives for consideration: first, meet current and future threats seriously by building up forces with a 10 percent spending increase; second, anticipate breakthroughs in military technology by possible future adversaries and concentrate now on U.S. technological superiority at about present spending levels; third, focus more on low-level but serious threats from terrorists and civil/ethnic wars and answer these threats with great reliance on our allies and international organizations, like NATO or the United Nations, and cut expenditures by 15 percent to 20 percent; and fourth, maintain present capabilities and hold spending at about \$250 billion annually.

Entitled *Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy*, the defense CPI book had its debut at a debate in Washington

TOM DONILON

Partner,
O'Melveny & Myers



The Congressional Roundtable series is a terrific opportunity to build a foreign policy organization on Capitol Hill where professionals from both sides of the aisle can exchange views on current and long-term foreign policy challenges. I think it will be an important permanent part of the Council.



With co-chair Ken Duberstein, we have established a number of roundtables in specific areas, including international trade, Asian politics and security, and national security. We are working hard to ensure that the program is not just a speaker series, but rather an opportunity for professional interaction. In the Council's tradition it is uniquely nonpartisan. These are the professionals who will constitute

the leadership of the State, Defense, and Treasury Departments five to ten years from now.



The mock NSC meetings we have had thus far on China and Iran have been quite successful—and quite realistic. The format—where former officials play various policymaking roles and represent the interests of the various departments—has been an innovative way to impart a great deal of information to members. The NSC program has provided the membership the opportunity to see the multifaceted nature of the foreign policy deliberative process, watching the political, press, economic, and security perspectives interact.



The new Peterson Center is a terrific addition for a number of reasons. First, it will allow members from around the country to participate in programs that to date have been available only to members from New York and Washington. It will allow study groups to have much broader participation because the barriers of time, expense, and distance can be eliminated. Second, it has tremendous possibilities in terms of interacting with foreign policymakers. Third, the program also has real bridging possibilities, allowing parties who wouldn't normally talk to each other to work face-to-face on problem-solving. I think it's one of the most exciting developments at the Council.

A GLOSSARY OF COUNCIL GROUPS

Task Forces

The Council sponsors an independent task force when (1) an issue of current and critical importance to U.S. foreign policy arises, and (2) it seems that a group diverse in backgrounds and perspectives may, nonetheless, be able to reach a meaningful consensus on a policy through private and nonpartisan deliberations. Several task forces are established each year. Typically, a task force meets two to five times over a brief period to ensure the relevance of its work.

Upon reaching a conclusion, a task force issues a report, and the Council publishes its text and posts it on the Council web site. Task force reports can take three forms: (1) a strong and meaningful policy consensus, with task force members endorsing the general policy thrust and judgments reached by the group, though not necessarily every finding and recommendation; (2) a report stating the various policy positions, each as sharply and fairly as possible; or (3) a "chairman's report," where task force members who agree with the chairman's report may associate themselves with it, while those who disagree may submit dissenting statements. Upon reaching a conclusion, task forces may also ask individuals who were not members of the task force to associate themselves with the task force report to enhance its impact. The task force is solely responsible for its report. The Council takes no institutional position.

Council Policy Initiatives

The Council undertakes a Council Policy Initiative when a foreign policy issue is of current and critical importance, but where it seems highly unlikely that clashing views can be reconciled in a meaningful consensus by a task force. The aim of a CPI is to spark debate among interested Americans on key foreign policy and international issues by presenting the issues and policy choices in ways that can be easily understood by informed nonexperts. To this end, the Council will publish a concise text containing the choices written usually as speeches that a U.S. presi-

dent could give, with a cover memo as if written by a key presidential adviser summarizing the choices and giving the necessary historical and political background. Once the text is published and posted on the Council web site, the Council sponsors debates in key cities nationwide. The Council takes no institutional position on CPIs. Its aim is to make the best case for each alternative.

Study Groups

Study groups, the traditional form of Council small-group discussions, are convened for the sole purpose of helping a Council Fellow or other designated author write a book, serious article, or scholarly monograph. The idea is for the Fellow to write short papers, outlines, or chapters, as appropriate, distribute them before study group meetings, and use these written materials as the basis for discussion. In this way, the Fellow benefits from the ideas and knowledge of Council members and others to improve his or her written work. The quality of participants in these study groups has been a prime reason for scholars and policy experts to join the Council staff as opposed to other think tanks.

Study groups meet as often as the Fellow deems necessary. Senior Fellows are strongly encouraged to hold some meetings outside New York and Washington, D.C., to gain the perspective of Council members across the nation on their work.

Roundtables

Roundtables are informal discussion groups composed principally of Council members and run by a Council Fellow to track an issue of interest to the Fellow or to a significant number of Council members.

Typically, roundtables meet every four to six weeks over a nine-month stretch. Roundtable series allow Council members to keep abreast of important subjects such as Latin America or terrorism. Historically, they have also provided Fellows with ideas and information to write short articles such as op-ed pieces.

“FOREIGN AFFAIRS” MAGAZINE

Much remains uncertain about the post-Cold War world. Contention abounds about the nature of emerging challenges and what ought to be done about them. The environment thus is ripe for debate. In that spirit *Foreign Affairs* presented differing opinions on such topical issues as travails in Asia, the strains of globalization, rising ethnic conflict, the prospects of democracy, and the push for further European unification.

Foreign Affairs published several articles and responses assessing the Asian financial crisis and remedies applied to it. Optimistic predictions of resumed growth within several years were offset by warnings of further economic deterioration that could trigger global decline, as well as major political and social unrest. The International Monetary Fund was both taken to task and defended for its performance.

Advances toward an expanded NATO, an enlarged European Union, and a common currency found support but also raised concerns that the Old Continent was buying unintended political and economic troubles in its drive toward increased unity.

Globalization was scrutinized for its redistributive effects on governmental powers and the backlash it provoked from workers left behind. Democracy, its prospects and its misuse, was a topic of sustained debate through several issues. A warning flag was raised

that the mechanics of democracy, particularly elections, were being used in some states to strengthen centralized regimes, erode liberties, and heighten ethnic competition with a resulting increase in conflict and war. A point of contention was whether strengthening constitutional liberalism and civil society was a necessary precursor or a simultaneous companion to fostering democracy. (Managing Editor Fareed Zakaria's essay, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," which kicked off the debate in the November/December 1997 issue, was a finalist for a National Magazine Award. See pages 84-86 for a full listing of 1997-98 *Foreign Affairs* articles.)

The problems of great states—China, Russia, Japan, and India—and of hot spots—Bosnia, Algeria, and Indonesia—received attention as did the global management problems of human rights, drug trafficking, peacekeeping, humanitarian aid, and environmental protection.

Finally, in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Berlin airlift, *Foreign Affairs* published a special section on the city's historic role and its prospects for the future. The magazine also marked its own 75th anniversary with a special issue and a gala September gathering at which Secretary of State Madeleine Albright gave the featured address.

James F. Hoge Jr.
Editor

before an audience of members, key defense experts, and journalists. John F. Lehman, Richard N. Perle, and John D. Steinbruner each presented an alternative that represents a departure from present U.S. policy. Regional CPI debates on defense policy are scheduled to be held in San Francisco, Houston, and elsewhere.

The second CPI focused on international trade and the U.S. congressional unwillingness to extend fast-track trade-negotiating authority. Heightened concerns following the Asian financial crisis raised the issue's saliency throughout the year.

The trade CPI produced three options for breaking the U.S. policy deadlock on trade: first, provide new

presidential leadership to gain some support for regional and multilateral trade liberalization; second, pause strategically to develop a better way of dealing with the inevitable challenges of globalization (for example, displaced workers, the U.S. trade deficit, the environment, and workers' rights); or, finally, accept the elimination of fast track and make Capitol Hill more responsible and thus accountable for trade policy.

To examine the trade issue and present alternatives, the Council chose experts with diverse perspectives: C. Fred Bergsten of the Institute for International Economics, William A. Niskanen of the Cato Institute, Jeff Faux of the Economic Policy Institute, and Pat Choate, the 1996

A COUNCIL ROLE: ADDING VALUE

1) *Carole Nichols and Cora Weiss at the February 2, 1998, Great Debate, "U.S. Policy Toward Cuba: Is It Time for a Change?"*



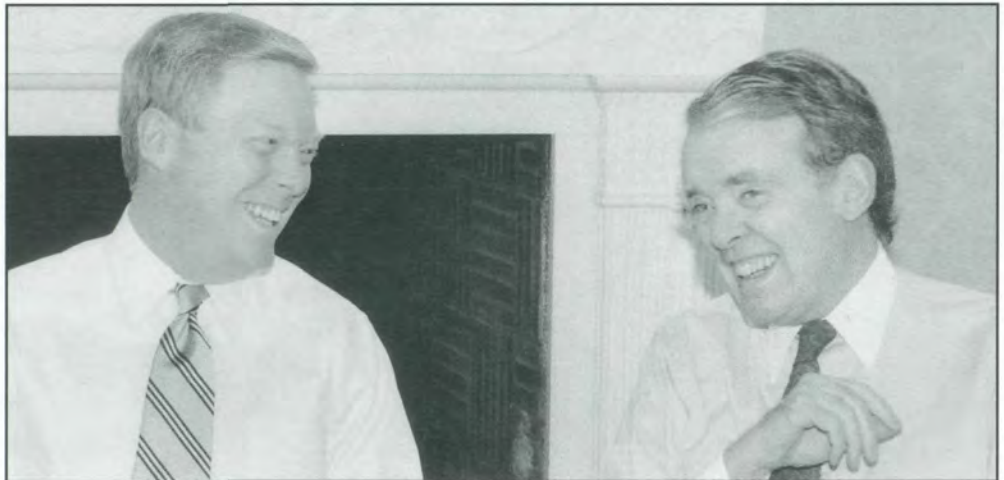
1

2) *Peter G. Peterson, Speaker Anwar bin Ibrahim, Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister of Malaysia, and Presider Maurice R. Greenberg at the April 15, 1998, Keynote Luncheon of the Corporate Conference, "The Asia Crisis: Economic and Political Implications."*



2

3) *Speaker Richard A. Gephardt, Democratic Leader and Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-Mo.), and Presider William J. McDonough at the March 3, 1998, Meeting, "Preserving World Capitalism for the Next Century: A Plan for Action."*



3

A COUNCIL ROLE: ADDING VALUE



1



2

1) Speakers Robert G. Torricelli, U.S. Senator (D-N.J.), and C. Fred Bergsten, Director, Institute for International Economics, at the April 20, 1998, Great Debate, "Sanctions Against Rogue States: Do They Work?"

2) Frank Savage at the March 17, 1998, Meeting, "The Economic Climate in Asia: A CEO's View."



3

3) June V. Cross, Richard Mallery, and Albert E. Utton at the June 5, 1998, National Conference, "U.S. Trade and Defense: Is America Moving Forward or Backward?"



4

4) Presider Robert L. Bartley and Speaker Bill Richardson, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, at the September 15, 1997, Meeting, "The U.S.-U.N. Relationship in the 21st Century."

Reform Party vice presidential candidate. Each wrote a concise memo presenting an alternative for the trade CPI, entitled *Future Visions for U.S. Trade Policy*. The topic was discussed at a Council event featuring a speech by AFL-CIO President John Sweeney and at a debate in Atlanta.

The CPI topics were the core of the agenda for the Council's third annual National Conference, at which members from around the country considered the alternatives and deliberated which would best serve future U.S. foreign policy.

JOEL MOTLEY

**Managing Director,
Carmona Motley Hoffmann, Inc.**



The Council brings together a lot of different kinds of people: businesspeople, academics, military professionals, and all sorts of other people from very different cultures within our society. And increasingly that's true about age differences. The term membership effort has substantially increased the number of young people in the Council. I suppose that one of the most important things

about the organization is its ability to bring these different kinds of people together.



New members ought to participate in as many events as they can, in as many different types of events as they can—whether it's study groups or meetings—and to push to be a part of things that might interest them. I think that there are some people who become members and take a much more passive role and perhaps don't realize what can be gained from participation on a more active basis. For younger members, it may be easy to feel somewhat intimidated or excluded, that somehow there's an inner circle going on that they're not a part of, and it will be ten or fifteen years before they can become a part of it. I think the reality of the Council is that that's not true, and that the Council readily embraces those who are enthusiastic and able and interested.



TASK FORCES

With North Korea's deteriorating situation and the recent election of a South Korean president who favors broadening contacts with the North, an independent task force sponsored by the Council recommended that the United States move fast to improve relations with Korea, including removing economic sanctions against the North—all this on the condition that North Korea take steps to reduce threats to the South and on the assumption that the

Because of technological changes, videoconferencing, and the pace of globalization, people are much more aware of their connectedness to other parts of the country, as well as to other parts of the world. So I think it's easier to sell the Council and its importance to people who don't normally come to New York or Washington. And even though the Council is probably not going to set up offices in Houston and Los Angeles, I think people today, at the end of the 1990s, are more likely to say, "Even though I'm in Houston, I travel enough to New York or am on the phone enough with people in other parts of the country and the world that it makes sense for me to be a part of this."



The Council is an educational organization for the members, and everything is designed to improve the members' understanding of foreign affairs and America's role in the world. One of the most clear examples of this process was the NATO trip. I went over there very much with the mind-set that so many years after the end of the Cold War we could certainly begin to draw down our presence in Europe and save money. I came back feeling the opposite was true. There was a very clear need for us to be there for stability, and that perspective was not the result of what the American NATO personnel were saying, but it was what I was hearing from the European generals within NATO. When they talked about each other, it made it absolutely clear to me that if there was not an American in charge of NATO, it would fall apart and the tensions that have always been so much a part of European history would once again start to become large problems. And that was an insight that I would never have absorbed from reading. But hearing these different generals talk about how untenable it would be to see one of their opposite European number as the supreme commander made it absolutely clear to me that we had a fair amount of unfinished work there.

United States and South Korea will move together with a unified strategy in dealing with the North.

Economic engagement was the heart of a recommendation issued by a Council-sponsored independent task force addressing U.S. relations with Africa. The Africa task force found that recent initiatives to strengthen U.S. policy toward Africa fall short of what is needed. The task force recommended both a more effective White

House effort to promote economic relations and a more comprehensive policy approach that integrates foreign assistance, trade and investment, and debt reduction.

Other ongoing independent task forces sponsored by the Council include reducing the risk of nuclear war, responding to the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests, and the future of transatlantic relations.

KENNETH ROTH

Executive Director, Human Rights Watch



One of the things I like about the Council, which is illustrated by a roundtable it convened of business and human rights leaders to discuss issues of common concern, is that it is such a good place to assemble people who otherwise might not speak with each other. There is a tendency for all of us to live in self-reinforcing worlds and to speak with people who largely share our own

views. The Council puts me in touch with people who might have a different perspective but are interested in and willing to talk through differences—for example, people who see the intersection of business and human rights as an important issue and are willing to discuss ideas we might have in common, as well as to clarify areas where we might diverge. I find that not only intellectually stimulating but also practically useful, because it helps me to better formulate how we should promote human rights in and with the business community.



There are a number of things that make the Council the ideal place for such discourse. Clearly, the fact that people can speak candidly off the record is very important. The Council has also been very successful in reaching out to different communities. I credit Les Gelb with moving the Council beyond traditional foreign policy circles to embrace people who might be deemed nontraditional actors. The new kinds of discussions that take place at the Council

reflect the new ways in which foreign policy in fact is made. No longer can you think about foreign policy as the product of a tiny club of government officials and classic think-tankers. There are many others, from journalists to NGOs to businesspeople, who have a direct impact on foreign policy. The Council, because of its prestige, its neutrality, and its confidentiality, can play a convening role that none of us alone could play. This mix, which is unique to the Council, helps all of us to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the problems we confront and to better understand each other's perspective, so that what emerges is better foreign policy—policy shaped by exposure to a broad range of perspectives rather than the isolated or narrow views that might have gone into it if each of us were off on our own.



I find valuable the opportunity to test out ideas before an intelligent audience but one that may not be as deeply immersed in human rights issues as I am. This allows me to see how arguments are accepted by an audience that reflects the key universe in which these ideas must ultimately be accepted. While we're constantly battling it out in the corridors of government, or in diplomatic conferences, we also need to address the public realm. Debates at the Council force each of us to reassess: What are our most important ideas and how can we best advance them? They give us a reality check. For example, when I debated U.S. Ambassador David Scheffer about the International Criminal Court, it was useful that Jesse Helms's spokesman was thrown into the mix because, frankly, while I frequently talk to David Scheffer, I don't spend a lot of time these days talking to Jesse Helms about the ICC. Nonetheless, the arguments he makes are influencing the administration. So to have his voice in the room helps illustrate the various kinds of pressures on the administration, everything from Human Rights Watch to Jesse Helms, which is the reality it faces. It's good for people to see that.

THE HONG KONG FORUM

The Hong Kong Forum, an organization that the Council helped establish, began operations this year. It is an independent, nonpartisan organization that holds informal off-the-record meetings between its members and government officials, scholars, visiting dignitaries, etc. The Forum has its own rules and regulations, operates independently, and has no legal or financial ties to the Council. At the same time, the Forum and the Council maintain an ongoing dialogue, including ar-

ranging local meetings between Council Fellows and Forum members. Also, Council members who visit Hong Kong may participate in Forum meetings.

The Chairman of the Forum is Council member Victor K. Fung, Chairman of Prudential Asia and the Hong Kong Trade Development Council. Among the Forum's key members are Council members Ronnie C. Chan, Virginia Ann Kamsky, William Gage McAfee, and Steve A. Orlins.

GREAT DEBATES

Through "Great Debates," the Council gives interested Americans an opportunity to learn about the key international issues in an informative, nonpartisan, and engaging way. Since the autumn of 1996, the Council has sponsored several Great Debates each year on timely and salient topics.

Recent debates have featured U.S. Senator Robert G. Torricelli and economist C. Fred Bergsten on the question of the U.S. use of economic sanctions in response to actions taken by rogue or terrorist states; former Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams and U.S. Representative Charles B. Rangel on U.S. policy toward Cuba; Rashid Khalidi and Robert B. Satloff on prospects for the Middle East peace process; and Kenneth Roth and David J. Scheffer, with commentary by Marc A. Thiessen, on whether the United States should support an independent International Criminal Court.

These debates are open to journalists and have been carried on C-SPAN and other major television and radio networks or stations. Transcripts of these special, on-the-record gatherings are posted on the Council's web site (www.foreignrelations.org).

POLICY IMPACT PANELS

As part of its effort to bring foreign policy ideas and Council expertise to a wide audience and to make a contribution to current policy debates, the Council conducts a series of televised hearings called Policy Impact Panels (PIPs).

Through an expert panel questioning a series of witnesses, PIPs seek to establish the facts of important issues and illuminate U.S. policy options. Council members and invited journalists usually hear presentations from several viewpoints and then ask questions.

This year's PIPs presented a look at the National Security Council (NSC) 50 years after its founding, including a speech by National Security Adviser Samuel R. Berger; a mock NSC meeting prior to the Clinton-Jiang summit; a look at the spread of democracy worldwide; and diverse perspectives on the U.S. role as the sole superpower.

CONGRESS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Responding to calls for better, more reflective, and nonpartisan development of U.S. foreign policy, the Council inaugurated its Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Program this year. The aim is to bring together select Capitol Hill foreign policy staff in meetings on essential issues. In the opening months of the project, some one hundred staff members of both parties and both houses participated in the project's roundtables on Asian politics and security, chaired by R. James Woolsey; U.S. national security, chaired by Stephen J. Hadley; and international trade, chaired by Thomas E. Donilon and Robert B. Zoellick. Howard H. Baker Jr., Thomas S. Foley, George J. Mitchell, and Vin Weber serve as conveners of the project. Thomas E. Donilon and Kenneth M. Duberstein are co-chairmen of the effort.

STUDIES PROGRAM

The Studies Program dedicates itself to advancing understanding of world affairs and contributing ideas to U.S. foreign policy. To these ends, the Studies staff seeks to analyze the rules and rhythms of the international system and the behavior of international actors of all kinds, to define American interests and relate them to American power, and to examine ways and institutions to manage the course of international events.

In 1997–98, the Council's Studies Program took new strides to broaden and deepen its expertise on foreign policy issues. The department bolstered its intellectual resources with the addition of both established experts and the "next generation" of scholars. The burgeoning Washington component of the program reflects this evolution, with the arrival of veteran practitioners and thinkers Morton I. Abramowitz, Robert A. Manning, and Daniel K. Tarullo, as well as Next Generation Fellows Michael J. Green, John Hillen, and Jessica E. Stern. The growing pool of knowledge and experience within the Studies Program has advanced the Council's capacity to inform the foreign policy debate across a range of issues and perspectives.

Looking ahead to the foreign policy agenda for the next decade, the Studies Program emphasizes three interconnected areas—rethinking national security, international economics, and Asia—recognizing that past and future economic growth in Asia poses profound economic and security challenges and opportunities for the United States, and the diversification of security issues and the emerging concept of "economic security" have inextricably linked U.S. international economic and security policies. Projects often address two or more of these areas in tandem, as in recent study groups on the U.S.-Japan alliance, U.S. commercial diplomacy in Asia, and energy with a

focus on Asia. An integrative focus enabled the department to contribute in important ways to the Council's programming on the Asian financial crisis and its aftermath.

The Studies Program's broader body of work shares this interdisciplinary flavor. Activities on Africa, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East, as well as subject areas such as Peace and Conflict, and Science and Technology, acknowledge that globalization often makes it impractical to study a single region or topic in isolation. Instead, the Studies Program has sponsored ever more meetings in New York, Washington, D.C., and around the country to stimulate debate on these interrelated subjects. Cross-fertilization of ideas across research areas has fostered innovative scholarship, enlarging the whole of the Studies Program beyond the sum of its parts.

The Fellows who anchor the Studies Program constitute the Council's "think tank." Drawn from academic, policy, and private-sector communities, they are leaders in their respective fields. Fellows contribute to the foreign policy debate by directing research projects; writing books, articles, and op-ed pieces; and commenting through electronic media, congressional testimony, and speaking engagements. The Council has tried to recruit scholars who come from diverse backgrounds in an effort to nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders.

STUDIES PROGRAM

1) *Presider Charles A. Kupchan and Speaker John Gerard Ruggie, United Nations, at the March 26, 1998, Term Member Roundtable, "Multilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy: A View from the United Nations."*



1

2) *Rocio Silverio and Wislene Charles at the May 11, 1998, Global Kids Roundtable, "Refugees: The Implications of Humanitarian Crises and Migration."*



2

3) *Speaker Robert D. Hormats, Goldman, Sachs International, Speaker Daniel K. Tarullo, Council on Foreign Relations, and Moderator Bruce Stokes at the May 11, 1998, G-8 Press Briefing.*



3

Studies activities fall into three broad categories:

- *study groups*, designed to help Council Fellows write books and articles;
- *roundtable series*, designed to survey a policy field and meet quickly in response to current events; and
- *conferences*, held over a period of one or more days, designed to consider various aspects of a broad foreign policy topic.

Studies Fellows also play leading roles in other Council activities such as independent task forces and Council Policy Initiatives, helping to design the conceptual contours and acting as project directors.

The Council subjects proposed projects to rigorous internal review to ensure that they either address an emerging topic or bring new perspective to a familiar issue. Studies activities enlist the specialized knowledge of the Council's national membership as well as nonmembers. A glimpse at the list of projects undertaken this year demonstrates the breadth of Studies activities: the regionalization of Africa, post-Suharto Indonesia, investment in emerging economies, environmental NGOs in Latin America, Iran's regional foreign policy, humanitarian demining, and refugees and the displaced. In every case, participants with diverse views and backgrounds are sought to ensure the broadest range of ideas. Fellows and commissioned authors use these ideas to produce books or other publications that contribute valuable insight into policy issues.

To showcase its research, the Studies Program utilizes the Council's web site (www.foreignrelations.org), where accessibility and interactivity are hallmarks. Both Council members and the public at large have access to the full text of many Council publications as well as other intellectual output of the Studies staff. The Council has launched a pioneering "on-line study group" that represents the possibilities for engaging the Council's national membership via the Internet. The Studies Program—and the Council as a whole—is harnessing the Internet to broaden and deepen the national debate on foreign policy issues. A detailed listing of all meetings can be found on the Council's web site.

Gary C. Hufbauer

Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies
June 1997–August 1998

NATIONAL SECURITY

RICHARD K. BETTS

Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD K. BETTS

Monthly sessions of this ongoing roundtable seek to identify the critical post-Cold War questions that require more detailed study by the Council. Subjects are chosen as the sessions proceed, to take advantage of ideas that come out of discussion. Sessions in 1997–98 considered issues such as political intervention through covert action and human rights policy; military strategy in Southeast Asia; strategic defense programs; economic aspects of national security policy; information warfare; how to think about Chinese power; NATO military planning after enlargement; and whether UNSCOM can fulfill its mission even without Iraqi intelligence.

Henry A. Kissinger Roundtable on Terrorism

PROJECT DIRECTOR: GIDEON ROSE

The ongoing Roundtable on Terrorism provides a forum to discuss the new generation of terrorist threats. Scholars, policymakers, and interested members participating in this year's sessions considered several topics, including the use of biological weapons in terrorist attacks, the future of counterterrorism, and terrorist behavior during hostage crises.

Study Group on Defense Industry Globalization, Conversion, and the Arms Trade

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ANN R. MARKUSEN

CHAIR: RICHARD RAVITCH (RAVITCH, RICE AND CO.)

This two-year study group has undertaken an international comparative study of "supply-side resistance" to defense downsizing and considered potential national and multilateral strategies for countering resistance. Session topics have included the degree of success in increasing the dual-use capability on the private sector side; the extent to which remaining capacity is dependent on arms exports; and implications for national security, arms proliferation, and economic prosperity. A resulting book, due in late 1998, will document the nature of the problem and its variation across the countries

under scrutiny; search for "best practice" cases of defense downsizing, conversion, and curtailment of arms exports; and propose policy responses.

Energy Security Group

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JUDITH KIPPER

COSPONSORED WITH THE JAPAN ATOMIC INDUSTRIAL FORUM, INC.

In cooperation with the Japan Atomic Industrial Forum, Inc. (JAIF), the Energy Security Group promotes better mutual understanding between the United States and

Japan about issues in the Middle East and elsewhere that influence economic development and security in Asia and the Americas. Discussions center on policy issues such as energy security, nuclear proliferation, high technology, and economic coordination as well as population pressures on energy requirements, development, and the environment. Founding Chairman William D. Rogers of Arnold & Porter, and current Chairman William F. Martin of Washington Policy and Analysis, Inc., provide leadership in consultation with the Energy Security Group's Japanese partners.

JOHN HILLEN

Olin Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations



If you want new thinking, sometimes you need new thinkers. So a whole new generation of Council Fellows at this particular time in American foreign policy opens up the possibility that you may be getting people whose fundamental core beliefs and experiences are not necessarily so deeply embedded in the old ways; they might perhaps have good, different ideas. Some may not be good, some may

just be different. But you really need to go to a new generation of thinkers to get a new generation of ideas.



As a Next Generation Fellow, I can approach issues with a certain irreverence about the past. It's not gratuitous irreverence, but it's healthy in the sense that I'm not completely bound by those old rules. We're responding to different events.



I was drawn to the Council by the long history of deep thinking on a lot of issues. Other think tanks are meant to influence the policy of process that day. The Council is removed from that sort of immediacy. You actually get a chance to reflect, to think, to look a little bit deeper, to

bounce your ideas off a lot of different people. And that disconnect from the immediacy of events is what initially attracted me.



The beauty of the Defense Policy Review project is that it asks a very fundamental question. Eight years on from the end of the Cold War, we've all been talking the talk of fundamental change. But in essence what's happened in this enormous bureaucracy that we call the national security establishment is that it's been on autopilot and has essentially been responding to the bureaucratic imperatives of how much money it gets every year. The Department of Defense has less money, but it thinks it needs to keep going in generally the same direction. So we went back and asked, "Why do you have it in the first place? And what direction should it go?" We came up with four very different directions for future U.S. defense policy. That's the intellectual content. The stylistic advantage, I think, is that the project appeals to a lot of people who are going to be influential in the decisions that are going to be made but don't necessarily get down into the weeds and deal with the minutiae of putting dollars into programs and programs into budgets.



Our institutional advantage is that we're not responsible for implementing these policies, so we can dissect it all. We can afford to talk in these terms, but on the other hand, the members who will be debating this in our debates and the people who will be reading the book and talking about it in Council programs are precisely the people who make these decisions. So, hopefully, we've managed to pull them away a little bit from all the constricting bureaucratic imperatives that influence them.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

ALBERT FISHLOW

Program Director/Paul A. Volcker Senior Fellow for International Economics

Study Group on After the Uruguay Round: The Politics, the Issues, the Rules

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BRUCE STOKES

CHAIR: HARALD B. MALMGREN (MALMGREN GROUP)

This study group was a joint Council and Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA) effort to analyze trade policy choices and policymaking after the completion of the Uruguay Round and the creation of the World Trade Organization. The project built on the extensive trade policy research already completed or underway at the Council and the RIIA. The study group culminated in the publication of the book *Trade Strategies for a New Era* (1998), edited by Geza Feketekuty with Bruce Stokes.

Capitol Hill Roundtable—Trade

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BRUCE STOKES

The Capitol Hill Roundtable sought to help Congress

adapt to a more polarized environment where questions of trade, U.S. financial commitments abroad, and the deepening U.S. engagement in the global economy have become particularly contentious. The goal was to provide a forum for a regular, informal, bipartisan exchange of views about U.S. foreign economic policy. This roundtable has been folded into the Council's broader Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy program.

W. Averell Harriman Transatlantic Economic Agenda Project

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BRUCE STOKES

This project has created a research network of international affairs think tanks on both sides of the Atlantic to: (1) assess the implications of deepening and widening the transatlantic economic relationship, especially its impact on key sectors of the economy, other countries, and the global trading system; and (2) widen the circle of economists and policy analysts engaged in such an assessment to ensure that a diversity of views informs government deliberations on this subject. On June 22–23, 1998, the Council and the Royal Institute of International Affairs cosponsored a conference in London, "Cyberbusiness: European and U.S. Perspectives on the Coming Revolution in Electronic Commerce."

KAREN HORN

Senior Managing Director,
Bankers Trust Company



The Council is a gathering place for people interested in foreign policy issues. We interact in both structured and unstructured settings to exchange ideas. There are many programs featuring an expert or a panel of experts discussing the most pressing topics of the day, followed by a question-and-answer period. And equally important is the opportunity to speak informally with these experts

and other Council members.

Those of us who are in international business come back from Council meetings better able to set a context for our activities around the world. And for those in the political arena, where many Council members are active, the Council is a relatively safe place to discuss views.

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I was pleased when the Council decided to put an increasing emphasis on economics. I believe that economics and politics are inextricably bound up. The increased interaction on these subjects has further enriched Council meetings.

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One of the most fascinating meetings I have attended was the mock-NSC meeting preparatory to the Clinton-Jiang summit. It was a particularly interesting session because the panel brought out differences in views. The panelists knew one another well enough to feel comfortable expressing disagreements. Because of this, it really did lay bare the major issues. In the weeks following the Council meeting, I was able to interpret the media coverage of these issues in very useful ways.

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C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALBERT FISHLOW

COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM

For the third consecutive year, this series of monthly lunches has brought together leading international economists, academics, government officials, and businesspeople to discuss salient matters in international economics and how they affect (and are affected by) U.S. policy. Topics this year included the global implications of the European Economic and Monetary Union; the next wave of economic reforms in Latin America; and the role of labor and environmental standards in U.S. trade policy.

Study Group on Big Emerging Economies

PROJECT DIRECTOR: MARIE-JOSÉE KRAVIS

CHAIR: W. BOWMAN CUTTER (E.M. WARBURG, PINCUS & CO., LLC)

This study group surveyed the realignment that the rise of countries such as India, Indonesia, Brazil, South Korea, and Thailand is forcing in U.S. foreign policy as well as the allocation of U.S. foreign aid and diplomatic resources. The group will generate a major article or monograph as its end product in the second half of 1998.

Study Group on Economic Strategy and Foreign Policy

PROJECT DIRECTOR: PATRICK J. DESOUZA

CO-CHAIRS: J. CARTER BEESE JR. (BROWN INTERNATIONAL)
AND EUGENE A. SEKULOW (NYNEX CORPORATION)

This study group explored the growing synthesis of U.S. international economic and security policies. The study group surveyed general matters such as globalization and concepts of security as well as specific issues like neomercantilism, exchange rate volatility, the role of the WTO, and regional actors such as China, Mercosur, and the European Union.

Roundtable on Private Investment in Emerging Economies

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HANYA MARIE KIM (INTREPID INTERNATIONAL GROUP, LLC)

CHAIR: ALBERT FISHLOW

This ongoing roundtable stimulates discussion on the investment climate in emerging markets in the wake of the Asian financial crisis and other regional fluctuations. Particular stress is placed on geographic variations in the

principal form of foreign commitment—direct participation as opposed to more limited financial instruments—and the impact of these investments on host countries and local economies.

ASIA

ROBERT A. MANNING

Senior Fellow and Director, Asia Studies

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JEROME A. COHEN

This ongoing roundtable examines the many meanings of the “rule of law” and the role of law and legal culture in Asian countries’ economic growth, institution building, attraction of foreign capital, and protection of human rights. Participants also discuss the relevance of the rule of law to U.S. foreign policy and what measures the public and private sectors in this country might adopt to foster desired developments.

Study Group on Preparing for Post–New Order Indonesia

PROJECT DIRECTORS: JONATHAN S. PARIS AND ADAM SCHWARZ

CHAIR: JOHN J. BRESNAN (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)

This study group addressed the forces and constituencies likely to emerge in Indonesia in the post-Suharto era. Can the United States work with the International Monetary Fund and international community to help Indonesia recover economically while simultaneously urging Indonesia to reform its political system? Organized into four sessions on challenges facing Indonesia—including the economic crisis, religion and ethnicity, politics and civil society, and the role of the military—the study group assessed dynamics within Indonesia to develop a forward-looking framework for U.S. policy on Indonesia. The group will release its findings in a volume due out in early 1999.

Asia Energy Roundtable Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ROBERT A. MANNING

The Asia Energy Roundtable surveyed the energy needs of China, India, and the Asia-Pacific countries, whose choices are destined to shape world markets, security dynamics,

STUDIES PROGRAM



1) Speaker Howard F. Jeter, U.S. Department of State, M. William Howard Jr., and Donald F. McHenry at the January 30, 1998, Conference on Nigeria.

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2) Presider Kenneth R. Maxwell and Speaker Jesús Reyes Heróles, Mexican Ambassador to the United States, at the April 23, 1998, Meeting of the Latin America Update Series, "Crossing the Border: Understanding Mexican-U.S. Migration."



3) Speaker Susan E. Rice, U.S. Department of State, at the December 2, 1997, Meeting, "New Africa, New Policy."

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4) David M. Abshire, David M. Lampton, Leslie H. Gelb, Dimitri K. Simes, Maurice R. Greenberg, and Richard N. Haass at the November 10, 1997, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair Installation Dinner.

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and environmental concerns in the 21st century. The roundtables addressed three axes of the energy picture: commercial and security issues in the period to 2020; oil, gas, and nuclear power; and East Asian countries as major drivers of demand. The meetings defined the focus of an ensuing study group that is exploring in more depth the various aspects of the Asian energy and security picture against a background of environmental considerations.

Study Group on Asian Energy-Security in the 21st Century

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ROBERT A. MANNING

CO-CHAIRS: R. JAMES WOOLSEY (SHEA & GARDNER)
AND EDWARD L. MORSE (ENERGY INTELLIGENCE GROUP)

Following on the preliminary inquiries of the Asia Energy Roundtable Series, the Study Group on Asian Energy-Security in the 21st Century is undertaking an in-depth analysis of the impact of Asia's burgeoning energy demand on global energy markets and regional security dynamics. The study group is assessing the energy strategies of—and possible supply competition among—China, India, Japan, Korea, and ASEAN countries over the next quarter century, and identifying the relevant foreign policy challenges for the United States.

Walter Hoeschild Roundtable on the Asian Economies

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BÉNÉDICTE CALLAN

This roundtable explored the challenges facing East Asian economies as they headed toward, and now seek to recover from, economic crisis. Meetings focused on domestic economic problems or the progress of the integration of Asian markets and regional organizations.

Asia and the Environment Roundtable Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY

Through an ongoing series of roundtable discussions, this project explores the scope of regional and global environmental threats emerging from industrializing Asia. Participants in this past year's roundtables discussed the preservation of biodiversity in the tropical forests of Southeast Asia; compliance with international environmental treaties in India, China, and Japan; the environmental impact of the Three Gorges Dam project; and the environmental records of China and Japan.

U.S.-China Update Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY

The ongoing U.S.-China Update Series features prominent U.S. and Chinese experts who track the complex and evolving relationship between the present and future superpowers. Meeting topics this year included Chinese banking reform, East Asian security dynamics, village elections in China, Hong Kong one year after reversion to Chinese control, and the two Clinton-Jiang summits.

Asia-Capitol Hill Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BRUCE STOKES

The Asia-Capitol Hill Roundtable, launched in conjunction with several congressional offices, facilitated interaction between experts in the field and Hill staff aides responsible for framing legislation on Asia issues. The roundtable sessions dealt with a range of Asia-related concerns on the Washington policy agenda, including the U.S.-Japan alliance and China's bid to join the World Trade Organization. These roundtables have been folded into the Council's broader Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy program.

AFRICA

SALIH BOOKER

Program Director/Senior Fellow, Africa Studies

Africa Roundtable Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: SALIH BOOKER

Africa Roundtables in New York and Washington, D.C., provide Council members and others engaged in work on Africa regular opportunities for critical analysis of urgent developments in Africa and elaboration of U.S. policy options. The New York discussions focus on U.S. business relations with Africa, while the Washington series addresses topical subjects relating to security, democracy, and sustainable development. Recent topics included democracy in Nigeria, the post-Mandela era in South Africa, and regional economic cooperation in East Africa.

Study Group on Thinking Regionally in Africa

PROJECT DIRECTOR: SALIH BOOKER

This multidisciplinary study group is tracking developments in which African governments and nonstate ac-

tors are increasingly pursuing subregional cooperation to address various political and economic challenges. The study group, which has clustered U.S. and African specialists on each of Africa's five subregions, plans to construct a framework for U.S. policy toward each subregion and develop criteria for prioritizing U.S. interests in Africa by subregion and function (security, democracy, and economic development/trade/investment). Salih Booker will write a book proposing a new U.S. policy framework for Africa.

EUROPE

CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

Program Coordinator/Senior Fellow, Europe Studies

Pieter A. Fisher European Studies Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

To keep pace with a rapidly changing European landscape, the European Studies Series met regularly over the past year to discuss themes such as the politics of monetary union, the restructuring of European capitalism, and the future of the left in Europe. Guest speakers, including Robert Solomon of the Brookings Institution, Robert Raymond of the European Monetary Institute, and Giuliano Amato of the European University Institute, led individual sessions, which alternated between New York and Washington.

Project on East-West Relations

PROJECT DIRECTOR: MICHAEL MANDELBAUM

The ongoing Project on East-West Relations takes an in-depth look at Eurasian subjects of central importance to the United States and from which large-scale conflict could arise. Since its inception in 1987, the project has produced 12 books, the most recent of which is *The New Russian Foreign Policy*, edited by Michael Mandelbaum. An authors' conference for an upcoming book, *The New Diasporas of Eastern Europe*, was held in May. Participants discussed the fate of four national groups—Hungarians, Serbs, Russians, and Albanians—that are scattered uneasily among several sovereign states in postcommunist eastern Europe.

LATIN AMERICA

KENNETH R. MAXWELL

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

Roundtable on U.S.-Mexico Relations

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

The ongoing Roundtable on U.S.-Mexico Relations reviews the current atmosphere in Mexico with particular emphasis on long-term issues such as the post-peso devaluation stabilization program and its implications for NAFTA and direct portfolio investment in Mexico; the emergence of multiparty democracy; the dramatic increase in drug transfers and money laundering along the U.S. border; and the future of Mexican immigration to the United States in light of 1996 U.S. legislation on welfare reform and immigration.

The Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Series: Agenda for the Hemisphere

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

On November 10, 1997, the Council conducted a half-day conference on the U.S. agenda for the Western Hemisphere in the run-up to the April 1998 Summit of the Americas in Santiago. Panelists and participants examined U.S. interests in Latin America, the evolving political and economic trends in the region, and the prospects for and obstacles to hemispheric free trade. The defeat of fast-track legislation in the United States as well as Brazil's economic and political reform agenda dominated the discussion.

Reinventing North America: Tending the Relationship

PROJECT DIRECTORS: KENNETH R. MAXWELL AND JOHN WIRTH (NORTH AMERICAN INSTITUTE)

COSPONSORED WITH THE NORTH AMERICAN INSTITUTE (NAMI)

This symposium drew participants from the United States, Canada, and Mexico to the San Diego/Tijuana metropolitan area to consider the difficulties that have emerged three years into NAFTA. On the Canadian side, participants examined why specific issues such as fishing and the environment sometimes escalate into larger problems. For the United States, congressional matters,

particularly the difficulties of building consistent coalitions, were the focus of the discussion. The uncertainties that will accompany growing political pluralism were the focus of the discussion on Mexico. The conference, held on November 14–15, 1997, concluded a four-year series examining the changing character of North America as a region and resulting implications for U.S. foreign policy.

Study Group on the City and the World: New York's Global Future

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALBERTO VOURVOULIAS-BUSH
CHAIR: MARGARET E. CRAHAN (HUNTER COLLEGE)

This study group examined New York City's status as a nexus of global and local politics where international processes are simultaneously issues of local governance. Participants analyzed the effects of economic restructuring and financial flows, immigration and demographic change, the rise of transnational communities and identities, the internationalization of crime, and cultural consensus-building and institutional adaptation. The study group produced a book, *The City and the World: New York's Global Future*, edited by Margaret E. Crahan and Alberto Vourvoulias-Bush, which elicited a proclamation from the mayor's office that October 22 is "The City and the World Day" in New York City.

Conference: The Changing Roles of Environmental NGOs in Latin America

PROJECT DIRECTORS: JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER
AND KENNETH R. MAXWELL

CHAIR: ALEXANDER F. WATSON (THE NATURE CONSERVANCY)

The Council helped organize this October 27, 1997, symposium to allow U.S. and Latin American environmental NGOs, environmentalists, and policy analysts to reevaluate the role of NGOs in environmental issues in Latin America. Attendees looked at the changing relationship between Latin American NGOs and donors, northern NGOs, governments, and civil society, discussing lessons learned since the 1992 Rio conference and new directions for effective action. A report of the proceedings will be released in the second half of 1998.

Latin America Update Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

The Latin America Update Series provides timely updates on breaking economic and political events in Latin Ameri-

ca. The seminars are designed to provide prompt, thoughtful analysis of rapidly changing political and economic developments in the region. Speakers at this year's sessions included Elio Gaspari, a Brazilian political columnist; Wolf Grabendorff of the Institute for European–Latin American Relations in Madrid; Robert Pastor of the Carter Center; and Enrique Krauze, author of *Mexico: Biography of Power*.

Study Group on U.S. National Interests in the Western Hemisphere

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

This study group sought to measure the salience of U.S. interests in the Americas by assessing the prospects for three items high on Washington's hemispheric agenda: the Free Trade Area of the Americas; cooperation on questions such as drugs, migration, and the environment; and the deepening of democracy throughout the region. The study group critiqued background papers, written by leading U.S. experts on the Western Hemisphere, for a forthcoming American Assembly volume edited by Albert Fishlow and James Jones and tentatively titled *The Search for Common Ground*. Participants at a May 1998 American Assembly meeting, chaired by Paul A. Volcker and Carla A. Hills, used the revised papers as the basis for discussion of forging a broad, bipartisan consensus about U.S. interests, goals, and policies for the region.

MIDDLE EAST

RICHARD W. MURPHY

Program Director/Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow
for the Middle East

Middle East Forum

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JUDITH KIPPER

Under the leadership of former co-chairman Ambassador Robert S. Strauss and the late Ambassador Philip C. Habib, and Admiral William J. Crowe Jr. and General Joseph P. Hoar, the Middle East Forum in Washington engages a wide range of key figures from many countries to probe Middle East issues. The forum encourages a blend of immediate analysis and historical perspective in discussions of the substance of policy as well as political attitudes that affect foreign policy decision-making.

Middle East Economic Strategy Group (MEESG)

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN
PROJECT DIRECTOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS
ECONOMIST: ALBERT FISHLOW
CHAIR: PAUL A. VOLCKER

Comprised of experts in international finance, trade, and development, the Middle East Economic Strategy Group issues annual reports for the U.S./Middle East Project that assess the efficacy of new regional cooperative arrangements and institutions and recommend policies for regional economic development. In 1997, the group issued a report, "Development in the Gulf Countries," that was discussed at a plenary session of the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) Economic Summit in Doha. The report was the product of two days of meetings in September 1997 to discuss studies prepared by a dozen Gulf experts.

Doha Economic Summit

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

At the request of the government of Qatar and the U.S. Department of State, the U.S./Middle East Project coordinated five programmatic sessions at the 1997 MENA Economic Summit in Doha, including (1) a session on the Palestinian economy on the impact of border closings in Gaza and the West Bank and specific proposals to ameliorate tensions and improve existing economic agreements between Israel and the Palestinian Authority; (2) a third Regional Infrastructure Project Presentation Plenary in which senior officials from the Palestinian Authority, Jordan, Israel, and Egypt proposed joint private-sector projects; (3) a plenary session, cosponsored with the IMF, on proposals to attract foreign investment and integrate the Gulf into the global economy outlined in the Middle East Economic Strategy Group report, "Development in the Gulf Countries"; (4) a joint plenary session with the World Economic Forum on privatization issues such as the pace of privatization, the quality of the companies being privatized, how private capital can be accessed, and how governments minimize social dislocation and mobilize popular support; and (5) a joint panel with the World Economic Forum on water, emphasizing technological developments in the fields of desalinization, conservation, and transport.

U.S.-European Consultation on the Middle East

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN
CO-CHAIRS: HENRY SIEGMAN AND GILLES ANDREANI
(MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FRANCE)
COSPONSORED WITH THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FRANCE

On February 8-10, 1998, senior members of the U.S. Departments of State and Defense and of the intelligence community, and their European counterparts, joined policy experts from the United States and Europe in Washington, D.C., to discuss U.S. and European approaches to Iraq, Iran, and the Arab-Israeli peace process. Participants also discussed the independent task force *U.S. Middle East Policy and the Peace Process*. This consultation followed an initial meeting held in Paris in April 1997 between the U.S./Middle East Project and the French Foreign Ministry. The next meeting will take place in January 1999 in London.

Study Group on U.S. Foreign Policy and the Muslim World

PROJECT DIRECTOR/CHAIR: A. RICHARD NORTON
(BOSTON UNIVERSITY)

This study group examined the sources of tension in U.S. relationships with the Muslim world and evaluated feasible policy alternatives for improving relations with individual countries and the Muslim world as a whole. Meetings addressed topics such as the "Islamic factor" in U.S. foreign policy, U.S. relations with self-declared governments of God (e.g., Iran and Afghanistan), and reconciling of the promotion of human rights and democracy with American economic and strategic interests in the Muslim world.

Study Group on Public Pluralism in Muslim Societies

PROJECT DIRECTOR/CHAIR: CLIFFORD CHANIN
(ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION)

This study group explored the public activities of individuals and institutions within Muslim societies as they respond to the external pressures of new technologies and "global ideas." The sessions dealt with democracy and civil society, contemporary Muslim thinkers, and the impact of new media and the flow of ideas.

STUDIES PROGRAM

1) *Presider Jerome A. Cohen, Speaker Cliff Thompson, University of Wisconsin, and Commentator Robert Hornick at the March 12, 1998, Meeting of the Winston Lord Roundtable on Asia, the Rule of Law, and U.S. Foreign Policy.*



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2) *Marie-Josée Kravis and Presider W. Bowman Cutter at the October 21, 1997, Meeting of the Study Group on Big Emerging Economies.*



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3) *Ann R. Markusen, Presider Richard Ravitch, and Speaker John Frankenstein, University of Copenhagen, at the December 12, 1997, Meeting of the Study Group on Defense Industry Globalization, Conversion, and the Arms Trade.*



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Middle East Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD W. MURPHY

This roundtable series continues its analysis of timely issues in the region and their impact on Middle Eastern countries. The series expanded its scope in 1997-98, examining the status of planning for oil and gas pipelines from Central Asia as well as the current political situation in Syria, Turkey, and Jordan.

Gulf Study Group on Iranian Regional Foreign Policy

PROJECT DIRECTOR/CHAIR: RICHARD W. MURPHY

Following up on last year's independent task force report, *Differentiated Containment*, this study group monitored the first 100 days of President Khatami's leadership in Iran. It reviewed the full range of Iranian foreign relations—with particular emphasis on immediate neighbors in Turkey, Central Asia, and Pakistan—as well as the domestic context of Iranian foreign policy.

PREVENTIVE ACTION

BARNETT R. RUBIN

Senior Fellow and Director, Center for Preventive Action

CHAIR: JOHN W. VESSEY, U.S. ARMY (RET.)

The Center for Preventive Action (CPA) was established in 1994 to study and test conflict prevention. Many of today's most serious international problems—ethnic conflicts, failing states, and humanitarian disasters—could potentially be averted or ameliorated with effective early attention. CPA selected four case studies through which to test the viability of conflict prevention: the Great Lakes region of central Africa, the Ferghana Valley region of Central Asia, Nigeria, and the south Balkans. CPA's findings and recommendations are published in a series of Preventive Action Reports.

CPA Annual Conference

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN

CO-CHAIRS: JOHN W. VESSEY, U.S. ARMY (RET.), DAVID A. HAMBURG (CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON PREVENTING DEADLY CONFLICT), AND RICHARD C. LEONE (TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND)

COSPONSORED WITH THE CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON PREVENTING DEADLY CONFLICT AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

The Center for Preventive Action held its fourth annual conference in December 1997 to survey the lessons of

conflict prevention from the previous year. The proceedings promoted discussion and coordination among those involved and introduced the idea of preventive action to key U.S. constituencies, represented in part by the Council membership. The keynote speaker was Bill Richardson, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. The morning sessions evaluated three of CPA's case studies—the Great Lakes region of central Africa, Nigeria, and the south Balkans. The afternoon sessions discussed the role of three types of institutions in conflict prevention—international financial institutions, early warning consortia, and women's organizations.

CPA Project on the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN

The CPA Project on the Great Lakes Region of central Africa considers strategies for conflict prevention in the area that includes Burundi, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, and Uganda. The Great Lakes Policy Forum, which meets monthly in Washington, D.C., and is open to all, enables international actors working to prevent further violence in the region to exchange information, coordinate strategies, evaluate their activities, and advocate policies to the U.S. and other governments. Other activities include the Brussels-based EuroForum on the Great Lakes—established with the European Centre for Common Ground and the International Crisis Group to improve transatlantic cooperation in the region—and the confidential Security Working Group. CPA's evaluation of the international community's efforts in Burundi will be released in late 1998 as one of CPA's Preventive Action Reports.

CPA Project on the Ferghana Valley Region of Central Asia

PROJECT DIRECTOR: NANCY LUBIN (JNA ASSOCIATES)

CHAIR: SAM NUNN (KING & SPALDING)

The CPA Project on the Ferghana Valley region of Central Asia assesses the potential for future conflict in the volatile region that cuts across the three newly independent states of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan. The project has explored the sources of conflict and sought to find ways to move the region in the direction of economic and political reform and stability. A report will be released in fall 1998 as the fourth Preventive Action Report that drew upon the group's research and findings from a trip to the region in March 1997.

CPA Project on Nigeria

PROJECT DIRECTOR: PETER M. LEWIS (AMERICAN UNIVERSITY)

CHAIR: PEARL T. ROBINSON (TUFTS UNIVERSITY)

This project promotes sustainable democratic reform in Nigeria through evaluation of the role of Nigerian civil society in preventing ethnic, religious, and regional conflict. CPA and the Africa Studies Program collaborated on a January 1998 conference to study the components of Nigerian civil society and to debate U.S. policy toward Africa's most populous country. Drawing on the conference, a 1997 study mission to Nigeria, and related meetings, the Nigeria project released the third of CPA's Preventive Action Reports, *Stabilizing Nigeria: Sanctions, Incentives, and Support for Civil Society* (1998).

CPA Project on the South Balkans

PROJECT DIRECTOR: DAVID L. PHILLIPS (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)

CHAIR: SEYMOUR TOPPING (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)

The CPA Project on the South Balkans studied the many problems left unresolved by the 1995 Dayton Accords that halted the war in the former Yugoslavia. The working group ended this year with follow-up work from its 1996 report, *Toward Comprehensive Peace in Southeast Europe: Conflict Prevention in the South Balkans*, edited by Barnett R. Rubin.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

RICHARD L. GARWIN

Program Coordinator/Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow
for Science and Technology

Roundtable on Humanitarian Demining: Can We Stop the Slaughter of Innocents?

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD L. GARWIN

CHAIR: MICHAEL J. DUGAN, U.S. AIR FORCE (RET.)

This roundtable took stock of the existing effort in the United States (military and nonmilitary) and through the United Nations to reduce the huge number of civilian casualties from antipersonnel mines. Sessions focused on technological opportunities to lower the cost of removal and organizational needs to improve coordination of the international effort. Participants considered the possible

use of economic instruments to promote innovation and better use of demining technologies in the field.

Study Group on Global Warming Technology Policy for the United States

PROJECT DIRECTOR: DAVID G. VICTOR

With U.S. industry accounting for one-fifth of annual global emissions of 22 billion tons of carbon dioxide—the leading cause of global warming—this study group is exploring U.S. policies that directly target the development and deployment of less carbon-intensive energy technologies. Since cutting emissions will require massive technological change toward clean, carbon-free fuels, the group set its sights on long-term technological solutions for the United States and other industrial countries as well as the developing world. Products will include an options paper for U.S. policy as well as a detailed monograph.

Roundtable on the Management and Disposition of Excess Nuclear Weapons Materials

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD L. GARWIN

CHAIR: JESSICA T. MATHEWS (CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT
FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE)

This series fosters discussion on how to ensure excess fissile material from decommissioned nuclear weapons is not converted back into weapons, notably by terrorists. The focus has been on the former Soviet Union, where disposition options include the support by Western governments for Russian fuel fabrication plants to reprocess excess plutonium as well as the outright U.S. purchase of five hundred tons of high-enriched uranium from Russian weapons. On the U.S. side, participants discussed the merits of privatizing the U.S. Enrichment Corporation, which manages the flow of materials for use in U.S. civilian nuclear reactors.

Study Group on the Information Revolution and American Strategy in the 21st Century

PROJECT DIRECTORS: JOHN P. HALL (J.P. MORGAN AND COMPANY, INC.)
AND GORDON GOLDSTEIN (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)

CO-CHAIRS: FREDERICK S. TIPSON (AT&T) AND
MICHAEL F. OPPENHEIMER (MULTINATIONAL STRATEGIES, INC.)

This study group launched an examination of the information revolution—the explosive growth and interaction of communications networks, computing capabilities, and content creation—and its implications for American foreign policy. Phase I surveyed the broad political and

STUDIES PROGRAM



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1) Speaker Samuel R. Berger, National Security Council, and Salih Booker at the April 13, 1998, Meeting, "Africa on the U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda: A Follow-Up on the President's Trip."

2) Speaker Dennis B. Ross, U.S. Department of State, at the February 9, 1998, U.S./Middle East Project's U.S.-European Consultation on the Middle East.



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3) Speaker Harold K. Jacobson, University of Michigan, President Elizabeth C. Economy, and Speaker Edith Brown Weiss, Georgetown University, at the January 29, 1998, Meeting, "International Environmental Treaties: Do They Work? With a Special Focus on China, India, and Japan."



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4) Speaker Robert Frowick, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and Vladislav Jovanovic at the March 10, 1998, Meeting of the International Organizations and Law Roundtable.

economic ramifications of the information revolution and, specifically, its consequences for American wealth and power in the coming decades. Phase II, planned for fall 1998, will thoroughly examine those challenges and their implications for American strategy and foreign policy. The group will issue a paper in September 1998 on the findings from its initial phase.

OTHER

Roundtable on Refugees and the Displaced

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ROBERT P. DEVECCHI

The ongoing Roundtable on Refugees and the Displaced brings together policymakers, practitioners, and analysts in a face-to-face dialogue on issues concerning refugees and the internally displaced. Meetings around the country, including New York and Washington, D.C., seek to bring greater specificity on key emerging issues regarding refugee policy and the delivery of services to refugees, and to conduct a thorough review of refugee relief, protection, asylum, and domestic resettlement policies. The roundtable targets younger Fellows, term members, and staff of the Council interested in refugee and humanitarian issues.

International Organizations and Law Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RUTH WEDGWOOD

This ongoing series presents current topics in international law and organizations. Speakers this past year have included Stephen Schwebel, President of the International Court of Justice; Biljana Plavsic, President of the Bosnian Serb Republic; and Jayantha Dhanapala, U.N. Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs.

Study Group on Democratic Consolidation

PROJECT DIRECTOR: GIDEON ROSE

The ongoing Study Group on Democratic Consolidation aims to devise guidelines for U.S. policymakers seeking to promote consolidation in the many transitional democracies around the world. The group will try to set priorities among important factors such as economic liberalization, a vibrant civil society, and the rule of law.

Three distinct questions will be addressed: What factors are crucial for consolidation, and under what circumstances? How manipulable are those factors by outside actors? What specific U.S. foreign policy initiatives in this area are thus in order? Gideon Rose plans to write a monograph based on the group's findings.

Global Kids Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALLISON L. C. DE CERREÑO
COSPONSORED WITH THE LATIN AMERICA PROGRAM
AND GLOBAL KIDS, INC.

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

Studies Seminar Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: GARY C. HUFBAUER

The ongoing Studies Seminar Series provides an informal forum for Council Fellows and research staff in New York and Washington, D.C., to discuss individuals' current research topics. Topics this year included Japan's response to the Asian financial crisis, the prosecution of war crimes, the evolution of weapons of mass destruction threats, and foreign investment in North Korea.

Term Member Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

To help foster the next generation of foreign policy leaders, the Term Member Roundtable regularly convenes meetings of younger Council members on a wide array of international issues. Meetings this year included discussions on multilateralism and U.S. foreign policy with John Ruggie of the United Nations, the evolution of Iran with Elaine Sciolino of the *New York Times*, and a debate between Charles Kupchan and Fareed Zakaria of *Foreign Affairs* on liberalism and democracy.

Shepardson Fellowship Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: NICHOLAS X. RIZOPOULOS

This ongoing roundtable allows the current year's Shepardson Fellow to get feedback from relevant experts on discussion papers/chapters drawn from a book-in-progress. This year's Fellow was Tony Smith of Tufts University, whose book will address multiculturalism in U.S. foreign policy.

FELLOWS

LAWRENCE J. KORB

VICE PRESIDENT/MAURICE R. GREENBERG CHAIR,
DIRECTOR OF STUDIES (FROM AUGUST 1998)

Before joining the Council, Lawrence J. Korb was Director of the Center for Public Policy Education and Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution. Previously, he served as Dean of the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, and as Vice President of Corporate Operations at the Raytheon Company. Mr. Korb also served as Assistant Secretary of Defense from 1981 through 1985, for which he was awarded the Department of Defense's medal for Distinguished Public Service. Mr. Korb has held academic positions at the University of Dayton, the U.S. Coast Guard Academy, the U.S. Naval War College, and Georgetown University. He served on active duty for four years as a naval flight officer and retired from the Navy Reserve with the rank of captain. Among Mr. Korb's 15 books on national security issues are *American National Security: Policy and Process* (1993), *The Fall and Rise of the Pentagon* (1979), and *The Joint Chiefs of Staff: The First Twenty-five Years* (1976). His articles have appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Public Administration Review*, the *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, *Naval Institute Proceedings*, and *International Security*. He received his M.A. from St. John's University and his Ph.D. from the State University of New York at Albany.

GARY C. HUFBAUER

VICE PRESIDENT/MAURICE R. GREENBERG CHAIR,
DIRECTOR OF STUDIES (JUNE 1997–AUGUST 1998)

Gary Hufbauer, a noted international economist, came to the Council from the Institute for International Economics. His recent research has focused on international trade

(particularly NAFTA and APEC issues), international taxation, and economic sanctions. He served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for the U.S. Treasury from 1977 to 1980, and was responsible for trade and investment negotiations during the Tokyo Round. His publications include *Unfinished Business: Telecommunications after the Uruguay Round* (coeditor, 1997), *Flying High: Liberalizing Civil Aviation in the Asia Pacific* (coeditor, 1996), *Fundamental Tax Reform and Border Tax Adjustments* (1996), *NAFTA: An Assessment* (coauthor, 1994), and *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered* (coauthor, second edition, 1990).

MORTON I. ABRAMOWITZ

C.V. STARR SENIOR FELLOW FOR ASIA STUDIES II

Before joining the Council, Morton Abramowitz was President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace from 1991 to 1997. He joined the Foreign Service in 1960, after attending Stanford and Harvard and serving in the U.S. Army. Prior to joining the Carnegie Endowment he was Ambassador to Turkey. He also has served as Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research; U.S. Ambassador to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Negotiations in Vienna; Ambassador to Thailand; Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Inter-American, East Asian, and Pacific Affairs; and Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense. He also served in Hawaii as political adviser to the Commander-in-Chief, Pacific, in the early 1970s. He is the author (with Richard Moorsteen) of *Moving the Glaciers: The Two Koreas and the Powers* (1973), *East Asian Actors and Issues* (1973), and *Remaking China Policy* (1972). Since 1991 he has published numerous articles and essays on subjects ranging from American foreign policy to issues in the former Yugoslavia, which have been published in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Newsweek*, and others. He is the recipient of numerous awards, including the Joseph C. Wilson Award for International Service from the University of Rochester; the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Service in 1981, 1985, and 1988; and the Director General's Cup of Foreign Service. He serves on the boards of many nonprofit organizations, including the International Rescue Committee, the National Democratic Institute, and the International Crisis Group.

RICHARD K. BETTS

SENIOR FELLOW AND DIRECTOR, NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

A former staff member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the National Security Council,

STUDIES PROGRAM

Richard Betts is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University. He was a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution until 1990 and has taught at Harvard and the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. His books include *Military Readiness* (1995); *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises* (1991); *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance* (1987); and *Surprise Attack* (1982). His recent articles have been on the implications for U.S. foreign policy of collective security institutions, the evolving balance among great powers in Asia, Vietnam's strategic vulnerabilities, and intervention in ethnic conflicts. He received a Ph.D. from Harvard University.

ROBERT D. BLACKWILL

SENIOR FELLOW

Robert Blackwill, Belfer Lecturer in International Security, teaches foreign and defense policy, political organization and analysis, and public management at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, where he is also faculty chairman of the school's Executive Programs for Members of the Russian State Duma, Russian General Officers, and Senior Chinese Military Officers. A career diplomat from 1967, he served as Director of West European Affairs on the National Security Council staff and U.S. Ambassador and Chief Negotiator at the negotiations with the Warsaw Pact on conventional armed forces in Europe. He was Special Assistant to the President for European and Soviet Affairs during the Bush administration. His most recent publications are *Allies Divided: Transatlantic Policies for the Greater Middle East* (1997) and *Engaging Russia: Arms Control and the U.S.-Russian Relationship* (report of an independent task force, 1996).

SALIH BOOKER

SENIOR FELLOW, AFRICA STUDIES

Salih Booker has directed the Council's Africa Studies Program since November 1995. He has worked in Africa and the United States as a consultant to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Ford Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, Bernard van Leer Foundation, the African Development Foundation, and Africare. He twice served as a Professional Staff Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the U.S. Con-

gress (1983-86 and 1990) and as a Program Officer for the Ford Foundation in eastern and southern Africa (1986-88). He was also an Associate Director for Catholic Relief Services' Southern Africa Office (1991), and a Legislative Assistant for TransAfrica (1980-83). Mr. Booker is author of the UNDP's first two Development Cooperation Reports on South Africa (1992 and 1993), and has published articles and opinion pieces for *Current History*, the *Africa Policy Information Center*, *Business Day*, *Africa News Service*, *Africa Report*, *Southern Africa Political Economy Monthly*, *TransAfrica Forum Journal*, *Washington Post*, and various other U.S. and international newspapers. He was educated at Wesleyan University, the University of Ghana (Legon), and the London School of Economics and Political Science.

JEROME A. COHEN

C.V. STARR SENIOR FELLOW FOR ASIA STUDIES

Jerome Cohen divides his time between the Council and his law practice at the international law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison. He has taught at the University of California at Berkeley and formerly served as Professor, Director of East Asian Legal Studies, and Associate Dean at Harvard Law School. Currently, he teaches courses at New York University Law School that examine the legal problems of doing business in China and East Asia. At the Council, he is presently leading an ongoing roundtable series on Asia and the rule of law. He has published extensively on Asia, including several books: *Investment Laws in Vietnam* (1990), *Contract Laws of the People's Republic of China* (1988), *People's China and International Law* (with Hungdah Chiu, 1974), *Taiwan and American Policy* (1971), and *The Criminal Process in the People's Republic of China* (1968). He received an A.B. and a J.D. from Yale University.

ROBERT P. DEVECCHI

ADJUNCT SENIOR FELLOW FOR REFUGEES AND THE DISPLACED

Robert DeVecchi came to the Council in 1997 after 22 years of service with the International Rescue Committee (IRC). In 1975 he joined the IRC as its Indochina Refugee Program Coordinator responsible for establishing refugee resettlement offices in the United States and emergency medical programs in Southeast Asia. From 1980 to 1985, he was Program Director for IRC's worldwide resettlement and relief operations. He became IRC's Executive

Director in 1985, President in 1992, and President Emeritus in 1997. He was a Foreign Service Officer from 1956 to 1967, posted in Washington, at NATO in Paris, and the American embassies in Warsaw and Rome. He was European Director of the Conference Board (1968-72) and New York Director of Save the Children (1972-75). In addition to being a member of the Board of Directors of the IRC, Mr. DeVecchi is on the Advisory Committee for the Council's CPA, the boards of Refugees International, the Foundation for a Civil Society, and the National Coalition for Haitian Rights, and the advisory committees of the Refugee Policy Group, the International Center for Migration, Refugees, and Citizenship at the New School for Social Research, and the Pew Fellowship in International Journalism. He is a graduate of Yale University and the Harvard School of Business Administration.

PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY

VICE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF THE WASHINGTON PROGRAM/GEORGE F. KENNAN SENIOR FELLOW FOR RUSSIAN AND EURASIAN STUDIES

Before coming to the Council, Paula Dobriansky was co-host of the foreign affairs program *WorldWise* on National Empowerment Television and served as Foreign Policy Coordinator of Senator Bob Dole's 1996 presidential campaign. She was also Senior International Affairs and Trade Adviser at the law firm of Hunton & Williams, where she advised the firm on political, economic, and trade trends in central/eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Asia. Previously, she was Associate Director for Policy and Programs at the United States Information Agency, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Deputy Head of the U.S. Delegation to the 1990 Copenhagen Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, adviser to the U.S. Delegation to the 1985 U.N. Decade for Women Conference in Nairobi, Kenya, and Director of European and Soviet Affairs at the NSC. She is Vice Chairman of the National Endowment for Democracy Board. She has written several journal articles and book chapters on a wide range of foreign affairs-related topics. She is a Fulbright-Hays scholar, Ford and Rotary Foundation Fellow, a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and the recipient of various awards, including the State Department's Superior Honor Award. She holds a B.S.F.S. summa cum laude from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard University.

ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY

FELLOW, CHINA STUDIES, AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF ASIA STUDIES

Elizabeth Economy is Director of the Council Roundtable on Asia and the Environment and the U.S.-China Update Series. She also serves as the Council's liaison with the Hong Kong Forum and coordinator for the annual U.S.-China Dialogue with the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs and the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. This fall, she will be initiating a study group on governance in China. Dr. Economy's recent publications include a book, *The Internationalization of Environmental Protection* (co-editor, 1997); a forthcoming volume co-edited with Michel Oksenberg, *China Joins the World: Progress and Prospects* (1998); and several articles and book chapters on Sino-American relations and Chinese environmental issues. Dr. Economy also co-chairs the Woodrow Wilson Center Working Group on China and the Environment, serves on the Executive Board of the Program for International Studies in Asia, consults frequently for various foundations and U.S. government agencies, and this past fall taught a course on China and global politics at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. She received a B.A. from Swarthmore College, an A.M. from Stanford University, and a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan.

ALBERT FISHLOW

PAUL A. VOLCKER SENIOR FELLOW FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Albert Fishlow joined the Council staff after an academic career at the University of California, Berkeley, and Yale University. He has also served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and has been active in a series of public commissions on Latin America. At the Council, he is focusing on cross-regional issues, such as the comparison of Asian and Latin American free trade areas and the contrast in recent wage behavior of the industrial economies. Among his recent publications are "Is the Real Plan for Real?" in Susan Purcell and Riordan Roett, *Brazil Under Cardoso* (1997); "NAFTA: What Kind of Future?" in Gerry Helleiner et al., *Poverty, Prosperity and the World Economy* (1995); "Inequality, Poverty and Growth: Where Do We Stand?" in *World Bank, Annual Conference on Development Economics, 1995*; and "Future Sustainable Latin America Growth: A Need for

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1) H. Roy Williams and Winston Lord at the November 25, 1997, Meeting of the Roundtable on Refugees and the Displaced.



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2) Richard W. Murphy and Presider Lisa Anderson at the February 3, 1998, Meeting, "Algeria's Crisis: Roles and Responsibilities."



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3) Fouad Makhzoumi and Henry Siegman at the September 25, 1997, Meeting of the U.S.-Middle East Project.



3

4) Richard L. Garwin and Edward L. Morse at the April 22, 1998, Meeting, "Information Technology Strategies in Asia after the Currency Crisis."



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Savings," in *Review of Black Political Economy* (Summer 1995). He received a B.A. from the University of Pennsylvania and a Ph.D. from Harvard University.

ALTON FRYE

PRESIDENTIAL SENIOR FELLOW

Formerly a staff member at RAND, Alton Frye directed a U.S. Senate staff and taught at Harvard and the University of California, Los Angeles. He has published widely on national security and foreign policy, and is a frequent consultant to both the legislative and the executive branches of the U.S. government. Among his works are "Banning Ballistic Missiles" in *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 1996) and *A Responsible Congress: The Politics of National Security* (1975). He is currently leading the new Council program on Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy. He has also served the Council in numerous executive capacities, including as President and as Senior Vice President/National Director, and as Director of the Washington office for 25 years. He received a B.S. from St. Louis University and a Ph.D. from Yale University.

RICHARD L. GARWIN

PHILIP D. REED SENIOR FELLOW FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Richard Garwin joined the Council staff in August 1997. He is also IBM Fellow Emeritus in the IBM Research Division, Yorktown Heights, N.Y., and is Adjunct Professor of Physics at Columbia University. He chairs the Arms Control Advisory Committee for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Physicist and engineer by education, he has worked extensively with the U.S. government and its agencies since 1950 on military and civil technology, and on policy for technology, national security, and arms control. In 1998 he served as a member of the nine-person Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States. His contributions to nuclear weapons and nuclear arms control and to conventional weapons and intelligence were recognized by the 1996 R.V. Jones Intelligence Award of the U.S. Government Foreign Intelligence Community and the 1996 Enrico Fermi Award of the President and the Department of Energy. From 1952 to 1993 he was with the IBM Corporation, and has been Professor of Public Policy at Harvard University. He has also worked extensively in transportation, including air traffic control. His inventions have received 42 U.S. patents. He has been author

or coauthor of numerous papers in science, technology, and policy, and of many books, including *The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy* (1997), *Feux Follets et Champignons Nucléaires* (1997), *Management and Disposition of Excess Weapons Plutonium* (1994), and *The Future of the U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Relationship* (1991). He has a B.S. in Physics from Case Western Reserve University and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

MICHAEL J. GREEN

OLIN FELLOW, ASIA SECURITY STUDIES

Michael Green directed the Independent Task Force on Managing Change on the Korean Peninsula. Before coming to the Council, Dr. Green was with the Institute for Defense Analyses and served as special adviser to the Office of Asia-Pacific Affairs in the Pentagon. Dr. Green also teaches at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University (SAIS), where he is acting director of the Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies. His previous experience includes a number of positions in both the public and private sectors in Japan or related to U.S.-Japan relations. He has written extensively on Japan, Korean affairs, and security and politics in Asia, including *Arming Japan: Defense Production, Alliance Politics and the Post-War Search for Autonomy* (1995), and contributed to *Engaging China: The Management of a Rising Power* (1998) and *Restructuring the U.S.-Japan Alliance* (1997). He is co-editor of a forthcoming Council book on the U.S.-Japan alliance and will be working on a book on Japanese foreign policy over the next year. Dr. Green received his B.A. from Kenyon College and his M.A. and Ph.D. from SAIS.

MORTON H. HALPERIN

SENIOR FELLOW AND TASK FORCE COORDINATOR

Before joining the Council as a Senior Fellow, Morton Halperin was Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Democracy on the National Security Council staff (1994-96). He is now conducting a study for the Council on nuclear policy, as well as coordinating independent task forces. Currently Senior Vice President of The Century Foundation/Twentieth Century Fund, he previously served as a Senior Associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1992-94) and a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution (1969-73). From 1975 to 1992, he worked for the American Civil Liberties

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Union, heading the Center for National Security Studies and serving as Director of its Washington office. From 1966 to 1969, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense and as a Senior Staff member of the National Security Council. He has taught and conducted research at Harvard, Columbia, MIT, Yale, and George Washington University (where he now teaches), and has received many awards, including being named a MacArthur Fellow (1985–1990). He is the author and coauthor of numerous books and articles on foreign policy, including *Self-Determination in the New World Order* (coauthor, 1992), *Nuclear Fallacy* (1987), and *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (1974). He received a B.A. from Columbia University and a Ph.D. from Yale University.

JOHN HILLEN

OLIN FELLOW, NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

John Hillen came to the Council from the Heritage Foundation, where he was a Fellow and Defense Policy Analyst. A former U.S. Army officer, Dr. Hillen served in Europe, the Pacific, and southwest Asia, and was awarded the Bronze Star for his actions in combat during the Persian Gulf War. He is the editor of the 1997 Council Policy Initiative *Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy*, and is the author of *Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations* (1998). He is a contributing editor at *National Review* and has published in journals such as *Foreign Affairs*, *Orbis*, and others. Dr. Hillen is currently planning a Council study group on "The Revolution in Military Affairs" that will run in 1998–99. He graduated with a Fulbright Scholarship from Duke University, earned his Master's degree from King's College, London, and his doctorate from Oxford University.

JUDITH KIPPER

DIRECTOR, MIDDLE EAST FORUM

Judith Kipper established and directs the Council's Middle East Forum. She is also Codirector of the Middle East Studies Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and a consultant to ABC News on international affairs. She is the co-editor of *The Middle East in Global Perspective* [a journal] and is a frequent commentator on regional issues. A graduate of the University of California at Los Angeles, she previously focused on U.S.-European relations and on the former Soviet Union.

MARIE-JOSÉE KRAVIS

ADJUNCT SENIOR FELLOW, ECONOMICS

Marie-Josée Kravis is an economist specializing in public policy analysis and strategic planning. She is a columnist for the *Financial Post* (a Canadian business journal). Her other publications include *Western European Adjustment to Structural Economic Problems* (coauthor, 1986) and *Canada HAS a Future* (1978). The Executive Director of the Hudson Institute of Canada in Montreal from 1973 to 1994, she is a member of the Board and Senior Fellow of the Hudson Institute (Indianapolis).

CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

SENIOR FELLOW, EUROPE STUDIES

Charles Kupchan is also an Associate Professor of International Relations at Georgetown University. His current research focuses on regionalism, the evolution of the European Union and NATO, and structural change and its implications for international order. He served as Director for European Affairs on the National Security Council staff from 1993 to 1994, before which he taught politics at Princeton University. He is the author of *Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe* (1995), *The Vulnerability of Empire* (1994), *The Persian Gulf and the West* (1987), and numerous articles on international and strategic affairs. He received a B.A. from Harvard University and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Oxford University.

MICHAEL MANDELBAUM

DIRECTOR, PROJECT ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS

Michael Mandelbaum is also the Christian A. Herter Professor of American Foreign Policy at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C. He has taught at Harvard University, Columbia University, and the U.S. Naval Academy. He is the author of numerous articles and books and is editor of eight volumes published by the Council on Foreign Relations, including *The New Russian Foreign Policy* (1998), *Sustaining the Transition: The Social Safety Net in Postcommunist Europe* (1997), *Postcommunism: Four Perspectives* (1996), and *The Strategic Quadrangle: Russia, China, Japan, and the United States in East Asia* (1995).

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ROBERT A. MANNING

SENIOR FELLOW AND DIRECTOR, ASIA STUDIES

Robert Manning joined the Council in October 1997. Before coming to the Council, he was a Senior Fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute, where he was responsible for overseeing foreign policy, defense, and trade issues. From 1989 to 1993 he was a policy adviser at the U.S. Department of State and the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Previously, he was a research associate at the Gaston Sigur Center at the George Washington University School of International Relations. He is the author of *Asian Policy: The New Soviet Challenge in the Pacific* (1988), as well as many book chapters, journal articles, and op-ed pieces.

ANN R. MARKUSEN

SENIOR FELLOW, INDUSTRIAL POLITICS

Ann Markusen is also Director of the Project on Regional and Industrial Economics and State of New Jersey Professor of Urban Planning and Policy Development at Rutgers University. She is the author and coauthor of several books on the defense industrial base and high technology, including *Trading Industries, Trading Regions* (1993), *Dismantling the Cold War Economy* (1992), *The Rise of the Gunbelt* (1991), and *Regions: The Economics and Politics of Territory* (1987), as well as numerous academic and magazine articles and op-eds. Professor Markusen received a B.A. from Georgetown University and her M.A. and Ph.D. from Michigan State University, and has held faculty positions at the University of Colorado, University of California at Berkeley, and Northwestern University. She has been awarded a Brookings Institution Economic Policy Fellowship and a Fulbright Lectureship in Brazil, has consulted for the World Bank and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and has been an economic adviser to the city of Chicago, the states of Michigan and California, and the Clinton administration. Her current research is on the impact of military spending on American technology, industry, economic, and foreign policy, and a comparative study of post-Cold War defense downsizing among significant Cold War protagonists.

KENNETH R. MAXWELL

NELSON AND DAVID ROCKEFELLER SENIOR FELLOW
FOR INTER-AMERICAN STUDIES, AND DIRECTOR,
LATIN AMERICA PROGRAM

Kenneth Maxwell came to the Council after teaching at Yale, Princeton, and Columbia Universities and serving six years as program director of the Tinker Foundation. His recent publications include *The Making of Portuguese Democracy* (1995), *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment* (1995), and *The New Spain: From Isolation to Influence* (coauthor, 1994). He is currently a member of the advisory committee of Human Rights Watch/Americas, the Consultative Council of the Luso-American Development Foundation, and the Board of Advisers of the Latin America Program at Princeton University. He is book review editor for the Western Hemisphere for *Foreign Affairs* and contributes to the *New York Review of Books* and other publications. He received a B.A. and M.A. from St. John's College, Cambridge University, and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Princeton University.

WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

SENIOR FELLOW, U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Walter Mead, who joined the Council at the beginning of 1998, is a political economist engaged in the study of the evolving global economy and its implications for American society and foreign policy. In addition to his position at the Council, he is a Senior Contributing Editor at *Worth* magazine, a contributing editor for the opinion section of the *Los Angeles Times*, and a frequent contributor of articles to other leading newspapers and magazines. He is the author of *Mortal Splendor: The American Empire in Transition* (1987) and is currently writing a book on American foreign policy.

RICHARD W. MURPHY

HASIB J. SABBAGH SENIOR FELLOW FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

Richard Murphy was Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs from 1983 to 1989. He earlier served as U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, the Philippines, Syria, and Mauritania, and, just prior to joining the Council, he was the John Adams Memorial Lecturer in the United Kingdom on a grant from the Fulbright Commission. He is President of the Chatham House Foundation (United States), Chairman of the

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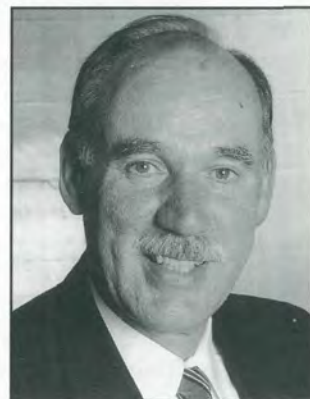
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Named Chairs

1) Morton I. Abramowitz,
*C. V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia
Studies II*

2) Jerome A. Cohen, *C. V. Starr
Senior Fellow for Asia Studies*

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

4) Albert Fishlow, *Paul A. Volcker
Senior Fellow for International
Economics*

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

6) James F. Hoge Jr., *Peter G. Peter-
son Chair, Editor, Foreign Affairs*

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



9

8) Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Nelson
and David Rockefeller Senior Fel-
low for Inter-American Studies*

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



10

10) Daniel K. Tarullo, *Linda J.
Wachner Senior Fellow in U.S.
Foreign Economic Policy*



11

11) David G. Victor, *Robert W.
Johnson, Jr., Fellow for Science and
Technology*

Middle East Institute, and Trustee of the American University of Beirut. He received a B.A. from Harvard University and an A.B. from Emmanuel College, Cambridge University.

JONATHAN S. PARIS

FELLOW, U.S./MIDDLE EAST PROJECT

Jonathan Paris coordinates programs of the U.S./Middle East Project and was codirector of the Study Group on Preparing for Post–New Order Indonesia. He was a visiting lecturer at Yale University. His publications include “Minority Rules: How Indonesia’s Chinese Can Survive,” in *The New Republic* (July 1998); “Will Democracy Lead to Peace in the Middle East?,” in *Israel Studies Bulletin* (Fall 1997); and “Step by Step Towards Indonesian-Israeli Relations,” in *Israel Affairs* (Winter 1996). He previously practiced law in Indonesia at Coudert Brothers and investment banking at Salomon Brothers and European Investors, Inc. He received a B.A. from Yale University and a J.D. from Stanford Law School.

NICHOLAS X. RIZOPOULOS

SENIOR STUDIES EDITOR

Nicholas Rizopoulos is also an Adjunct Professor of International Politics at Adelphi University, and was the Senior Consulting Editor of the four-volume *Encyclopedia of U.S. Foreign Relations* (1997). He was Director of Studies at the Council from 1989 to 1994 and Executive Director of the Lehrman Institute from 1972 to 1987. He had previously taught diplomatic history at Yale University, from which he also received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees.

GIDEON ROSE

OLIN FELLOW AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR,
NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

Gideon Rose runs the Council’s Roundtable on Terrorism and the Study Group on Democratic Consolidation. He directed the Henry A. Kissinger Study Group on Exit Strategies and American Foreign Policy and the independent task force on U.S. policy toward India and Pakistan, and was Rapporteur for an independent task force on U.S. policy toward Iran and Iraq. During 1996–97 he lectured on American foreign policy at Princeton University. He previously served as Associate Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs on the National Security Council staff in 1994–95, and as Assistant Editor of *The Public Interest*

and then *The National Interest* in 1985–87. He holds a B.A. from Yale University and a Ph.D. from Harvard University.

BARNETT R. RUBIN

SENIOR FELLOW AND DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR PREVENTIVE ACTION

Barnett Rubin has been Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for the Study of Central Asia at Columbia University, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Yale University, and a Jennings Randolph Peace Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace. He studied under a Fulbright Fellowship at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. He is the author and editor of several books, including *Cases and Strategies for Preventive Action* (1998), *Toward Comprehensive Peace in Southeast Europe* (1996), and *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan* (1995). He received a B.A. from Yale University, and an M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

HENRY SIEGMAN

SENIOR FELLOW AND DIRECTOR, U.S./MIDDLE EAST PROJECT

Henry Siegman directs the Council’s U.S./Middle East Project, a “Track II” diplomacy initiative that promotes new coalitions between government and the private sector in Arab countries, Israel, and the United States and private-sector investment, trade, and commerce. He founded the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations in 1968, directed the American Association for Middle East Studies and edited its quarterly publication from 1958 to 1963; and was Executive Director of the American Jewish Congress for 16 years. The author of over 100 articles and op-ed pieces, he was a Resident Scholar at the Rockefeller Study Center in Bellagio, Italy, and received a B.A. from the New School for Social Research.

JESSICA E. STERN

NEXT GENERATION FELLOW

Formerly an International Affairs Fellow at the Council and Director for Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian affairs at the National Security Council, Jessica Stern has also been a National Fellow at the Hoover Institution and a Research Fellow at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. She has written widely on terrorism and weapons of mass destruction and is author of the forthcoming book *The Ultimate Terrorists*. She holds a B.A. from Barnard College, an M.S. from MIT, and a Ph.D. from Harvard University.

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BRUCE STOKES

SENIOR FELLOW, ECONOMIC STUDIES: TRADE

Bruce Stokes is currently leading a study group on the U.S.-Japan trade relationship and directing a project on the transatlantic economic agenda. Formerly, he was a correspondent for the *National Journal*, where he now serves as a contributing editor. His publications include *Future Visions for U.S. Trade Policy* (1998), *The Tests of War and the Strains of Peace: The U.S.-Japan Security Relationship* (1998), and *Trade Strategies for a New Era: Ensuring U.S. Leadership in a Global Economy* (1998). He was a member of the Presidential Commission on United States-Pacific Trade and Investment Policy. He is a graduate of the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University and the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University, and he attended Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism.

DANIEL K. TARULLO

LINDA J. WACHNER SENIOR FELLOW
IN U.S. FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

Daniel Tarullo came to the Council to research the Asian financial crisis, U.S.-European relations, and the political challenges of a global economy. Until March of this year, he was Assistant to the President for International Economic Policy, responsible for coordinating the international economic policy of the administration. He was a principal on both the National Economic Council and the National Security Council. Previously he had been Deputy Assistant to the President for Economic Policy. From 1993 to early 1996 he was Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs. In March 1995, President Clinton appointed Tarullo as his personal representative ("sherpa") to the G-7 group of industrialized nations, charged with directing U.S. preparations for the annual G-7 summit meetings in 1995, 1996, and 1997. Prior to joining the administration in 1993, Tarullo practiced at the law firm of Shearman & Sterling in Washington. He taught at Harvard Law School, and held government positions in the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department, as Special Assistant to the Undersecretary of Commerce, and as a chief counsel to Senator Edward M. Kennedy. He is a graduate of the University of Michigan Law School. He received his A.B. from Georgetown University and an M.A. from Duke University.

DAVID G. VICTOR

ROBERT W. JOHNSON, JR., FELLOW IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

David Victor joined the Council in January 1998. He is organizing a study group to examine policies that could reduce global warming by spurring the development of new technologies. He will also lead a project on international regulation of biotechnology. Prior to coming to the Council, he directed a project on implementation of international environmental treaties at the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) in Laxenburg, Austria. His recent publications include a book on treaty implementation (co-edited with Kal Raustiala and Eugene B. Skolnikoff, 1998) and an article coauthored with Andreas Schafer in *Scientific American* that projects worldwide passenger mobility to the year 2050. He has a B.A. from Harvard University and a Ph.D. from MIT.

RUTH WEDGWOOD

SENIOR FELLOW, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND LAW

Ruth Wedgwood directs Council programs on the United Nations, international law, and peacekeeping. She is also Professor of Law at Yale Law School and on the faculty of Yale's International Security Studies Program. Her Council series "Lessons Learned in Peacekeeping" was the first held on Capitol Hill. She directed "American National Interest and the United Nations," a five-city independent task force, and an international conference on the Bosnian peace process. She recently argued before the Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague, as *amicus curiae*, on the question of how the tribunal can obtain military information from sovereign states. Professor Wedgwood writes frequently for the *Christian Science Monitor*, *International Herald Tribune*, and *Washington Post*. She serves as a member of the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on International Law, and is also an expert in arms control and the use of arbitration in international dispute resolution. Before returning to Yale, she was a federal prosecutor (her prosecution of a Bulgarian intelligence agent resulted in negotiations for the release of Andrei Sakharov and Natan Sharansky), and was a Supreme Court law clerk. She holds a B.A. from Harvard University and a J.D. from Yale Law School, where she was Executive Editor of the *Yale Law Journal*.

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1) Peter G. Peterson, President Gary C. Hufbauer, and Speaker Minxin Pei, Princeton University, at the October 2, 1997, Meeting, "Chinese Banking Reform: How Far Will It Go?"



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2) President Richard K. Betts at the March 4, 1998, Meeting of the John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the New National Security Agenda, "Bosnia: Is Partition the Lesser Evil?"

3) President Carroll R. Bogert and Speaker Richard W. Burkholder, The Gallup Organization, at the December 4, 1997, Meeting, "Tracking Consumer Trends: A Gallup Survey Comparison Between China and India."



4

4) Michael J. Green and Chairman James T. Laney at the May 8, 1998, Meeting of the Independent Task Force on Managing Change on the Korean Peninsula.

JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER

SENIOR FELLOW AND DEPUTY NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Jennifer Whitaker previously served as Director of the Council's Committees on Foreign Relations Program, Senior Fellow for Africa, and Codirector of the Committee on African Development Strategies (a joint Council-Overseas Development Council program), and Associate Editor of *Foreign Affairs*. Her research interests focus on the environment, public opinion and public policy, and Africa. Her publications include *Salvaging the Land of Plenty* (1994) and *How Can Africa Survive?* (1989). She received a B.A. from Trinity College and an M.A. from Stanford University.

SPECIAL FELLOWSHIPS

Next Generation Fellowship

The Next Generation Fellowship focuses on nurturing outstanding thinkers from a variety of fields who have the potential to become policy leaders. The principal mission of the Fellows will be frontier scholarship, leading to at least one major published article, monograph, or book during the fellowship tenure. Fellows are also expected to hold study group meetings to examine the work in progress.

Fellows are housed in the New York and Washington, D.C., offices of the Council. They are an integral part of the Studies Department staff and have substantial contact with other Fellows, Council members, and experts in their field. In 1998, the Council plans to expand the number of Next Generation Fellows to eight, and ultimately to ten per year. Each year, two to four Fellows will be selected, in March and September. Their tenures will be flexible, normally two or three years.

The current Next Generation Fellows are Elizabeth C. Economy, Michael J. Green, John Hillen, Gideon Rose, Jessica E. Stern, and David G. Victor.

Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship

The Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship is periodically awarded to persons with experience and recognized professional stature in public or academic affairs related to the study of international relations. A Shepardson Fellow is expected to spend about a year affiliated with the

Council, participating in Council programs while working on a book or other significant publication on a major foreign policy issue.

The 1997 Shepardson Fellowship was awarded to Tony Smith of Tufts University, who is writing a book on multiculturalism and U.S. foreign policy.

The 1998 Shepardson Fellow is John Mearsheimer.

Walter Levy Fellowship

The Walter Levy Fellowship is awarded to those who are expected to assume increasingly important roles in their own countries, who would benefit from an opportunity to meet with Americans concerned with international affairs, and who can contribute to the Council's substantive work. These brief fellowships are spent in New York and Washington, D.C., and various cities nationwide, where Fellows address Council on Foreign Relations members.

The Studies department administers the Shepardson and the Walter Levy Fellowships.

Intelligence Fellowship

This year, the Council established a fellowship for members of the intelligence community. The Intelligence Fellowship, which is modeled after the Council's successful Military Fellowships, provides an opportunity for an outstanding person on the cusp of a senior position to expand his or her knowledge of international relations through a program of individual study, research and reflection, extensive participation in the Council's active program of meetings and study groups, and interaction with the Council's diverse and knowledgeable membership.

The inaugural recipient of the Intelligence Fellowship is Matthew J. Burrows.

Edward R. Murrow Fellowship

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

The Murrow Fellowship Selection Board, chaired by Lester M. Crystal, Executive Producer, *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*, chose the Murrow Fellow for 1997-98, Adam Schwarz, previously the Hanoi Bureau Chief for

the *Far Eastern Economic Review*; and the 1998–99 Murrow Fellow, Elizabeth Neuffer, European Bureau Chief for the *Boston Globe*.

Military Fellowship

Each year, the Chiefs of Staff of the Army and the Air Force, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Commandant of the Marine Corps nominate an outstanding officer from their respective services as a candidate for a Military Fellowship. The Council usually awards two or three such fellowships annually. The program enables the officers selected to broaden their understanding of foreign relations by spending a year in residence at the Council's headquarters in New York, or, in special cir-

cumstances, at the Council offices in Washington, D.C. Fellows participate in Council programs, meet with Council members and staff, and engage in studies in conjunction with the Council's Studies Program. They also assist in arranging several politico-military trips for Council members during the year.

The Military Fellowship Selection Board, chaired in 1997 by former Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney and in 1998 by former Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, chose the following Military Fellows:

For 1997–98, Marine Corps Col. George J. Flynn and Air Force Col. Frank G. Klotz; for 1998–99, Navy Capt. David L. Jones, Air Force Col. Frederick F. Roggero, and Army Col. W. Montague Winfield.

LINDA BRADY

**Chair & Professor, Sam Nunn School
of International Affairs
Georgia Institute of Technology**



My initial connection to the Council was through the International Affairs Fellowship Program. I was an International Affairs Fellow in 1978–79. For those of us who are not in the New York–Washington corridor, the IAF program was a wonderful introduction not only to Washington but to the Council as well.



I had a wonderful experience as an International Affairs Fellow. I was fortunate to have worked with Les Gelb when he was Director of Politico-Military Affairs in the State Department. The opportunity to spend a year working at the State Department on arms control issues changed my research focus, as well as my perspective on international affairs. From that point my research shifted from theoretical international relations to the policy arena.



The Council has adapted extremely well to the shifts that have occurred in international affairs over the past 20 years. It was clear even before the end of the Cold War that the issues we were dealing with had changed dramatically, with a growing emphasis on economics, on public health, on envi-

ronmental issues, and so forth. The Council has taken those changes into account in the way in which it's adapted its programming. You see it in the topics for task forces and study groups; you see it in the addition of Fellows at the Council who are working on a much broader array of topics related to international affairs than 20 years ago. Another way in which the Council has adapted is in making an effort to recruit members from other parts of the country. I was very pleased to have been involved in the effort to bring more Atlanta-area representatives into the Council.



The other thing I've seen happen in terms of membership is that the Council has endeavored to recruit members from what we used to call nontraditional fields, people in science and engineering, in medicine, people who have expertise in areas that are particularly relevant now in terms of the kinds of issues we're dealing with. So, I'm pleased to see on the membership front a real effort being made to recruit people from outside Washington because of the different perspectives that brings to discussions of international issues, and also an effort to recruit people from nontraditional fields.



I was part of the group that met in Atlanta with the task force on the United Nations. It was the first time I had been to a meeting for Council members in Atlanta, and I was amazed to find the number of Council members from Atlanta. They included people whom I had interacted with on a wide range of issues, but it never occurred to me to ask them, "Are you a member of the Council?" So for those of us in the Atlanta area, it helped acquaint us with other members and was one of the reasons we decided to try to increase the membership here.

Department of State Fellowship

The Department of State Fellowship is offered to a Foreign Service Officer chosen by a selection committee from candidates nominated by the U.S. State Department. The State Department Fellow spends about a year affiliated with the Council, with time away from public service to reflect on issues of foreign policy and to participate in Council programs. The recipient of the 1998–99 Fellowship is Neil E. Silver, who currently serves as Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo.

The Office of Membership and Fellowship Affairs administers the Intelligence Fellowship, the Edward R. Murrow Fellowship, the Military Fellowships, and the Department of State Fellowship.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWSHIPS

Launched in 1967, the International Affairs Fellowship Program is designed to advance the professional development of outstanding young Americans between the ages of 27 and 35. Each year, approximately a dozen men and women receive an opportunity to broaden their experience in the field of international affairs and to add a unique dimension to their careers. 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.

In 1997, the Council established a new International Affairs Fellowship in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd., to enable a number of outstanding young American leaders and thinkers to expand their intellectual and professional horizons by working and living in Japan. The

program seeks to cultivate American understanding of Japan and to strengthen communication between emerging leaders of the two nations.

The Council organizes monthly roundtable meetings in Washington, D.C., for the Fellows, including current and former Military, Department of State, and Edward R. Murrow Fellows, and an annual two-day seminar that offers an opportunity for the Fellows to share the findings of their projects.

Elise Carlson Lewis

Director, Membership and Fellowship Affairs

1998–99 International Affairs Fellows

FELLOW

Home Institution

Field of Study

WILLIAM JOHN ANTHOLIS

U.S. Department of State

“Democratic Cooperation and Transnational Threats”

CHRISTOPHER CANDLAND

University of California at Berkeley

“Promoting Fair Trade: Raising International Labor Standards through Corporate Codes and Consumer Campaigns”

THOMAS DROHAN*

U.S. Air Force

“The U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation Guidelines: Issues and Options”

THOMAS DUFFY

U.S. Department of State

“U.S. Gulf Policy: Matching Military Operational Expectations with Political Realities”

RICHARD A. FALKENRATH

Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs,
Harvard University

“Weapons of Mass Destruction and the European Allies”

JENDAYI FRAZER

Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

“Operating from the Margins: Implementing the U.S. National Security Strategy in Africa”

PHILIP H. GORDON

International Institute for Strategic Studies

“The United States, Europe, and the Greater Middle East”

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

† Jointly appointed International Affairs Fellow and IAF in Japan.

STUDIES PROGRAM

DIANA HELWEG†

National Security Council
"Engagement Plus Sanctions: An Effective Equation"

STUART KAUFMAN

University of Kentucky
"Options for Resolution of Europe's Ethnic Wars"

MARK P. LAGON

Republican Policy Committee
"China and the Chattering Classes: Elite Beliefs Influencing U.S.-P.R.C. Relations"

LAUREL MILLER

Covington & Burling
"Establishing the Rule of Law in Postwar, Post-Socialist Bosnia and Herzegovina"

CARTER PAGE

U.S. Navy
"The New Strategic Significance of the Black Sea Region"

JAMES SAVAGE*

University of Virginia
"Budgetary Reform in Japan?"

DOROTHY SHEA

U.S. Department of State
"The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Lessons Learned and Implications for Other Transitional Societies"

DAVID WOLFF*

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars,
Cold War International History Project
"Islands of Discord: Okinawa in Japanese-American Relations"

Council Fellows Roundtable Series

CHERYL GRAY

Interim Director of the Public Sector Group, World Bank

NANCY BOSWELL

Managing Director, Transparency International

DAVID MUSSINGTON

Senior Analyst, RAND Corporation
"Combating Corruption Around the World: Obstacles and Strategies"

PRESIDER: MELANIE BIXBY (IAF, 1996-97)

RICHARD N. HAASS

Director of Foreign Policy Studies, the Brookings Institution

"Does Dual Containment Have a Future?"

PRESIDER: REBECCA K.C. HERSMAN (IAF, 1997-98)

F. WILLIAM HAWLEY

Director of International Government Relations, Citicorp/Citibank

"International Issues as Seen by a Global Financial Institution"

PRESIDER: RICHARD A. FREYTAG

L. CRAIG JOHNSTONE (IAF, 1974-75)

Director of Resources, Plans, and Policy, Office of the Secretary of State

"The End of Foreign Policy"

PRESIDER: ANNE C. RICHARD (IAF, 1993-94)

STEVEN SIMON (IAF, 1989-90)

Director for Global Issues, National Security Council

"The Emerging Terrorist Threat and the U.S. Response"

PRESIDER: JESSICA E. STERN (IAF, 1994-95)

MICHAEL H. VAN DUSEN

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

"Changing Congressional Perspectives on Foreign Affairs"

PRESIDER: ALPHEUS W. JESSUP (MURROW FELLOW, 1952-53)

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

† Jointly appointed International Affairs Fellow and IAF in Japan.

MEETINGS PROGRAM

The Meetings Program at the Council provides members with the opportunity to hear from influential world leaders, new faces on the international scene, respected experts, and provocative debaters on American foreign policy, from issues of the moment to forecasts of future dilemmas.

As the year began, a summit between President Clinton and China's President Jiang Zemin loomed large. Council members were invited to hear President Jiang himself during his stopover in Washington. The Council's focus on China last fall also included an experiment with a new format that members applauded. A mock National Security Council meeting provided an "inside" look at how presidential advice and summit strategies are hashed out. As with all "theater," casting was crucial and the characters played roles they knew well. Led by Winston Lord as National Security Adviser, the group included John M. Deutch as CIA Director, Thomas E. Donilon as Secretary of State, Ellen L. Frost as Secretary of "Economics," Jamie S. Gorelick as Secretary of Defense, and George R. Stephanopoulos as White House spokesman.

Our "Great Debates" series continued to take on some of the toughest issues of the day. The conflict between the United States and its allies over economic sanctions was hotly debated by Senator Robert G. Torricelli and C. Fred Bergsten. Other debates included Representative Charles B. Rangel versus former Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams on Cuba policy.

As the Asian financial crisis emerged and worsened, the Meetings Program featured speakers with a variety of views on the problem. From January onward, meetings

were convened regarding both the economic and the political implications of the currency chaos infecting Asia and spreading globally, including two major conferences in February and April. Speakers included Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright; Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin; Thailand's Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai; the head of the International Monetary Fund, Michel Camdessus; and for the private-sector view, American International Group Chairman Maurice R. Greenberg.

The NATO expansion issue heated up again. Just before the Senate vote, we heard two opposing views, from Senators Joseph R. Biden Jr. and John W. Warner, as well as the perspective from Europe with German Minister of Foreign Affairs Klaus Kinkel.

The Middle East was the subject of several "rapid response" meetings reacting to events such as the face-off between Iraq and the United States and the deadlock in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. A memorable evening was the annual Sorensen lecture featuring a frank presentation by Richard Butler, Executive Chairman of the U.N. Special Commission, who had just returned from a tense mission to Baghdad. A week later, Iraq's ambassador to the United Nations, Nizar Hamdoon, presented his government's point of view.

World leaders continue to use the Council as a forum for major policy addresses, including Jiang Zemin of

China, Kim Dae Jung of South Korea, I.K. Gujral of India, Robert Gabriel Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Anwar bin Ibrahim of Malaysia, Hun Sen of Cambodia, and Ernesto Samper Pizano of Colombia.

There were some very special nights at the Council this year, including the annual Daughters and Sons meeting, where CNN Chief International Correspondent Christiane Amanpour provided inspiration for young internationalists. Our periodic meeting with the Joint Chiefs of Staff is never disappointing, and this year's was no exception.

Two broad issues, trade and defense, were explored in depth through Council Policy Initiatives. Over the course of the year, we heard trade discussed by former Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, U.S. Representative Richard A. Gephardt, and AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, and held debates in Washington and Atlanta with Undersecretary Stuart E. Eizenstat and economists Pat Choate and William A. Niskanen. On defense, the Council convened a series of debates that included former Secretary of the Navy John F. Lehman and former Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff William A. Owens.

While the Council's mission is primarily to anticipate foreign policy dilemmas, it is not averse to a little historical perspective. Fifty years after World War II, we looked back at the policymaking apparatus created inside the U.S. government to deal with its new role in the world. A 50th anniversary panel chaired by ABC News correspondent Ted Koppel noted the changes in the role of the National Security Council, with lively exchanges among former advisers Colin L. Powell, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Walt W. Rostow, Andrew J. Goodpaster, and Robert C. McFarlane, followed by a look at the challenges ahead from current National Security Adviser Samuel R. Berger.

The Council also cosponsored with Home Box Office the premiere of *A Bright Shining Lie*, the film version of Neil Sheehan's book on Vietnam, followed by a discussion of lessons learned with journalist Frances FitzGerald, former Assistant Secretary of State Richard C. Holbrooke, and Army Colonel (Ret.) Harry G. Summers Jr.

The 1997 program year included six special lectureships, which are detailed at the end of this section. A detailed listing of all meetings can be found on the Council's web site.

Anne R. Luzzatto
Vice President, Programs and Media Projects

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT

U.S. Secretary of State

"A Keynote Policy Address by the Secretary of State of the United States"†

PRESIDER: HENRY A. KISSINGER

CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR

Chief International Correspondent, CNN

"Why World News Matters"

PRESIDER: GEORGE R. STEPHANOPOULOS

ANNUAL DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

DON ARGUE

President, National Association of Evangelicals

THEODORE E. MCCARRICK

Archbishop of Newark, New Jersey

ARTHUR SCHNEIER

President, Appeal of Conscience Foundation

"Religion in China: Will It Truly Be Tolerated?"

PRESIDER: ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY

JOSEPH R. BIDEN JR.

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

"The Outlook for NATO Enlargement:

The Debate in the U.S. Senate"†

Discussant: Mark D. Danner, Staff Writer,

The New Yorker

PRESIDER: WILLIAM H. LUERS

RICHARD BUTLER

Executive Chairman of the U.N. Special Commission

"An Inside Look at the Crisis in Iraq"

PRESIDER: RICHARD N. GARDNER

THE SORENSEN DISTINGUISHED LECTURE

ON THE UNITED NATIONS

MICHEL CAMDESSUS

Managing Director and Chairman of the Executive Board,
International Monetary Fund

"The Asia Crisis and the Role of the IMF"*

PRESIDER: PAUL A. VOLCKER

ISMAIL CEM

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Turkey

"Turkey: Regional Leader, Global Partner"†

PRESIDER: MORTON I. ABRAMOWITZ

* A cosponsored event.

† Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

MEETINGS PROGRAM

1) Moderator Ted Koppel and Panelist Colin L. Powell at the October 31, 1997, Policy Impact Panel, "The NSC at 50: Past, Present, and Future."



1

2) Speaker Joseph R. Biden Jr., U.S. Senator (D-Del.), Joshua Lederberg, and Garrick Utley at the December 1, 1997, Meeting, "The Outlook for NATO Enlargement: The Debate in the U.S. Senate."



2

3) Philomene A. Gates, Seymour Topping, and Speaker Mickey Kantor, Partner, Mayer, Brown & Platt, at the November 5, 1997, Elihu Root Lecture, "U.S. Trade Negotiations: Lessons Learned, Lessons Applied."



3

MEETINGS PROGRAM



1

1) *President Richard B. Cheney, Speaker Michael E. Ryan, Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force, and Speaker Dennis J. Reimer, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, at the November 17, 1997, John Train Lecture, "A Blueprint for the Future of the U.S. Armed Services."*



2

2) *Karen M. Sughrue, Leslie H. Gelb, President Jesse L. Jackson, Speaker Robert Gabriel Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe, and David Rockefeller at the September 23, 1997, David Rockefeller Lecture on Africa, "Africa's Renaissance: Zimbabwe's Role in the Region and the World."*



3

3) *Marie-Louise Slocum, Annabelle K. Gundlach, and Stephen M. Kellen at the December 17, 1997, Annual Daughters and Sons Event, "Why World News Matters."*

MEETINGS PROGRAM

FRANCES FITZGERALD

Author and Journalist

RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE

Vice Chairman, Credit Suisse First Boston Corporation and former Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs

HARRY G. SUMMERS JR.

Editor, *Vietnam Magazine*; U.S. Army (Ret.)

"Premiere Screening of HBO film *A Bright Shining Lie*"**

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

RONALD R. FOGELMAN

Former Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force

RICHARD W. MURPHY

Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East, Council on Foreign Relations

KENNETH M. POLLACK

Research Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

"Military Action Against Iraq: Pros and Cons"

PRESIDER: JUDITH MILLER

RICHARD A. GEPHARDT

Democratic Leader and Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-Mo.)

"Preserving World Capitalism for the Next Century: A Plan for Action"***†

PRESIDER: WILLIAM J. McDONOUGH

I.K. GUJRAL

Prime Minister, India

"India and the United States: The Start of a New Friendship"***†

PRESIDER: FRANK G. WISNER

NIZAR HAMDOON

Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations

"Iraq, the United Nations, and the United States: What Lies Ahead?"†

PRESIDER: BARBARA WALTERS

* A cosponsored event.

† Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

ANNE R. LUZZATTO

Vice President, Programs and Media Projects, Council on Foreign Relations



In this age of technology and discovery, we have information and data, but we often don't have wisdom. At the Council we are encouraged to gather information, to examine it, to think critically about it. This helps us make better choices about what should be the role of the United States in the world today. The Council is the most interesting and exciting place to watch and participate in

this important debate, and the Meetings Program plays an important role in shaping it.



The new Peterson Center will further enhance the Council's contribution to the post-Cold War foreign policy debate in our democratic society. By using videoconferencing technol-

ogy, we will be able to reach a wider audience and relay what some of the finest minds have to say on the most important issues facing the human race today. It will give us an opportunity to bring in voices and faces of those who can't travel to a specific location in the United States. It will create greater diversity of content and broaden participation among Council members, who will be able to contribute to discussions from a number of locations around the country. A very significant goal of the Council is to make this organization a truly national one—the Peterson Center will be crucial to achieving that goal.



I view the Council as an organization through which members can engage with others who represent a broad variety of views, but who all care deeply about the U.S. role in the world. It certainly was my experience during the first term of the Clinton administration, when opening markets and managing the expansion of the global economy were among this country's foreign policy priorities—whether at the level of the White House, the Department of Commerce, or the United States Trade Representative—that the Council has been viewed as the most relevant and significant place for foreign policymakers to take their message and to hear other voices.

MEETINGS PROGRAM

KIM DAE JUNG

President, Republic of Korea
"New Challenges on the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia, and the Roles of the Republic of Korea and the United States"*†

PRESIDER: BILL RICHARDSON

MICKEY KANTOR

Partner, Mayer, Brown & Platt; former U.S. Secretary of Commerce; former U.S. Trade Representative
"U.S. Trade Negotiations: Lessons Learned, Lessons Applied"*

PRESIDER: JULIA CHANG BLOCH
THE ELIHU ROOT LECTURE

GOHAR AYUB KHAN

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pakistan
"Pakistan at 50: Regional Relations and World View"†

PRESIDER: ROBERT B. OAKLEY

KLAUS KINKEL

Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs and Federal Vice Chancellor, Germany
"Germany's Foreign Policy for the Next Century"*†

PRESIDER: RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE

CHUAN LEEKPAI

Prime Minister, Thailand
"Thailand's Response to the Asian Financial Crisis"*†

PRESIDER: GEORGE SOROS

WENDY LUERS

Founder and President, the Foundation for a Civil Society
"Civil Society and Its Enemies in Central and Eastern Europe"*

PRESIDERS: PATRICIA ELLIS, KAREN M. SUGHRUE

GEORGE J. MITCHELL

Chairman of the International Body on Decommissioning of Arms in Northern Ireland; Special Counsel, Verner, Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand; former Majority Leader, U.S. Senate (D-Me.)
"Toward Peace in Northern Ireland: The 1998 Referendum"

PRESIDER: WARREN B. RUDMAN

ROBERT M. MORGENTHAU

District Attorney, County of New York
"Crime and International Business"*

PRESIDER: CONRAD K. HARPER

AMRE MAHMOUD MOUSSA

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt
"Prospects for Movement Forward in the Middle East Peace Process"*†

PRESIDER: EDWARD BLEIER

ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE

President, Zimbabwe
"Africa's Renaissance: Zimbabwe's Role in the Region and the World"

PRESIDER: JESSE L. JACKSON
THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER LECTURE ON AFRICA

SADAKO OGATA

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees
"Humanitarian Action Under Siege"

PRESIDER: MARTA B. VARELA

EHUD OLMERT

Mayor of Jerusalem and Member of the Knesset
"The Future of Jerusalem and the Politics of Peace"

PRESIDER: MALCOLM HOENLEIN

THEODOROS G. PANGALOS

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Greece
"Security Challenges in the Balkans and the Aegean"†

PRESIDER: MATTHEW NIMETZ
THE RUSSELL C. LEFFINGWELL LECTURE

GEORGE E. PATAKI

Governor, State of New York
"New York and the World"*

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

ERNESTO SAMPER PIZANO

President, Colombia
"Colombia's Foreign Policy"*†

PRESIDER: ROBERT E. DENHAM

STEVEN L. RATTNER

Deputy Chief Executive, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC

NORBERT WALTER

Managing Director, Deutsche Bank Research;
Chief Economist, Deutsche Bank Group
"A Single Currency for Europe: An Idea Whose Time Has Come or Gone?""*

PRESIDER: ALAN J. BLINDER

* A cosponsored event.

† Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

MEETINGS PROGRAM

1) Presider Barbara Crossette and Commentator Marc A. Thiessen at the May 6, 1998, Great Debate, "Should the United States Support a Strong and Independent International Criminal Court?"



1

2) David Rockefeller, Theodore C. Sorensen, and Gillian Martin Sorensen at the February 24, 1998, Sorensen Distinguished Lecture on the United Nations, "An Inside Look at the Crisis in Iraq."



2

3) Louis Perlmutter and Arthur Ross at the November 17, 1997, John Train Lecture, "A Blueprint for the Future of the U.S. Armed Services."



3

MEETINGS PROGRAM



1) Lee Cullum and James B. Sitrick at the October 9, 1997, Meeting, "Kazakhstan and Russia: Reflections on a Council Trip."

1



2) Speaker Kim Dae Jung, President of the Republic of Korea, at the June 8, 1998, Roundtable Luncheon, "New Challenges on the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia, and the Roles of the Republic of Korea and the United States."

3) Speaker Christine Todd Whitman, Governor of New Jersey, at the April 17, 1998, Meeting, "New Jersey and the World: Perfect Together."

2

3



4) Cyrus R. Vance and Speaker Richard Butler, Executive Chairman of the U.N. Special Commission, at the February 24, 1998, Sorensen Distinguished Lecture on the United Nations, "An Inside Look at the Crisis in Iraq."

4

MEETINGS PROGRAM

DENNIS J. REIMER

Chief of Staff, U.S. Army

CHARLES C. KRULAK

Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps

MICHAEL E. RYAN

Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force

DONALD L. PILLING

Vice Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy

"A Blueprint for the Future of the U.S. Armed Services"

PRESIDER: RICHARD B. CHENEY

THE JOHN TRAIN LECTURE ON THE FUTURE OF THE U.S. MILITARY

BILL RICHARDSON

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations

"The U.S.-U.N. Relationship in the 21st Century"†

PRESIDER: ROBERT L. BARTLEY

MARY ROBINSON

U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights

"The 50th Anniversary of the Universal Human Rights Declaration"

PRESIDER: ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

THE DAVID A. MORSE LECTURE

ROBERT E. RUBIN

U.S. Secretary of the Treasury

"A Policy Address on U.S.-China Relations"*†

PRESIDER: THOMAS W. JONES

EDWARD W. SAID

University Professor of English and Comparative Literature,
Columbia University

"A Conversation with Edward Said on the Middle East"

PRESIDER: LEILA FAWAZ

HENRY B. SCHACHT

Chairman, Lucent Venture Partners

"Business in Emerging Markets: A CEO's Reflection
on China, India, and Russia"*

PRESIDER: RODNEY W. NICHOLS

HUN SEN

Second Prime Minister, Cambodia

"The Future of Cambodia"†

PRESIDER: PETER OSNOS

HENRY H. SHELTON

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

"Current Military Challenges: An Update
from the Chairman"*†

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN

Minister of Economy, Finance and Industry, France

"The French View of European Economic
and Monetary Union"*†

PRESIDER: WILLIAM J. McDONOUGH

GEORGE J. TENET

Director of Central Intelligence

"Future Intelligence Challenges"†

PRESIDER: R. JAMES WOOLSEY

TUNG CHEE HWA

Chief Executive, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region,
People's Republic of China

"Special Address on Hong Kong Under One Country,
Two Systems"†

PRESIDER: MAURICE R. GREENBERG

JOHN W. WARNER

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

"A World of Changing Threats, a Military with Changing
Missions: From NATO Expansion, to Bosnia, to the Iraqi
Crisis"†

PRESIDER: FRANK C. CARLUCCI

JIANG ZEMIN

President, People's Republic of China*

"A Major Foreign Policy Address"†

PRESIDERS: BARBER CONABLE AND HENRY A. KISSINGER

GREAT DEBATES

"U.S. Policy Toward Cuba: Is It Time for a Change?""

ELLIOTT ABRAMS

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

CHARLES B. RANGEL

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

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

"Fast Track to Where? The Future of Free Trade"

STUART E. EIZENSTAT

Undersecretary for Economic, Business, and Agricultural
Affairs, U.S. Department of State

PAT CHOATE

Economist; former Reform Party vice presidential candidate

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

* A cosponsored event.

† Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

MEETINGS PROGRAM

"Can the Middle East Peace Process Be Saved?"

RASHID KHALIDI

Professor, Middle East History and Director, Center for International Studies, University of Chicago

ROBERT B. SATLOFF

Executive Director, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

"Sanctions Against Rogue States: Do They Work?" *

ROBERT G. TORRICELLI

Member, U.S. Senate (D-N.J.)

C. FRED BERGSTEN

Director, Institute for International Economics

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

POLICY IMPACT PANELS

"The NSC at 50: Past, Present, and Future"*

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

Counselor, Center for Strategic and International Studies; former Assistant to President Carter for National Security Affairs

ANDREW J. GOODPASTER

General, U.S. Army (Ret.); Chairman, Atlantic Council of the United States; former Staff Secretary and Defense Liaison Officer to President Eisenhower

ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Global Energy Investors; former Assistant to President Reagan for National Security Affairs

COLIN L. POWELL

General, U.S. Army (Ret.); former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, former Assistant to President Reagan for National Security Affairs

WALT W. ROSTOW

Professor Emeritus of Political Economy, University of Texas at Austin; former Assistant to President Johnson for National Security Affairs

PRESIDER: TED KOPPEL

"Has Global Dominance Made the United States an Arrogant Power?"*

JORGE G. CASTAÑEDA

Professor of Politics and Latin American Studies, National Autonomous University of Mexico and New York University

RICHARD LAMBERT

Editor, *Financial Times*

ALI A. MAZRUI

Albert Schweitzer Professor in Humanities and Director, Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Binghamton University, State University of New York

MASARU TAMAMOTO

Senior Fellow, World Policy Institute; Visiting Research Fellow, Florida International University

PRESIDER: CARL SPIELVOGEL

"Mock National Security Council Meeting on the U.S.-China Summit"

JOHN M. DEUTCH

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

THOMAS E. DONILON

Partner, O'Melveny & Myers; former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs and Chief of Staff to the Secretary of State

ELLEN L. FROST

Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics; former Counselor to the U.S. Trade Representative

JAMIE S. GORELICK

Vice Chair, Fannie Mae; former Deputy Attorney General; former General Counsel, Department of Defense

WINSTON LORD

Former Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

GEORGE R. STEPHANOPOULOS

Visiting Professor, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University; former Senior Adviser to the President for Policy and Strategy

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

COUNCIL POLICY INITIATIVE DEBATES

"The Failure of Fast Track: Should Americans Fear the Global Economy?"*

PAT CHOATE

Economist; former Reform Party Vice Presidential Candidate

WILLIAM A. NISKANEN

Chairman, Cato Institute

PRESIDER: GARY C. HUFBAUER • ATLANTA

(COSPONSORED WITH THE SAM NUNN SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AT THE GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY;

* A cosponsored event.

† Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

MEETINGS PROGRAM

1) *Presider Barbara Walters, Leslie H. Gelb, and Speaker Nizar Hamdoon, Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations, at the February 25, 1998, Meeting, "Iraq, the United Nations, and the United States: What Lies Ahead?"*



1

2) *Speaker George E. Pataki, Governor of New York, at the October 23, 1997, Meeting, "New York and the World."*



2

3) *Speaker Henry H. Shelton, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, at the January 15, 1998, Meeting, "Current Military Challenges: An Update from the Chairman."*



3

4) *Mike Wallace and Jeffrey Bewkes at the May 18, 1998, HBO screening of A Bright Shining Lie.*



4

MEETINGS PROGRAM

IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE ATLANTA DISTRICT EXPORT COUNCIL, THE METRO ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, AND THE SOUTHERN CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES)

"Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy"

JOHN F. LEHMAN

Chairman, J.F. Lehman & Company; former Secretary of the Navy

RICHARD N. PERLE

Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute; former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy

JOHN D. STEINBRUNER

Senior Fellow, the Brookings Institution; former member, Defense Policy Board, Department of Defense
PRESIDER: GRAHAM T. ALLISON • WASHINGTON, D.C.

"Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy"

LAWRENCE J. KORB

Director, Center for Public Policy Education and Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program, the Brookings Institution

JOHN F. LEHMAN

Chairman, J.F. Lehman & Company; former Secretary of the Navy

WILLIAM A. OWENS

President, Chief Operating Officer and Vice Chairman, Board of Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC); former Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
PRESIDER: RICHARD K. BETTS • NEW YORK

LECTURESHIPS

The Russell C. Leffingwell Lecture

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

This lecture invites a distinguished foreign official to address Council members on a topic of major international significance. This year the Leffingwell lecturer was Theodoros G. Pangalos, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Greece.

The Sorensen Distinguished Lecture on the United Nations

This annual lecture and dinner was established in 1996 by Theodore C. Sorensen to honor his wife, Gillian Mar-

tin Sorensen, and to commemorate her years of service to the United Nations.

This lecture invites speakers intimately involved with the workings and issues of the United Nations. Richard Butler, Executive Chairman of the U.N. Special Commission, gave the Sorensen Distinguished Lecture this year.

The David A. Morse Lecture

The Morse lecture was inaugurated in 1994 and supports an annual general meeting and dinner with a distinguished speaker. It honors the memory of David A. Morse, an active Council member for nearly thirty years, a lawyer, a public servant, and an internationalist.

This lecture invites speakers to focus on one of David Morse's many concerns, which included North-South relations, human rights, international organizations and labor, conflict resolution, and relations with Asia. U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson delivered the Morse Lecture this year.

The David Rockefeller Lecture

This lecture was endowed by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1985 for an annual African lecturer from either the governmental or nongovernmental sectors. This year's Rockefeller lecturer was Robert Gabriel Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe.

The Elihu Root Lecture

The Elihu Root Lecture was inaugurated in 1958 to honor Elihu Root, a founder of the Council on Foreign Relations and its Honorary President from 1921 to 1937.

This lecture invites a distinguished American to reflect on his or her professional experience and how it applies to contemporary American foreign policymaking. Mickey Kantor, former U.S. Secretary of Commerce and former U.S. Trade Representative, gave the Root Lecture this year.

The John Train Lecture

The John Train Lecture was inaugurated in 1997 to focus on new issues in military affairs. The first Train Lecture featured the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who discussed the future of the U.S. military.

WASHINGTON PROGRAM

The Council's second national center is Washington, D.C., where Council membership and an extensive program equal that of New York. More than 1,000 members reside in the capital area, and the range of activities there parallels that of events in the Harold Pratt House. The Council's Washington-based Studies staff now numbers more than 20, including Next Generation Fellows Michael Green, who directed a ground-breaking project on the future of the Korean peninsula, and John Hillen, who oversaw a major assessment of the future of U.S. defense policy. A notable feature of the Washington Program is the Middle East Forum, directed by Judith Kipper. In addition, many New York-based Fellows are holding meetings in Washington. New initiatives are broadening the Council's engagement with the resident diplomatic and corporate communities.

Expanding the Washington office and its programming has been one of the Council's key goals over the last two years. The year began with the Washington office moving to new spacious quarters in the Carnegie Endowment's building at 1779 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. This occasion was marked by an Inaugural Gala at which Secretary of State Madeleine Albright welcomed over 400 Council members and guests from the diplomatic, media, and academic communities. The meetings program was exceptionally dynamic, with new formats and 63 percent more events overall. Since September 1997, almost 70 percent of Washington-area members participated in Council meetings and an impressive 78 percent of area term members attended at least one program.

The issues addressed and the types of meetings varied: a meeting/dinner with the three Baltic presidents, a debate on fast track between Stuart E. Eizenstat and Pat Choate, a luncheon discussion on Latin America with Senator Paul Coverdell, a town hall meeting on America's role in the world today, a mock NSC meeting on Iran with Richard R. Burt as National Security Adviser, and a panel debate on how America is viewed from

abroad. Through a series of connected meetings, key issues such as NATO enlargement, Bosnia, and the Middle East peace process were examined in depth. A detailed listing of all meetings can be found on the Council's web site (www.foreignaffairs.org).

The Washington Program Advisory Committee played an important role this year with its many suggestions, including the popular "Eyewitness to History" series covering German unification: lessons for Korea; the Cuban Missile Crisis; the Gulf War; and the Panama Canal Treaty.

Significantly, this was a year of "firsts": the first Washington Council Holiday Party (attended by over 300 members), the first Washington "Daughters and Sons" event, the first time so many guest events (eight) were planned, and the first series of small, intimate embassy lunches hosted by foreign ambassadors to the United States. With a thriving staff and a diverse, dynamic calendar of events, the Washington Program has made its mark in our nation's capital.

Paula J. Dobriansky
Washington Director

WASHINGTON PROGRAM



1

1) Speaker Wei Jingsheng, Chinese democracy activist, Paula J. Dobriansky, and President Thomas R. Donahue at the February 2, 1998, Meeting, "Democracy and Human Rights: Looking at China's Future."



2

2) Brandon H. Grove Jr., Philip Merrill, Anne Wexler, and Carla A. Hills at the October 6, 1997, Reception to open the new Washington office.



3

3) President Robert S. Strauss and Speaker Shimon Peres, former Prime Minister of Israel, at the November 21, 1997, Meeting of the Middle East Forum, "Saving the Peace Process."

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

ANNE APPLEBAUM

Columnist, *Sunday Telegraph*, London
"Communist Parties in Postcommunist Societies"*
PRESIDER: CHRISTOPHER J. MAKINS

JUDITH HIPPLER BELLO

Executive Vice President, PhARMA

GEORGE JOULWAN

Former Supreme Allied Commander, Europe

KATE O'BEIRNE

Washington Editor, *National Review*

MARK PALMER

President, Capital Development Company

KATHLEEN KENNEDY TOWNSEND

Lieutenant Governor, Maryland

BEN J. WATTENBERG

Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute
"Defining America's Role in the World"
PRESIDER: TONY SNOW

SAMUEL R. BERGER

Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs,
National Security Council
"Africa on the U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda: A Follow-up
on the President's Trip"*
PRESIDER: SALIH BOOKER

ALGIRDAS BRAZAUSKAS

President, Lithuania

LENNART MERI

President, Estonia

GUNTIS ULMANIS

President, Latvia

"Shaping the Future of the U.S.-Baltic Relationship"

PRESIDER: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

THOMAS J. CAMPBELL

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

"America's New Relationship with Africa"

PRESIDER: JIM MOODY

WESLEY K. CLARK

U.S. Army, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe
"Structuring the New NATO"

PRESIDER: CASPAR W. WEINBERGER

(COSPONSORED WITH THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND
OF THE UNITED STATES)

PHILIP M. CONDIT

Chairman and CEO, The Boeing Company
"Competition and Trade in the Global Economy"*
PRESIDER: KENNETH D. BRODY

ROBERT S. GELBARD

Special Representative of the President and Secretary of
State for Implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords,
U.S. Department of State
"Bosnia: The Shape of Things to Come"
PRESIDER: CAROL C. ADELMAN

BRONISLAW GEREMEK

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland

"Poland on the Fast Track"

PRESIDER: ROBERT E. HUNTER

(COSPONSORED WITH THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND
OF THE UNITED STATES)

JANE GOODALL

Scientist and Director of Science and Research, The Jane
Goodall Institute

"Balancing Global Concerns: Sustainable Development
and Human Need"

PRESIDER: THOMAS E. LOVEJOY

ROSARIO GREEN

Secretary of Foreign Relations, Mexico

"Mexico and the United States: Broadening the Dialogue"*

PRESIDER: WILLIAM D. ROGERS

ALAN GREENSPAN

Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System

"Global Finance"*

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

LEE H. HAMILTON

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

"Reassessing U.S. Policy Toward Iran"*

PRESIDER: BARBARA S. COCHRAN

JIANG ZEMIN

President, People's Republic of China

"A Major Foreign Policy Address

by President Jiang Zemin"*

PRESIDERS: BARBER CONABLE AND HENRY A. KISSINGER
(COSPONSORED WITH AMERICA-CHINA SOCIETY, NATIONAL
COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES-CHINA RELATIONS, ASIA
SOCIETY, U.S.-CHINA POLICY FOUNDATION, AND THE
COMMITTEE OF 100)

* A cosponsored event.

WASHINGTON PROGRAM



1) *President Peter G. Peterson and Speaker Alan Greenspan, Chairman, Federal Reserve System, at the March 18, 1998, Meeting, "Global Finance."*



2) *President Tony Snow at the January 15, 1998, Town Hall Meeting, "Defining America's Role in the World."*



3) *Madeleine K. Albright and Peter G. Peterson at the October 6, 1997, Reception to open the new Washington office.*

WASHINGTON PROGRAM

BORIS JORDAN

Founder and CEO, Renaissance Capital, Moscow

VLADIMIR POTANIN

President, Uneximbank, Moscow

"Financing Russia's Transformation"*

PRESIDER: SARAH C. CAREY

EASON T. JORDAN

President, International Networks and
Global News Gathering, CNN

"Between Diplomacy and Journalism"

PRESIDER: KENNETH A. CUTSHAW

ANNUAL DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

ALPHA OUMAR KONARE

President, Mali

"Mali and the Democratic Challenge: Lessons
for the North and South"

PRESIDER: DONALD M. PAYNE

CHARLES C. KRULAK

Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps

"Not Like Yesterday . . . Meeting the Challenges
of the 21st Century"

PRESIDER: LESTER M. CRYSTAL

THOMAS F. (MACK) MCLARTY

Counselor to the President and Special Envoy
for the Americas, the White House

"The Summit of the Americas: A New Architecture
for the New Americas"

PRESIDER: MARIO L. BAEZA

KOJI OMI

Minister of Economic Planning, Japan

"Pursuing New Developments in the Japanese Economy"*

PRESIDER: KARIN M. LISSAKERS

SHIMON PERES

Founder, the Peres Center for Peace;
former Prime Minister, Israel

"Saving the Peace Process"

PRESIDER: ROBERT S. STRAUSS

(MIDDLE EAST FORUM)

THOMAS R. PICKERING

Undersecretary for Political Affairs, U.S. Department of State
"American Diplomacy in this Century and the Next"

PRESIDER: ELAINE L. CHAO

ROMANO PRODI

Prime Minister, Italy

"Italy Looks to the Future: The Euro and the Integration
of Europe"*

PRESIDER: NICHOLAS F. BRADY

NORODOM RANARIDDH

Prince of Cambodia

"The Future of Cambodia"

PRESIDER: RICHARD H. SOLOMON

WEI JINGSHENG

Chinese Human Rights and Democracy Activist

"Democracy and Human Rights: Looking at China's Future"

PRESIDER: THOMAS R. DONAHUE

(COSPONSORED WITH THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT
FOR DEMOCRACY)

WILLIAM F. WELD

Counsel, McDermott, Will & Emery

"Globalization and Domestic Politics"

PRESIDER: JOSETTE SHINER

Eyewitness to History

HOWARD H. BAKER JR.

Partner, Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell;
former Majority Leader, U.S. Senate

"Ratifying the Panama Canal Treaty: 20 Years of Lessons"

PRESIDER: KENNETH M. DUBERSTEIN

THEODORE C. SORENSEN

Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison

PHILIP D. ZELIKOW

Associate Professor of Public Policy, Harvard University

"The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962: Lessons for Today"

PRESIDER: KAREN LEA DAWISHA

PAUL D. WOLFOWITZ

Dean, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International
Studies, the Johns Hopkins University

"What We Did and Why: Reflections of a Gulf War Manager"

PRESIDER: JOHN HILLEN

ROBERT B. ZOELICK

John M. Olin Distinguished Professor, U.S. Naval Academy

"German Unification: Lessons for Korea?"*

PRESIDER: ROBERT L. GALLUCCI

* A cosponsored event.

NATIONAL PROGRAM

As part of the effort to make the Council a truly national organization, the National Program has been working to engage the experience and expertise of our national members in the intellectual work of the Council. With the third annual National Conference, and the expanding program of Studies seminars in a number of cities around the country, our national members are making an important contribution to the Council's substantive agenda. Our western partner, the Los Angeles-based Pacific Council on International Policy (PCIP), has played an important role in carrying out this new initiative.

The National Program taps the extensive experience and expertise of members outside New York City and Washington, D.C., by convening small roundtable seminars throughout the country that help shape ongoing Council projects. Organized primarily in key cities outside the East Coast with the cooperation of local institutions, National Program meetings engage an increasingly influential group of Americans involved in the international arena. Ideas and recommendations from members in key cities continue to enrich and diversify the work of task forces and study groups on topics ranging from global trade policy in Asia and Latin America to reevaluating U.S. nuclear policy.

The Council's western partner, the Los Angeles-based Pacific Council on International Policy (PCIP), has played an all-important role in National Program efforts and has organized several additional Studies programs and meetings throughout the year that have been open to Council members west of the Rockies.

At the third annual National Conference in New York, on June 5 and 6, more than 150 members from all over the country came together to discuss the topic "U.S. Trade and Defense: Is America Moving Forward or Backward?" In small breakout groups and plenaries featuring leading experts on trade and defense including Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Lawrence H. Summers and

Deputy Secretary of Defense John Hamre, participants pondered how and in what context the United States ought to consider future trade and defense policy.

With the continuing tradition of the annual National Conference and the expanding program of Studies seminars in a number of cities, the Council's National Program is making it possible for members outside New York and Washington to play an increasingly important role in the Council's substantive agenda.

The National Program Studies seminars and National Conference are augmented by Council debates organized by the Programs and Media Projects department in key cities. Next year the program will be further enhanced with the addition of study groups and meetings via videoconferencing and the web site.

Jennifer Seymour Whitaker
Deputy National Director

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

Roundtable on Refugees: in Chicago, with USA for UNHCR; in Miami, with the North-South Center at the University of Miami; in Boston, with the Human Rights Program at Harvard Law School; in Dallas,

NATIONAL PROGRAM

1) Lawrence J. Korb, Speakers John F. Lehman, Chairman, J.F. Lehman & Company, and William A. Owens, President, Science Applications International Corporation, at the June 5, 1998, National Conference, "U.S. Trade and Defense: Is America Moving Forward or Backward?"



1

2) John M. Deutch and Jennifer Seymour Whitaker at the February 23, 1998, "Regional Review Session of the Task Force on Reducing the Risk of Nuclear War," (in Boston, Mass.).



2

3) Richard Mallery, Abraham F. Lowenthal, and Nancy A. Jarvis at the June 5, 1998, National Conference, "U.S. Trade and Defense: Is America Moving Forward or Backward?"



3

NATIONAL PROGRAM

with the John G. Tower Center for Political Studies at Southern Methodist University.

Study Group on Free Trade for the Americas and the Asian Pacific Economic Forum: in Los Angeles, cosponsored with the Pacific Council on International Policy; in Dallas, with the Johnson Center for Economic Studies at Southern Methodist University.

Study Group on Democratic Consolidation: in Los Angeles, cosponsored with the Pacific Council on International Policy; in Chicago, with the University of Chicago.

Study Group on Preparing for Post-New Order Indonesia: in San Francisco, cosponsored with the Pacific Council on International Policy.

Study Group on Defense Industry, Globalization, Conversion, and the Arms Trade: in Minneapolis, with the Humphrey Center at the University of Minnesota.

Task Force on Reducing the Risk of Nuclear War: in Atlanta, with the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs at the Georgia Institute of Technology; in Boston, with the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University; in San Francisco, cosponsored with the Pacific Council on International Policy.

Task Force on Managing Change on the Korean Peninsula: in Los Angeles, cosponsored with the Pacific Council on International Policy.

PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Western Partner of the Council on Foreign Relations

The Council's Board of Directors voted in 1995 to help several members—including Robert F. Erburu and John E. Bryson and former Director of Studies Abraham F. Lowenthal—launch the Pacific Council on International Policy (PCIP), based in Los Angeles and rooted in the realities and perspectives of the western United States.

The Pacific Council developed rapidly, and in the fall of 1997 the PCIP became the "Western Partner" of the Council on Foreign Relations. We have begun to cooperate more closely on meetings programs, to reinforce each other's studies and corporate programs, to coordinate membership selection, and to increase reciprocal access to selected events. We plan to exchange staff and visiting Fellows from time to time, for various periods, to share projects-in-progress with each other's members, and to help achieve recognition for each other's products and personnel. As part of the partnership, PCIP Founding President Abe Lowenthal serves as a Council on Foreign Relations Vice President and Deputy National Director. The partnership strengthens each organization's mission, while allowing the Council and PCIP

to remain independent in membership, governance, and funding.

During 1997-98, the Pacific Council held some 37 membership meetings open to all joint CFR/PCIP members, as well as study group sessions on China and on Mexico, an Annual Members Retreat, and numerous workshops, mainly on Pacific Rim-focused issues. The Pacific Council has also published well-received reports on *The Chinese Future*, *Protecting International Intellectual Property*, and *Latin America Today*.

Demonstrating the value of the partnership were eight jointly organized meetings, five in Los Angeles and three in San Francisco, most involving mid-course discussion from New York and Washington-based study groups. In addition to the Studies seminars highlighted in the list of National Program meetings, Council Studies Director Gary C. Hufbauer spoke in Los Angeles on "How Long Will Economic Policy Be Shaped by the Washington Consensus?"; and Council President Leslie H. Gelb spoke in Los Angeles on "The Old World and the New World Order" and in San Francisco on "The Middle East and the Gulf: Peace, But Not Now."

CORPORATE PROGRAM

The Corporate Program engages over 200 U.S. and foreign corporations, financial institutions, law firms, and other organizations in the activities of the Council. Executives of member companies have the opportunity to exchange views with their peers in the private and public sectors on a wide range of international issues. Participation in small group meetings and a regular series of interactive teleconferences with Council research staff enhance the value that participants draw from—and contribute to—the substantive work of the Council.

Through the Corporate Program, executives of member companies are invited to participate in over 80 programs each year in New York and Washington. This past year, the Corporate Program sponsored meetings with such leaders as I.K. Gujral, Prime Minister of India; Ernesto Samper Pizano, President of Colombia; Philip M. Condit, Chairman and CEO of Boeing; Dominique Strauss-Kahn, the French Minister of Economy, Finance, and Industry; E.J.P. Browne, Group Chief Executive of British Petroleum; Henry H. Shelton, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Richard A. Gephardt, Democratic House leader; Chuan Leekpai, Prime Minister of Thailand; Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the Federal Reserve; and Henry B. Schacht, Chairman of Lucent Venture Partners.

In addition, executives with particular expertise on a country or issue have the chance to participate in smaller study group or roundtable discussions with other experts from business, government, and academia.

This past year, the Corporate Program initiated periodic interactive teleconferences with Council research fellows on topics of particular concern to member companies. These 30-minute to 45-minute exchanges are designed to encourage discussion and to involve corporate members

who may find it difficult to come to programs at the Council's offices in New York and Washington, D.C.

This year's Corporate Conference, "The Asia Crisis: Economic and Political Implications," was an extraordinary event. With a keynote address by Anwar bin Ibrahim, Malaysia's Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister, and 29 speakers representing 9 countries, the event drew an audience of 250 for a full day of discussion and debate. We are especially grateful for the support of the conference's sponsors, Archer Daniels Midland Company, A.T. Kearney, Citibank, Alliance Capital Management International, American International Group, Inc., American Express, The Boeing Company, Goldman, Sachs International, Salomon Smith Barney Asset Management, Texaco Inc., Caterpillar, and the Arthur Ross Foundation.

Looking forward, we will continue the effort begun this year to supplement the regular schedule of programs by involving Corporate members in small-group activities directly related to their current business priorities.

Highlights of the 1997-98 schedule follow. A comprehensive listing is available on the Council's web site at www.foreignrelations.org.

David Kellogg
Vice President, Corporate Affairs

CORPORATE PROGRAM



1) Frank Savage, *President Maurice R. Greenberg, and Speaker Anwar bin Ibrahim, Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister of Malaysia, at the April 15, 1998, Corporate Conference, "The Asia Crisis: Economic and Political Implications."*

1



2) *Speaker Robert E. Rubin, U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, at the October 27, 1997, Meeting, "A Policy Address on U.S.-China Relations."*

3) *Paul A. Allaire, Robert Byrne, and Peter G. Peterson at the May 21, 1998, "Reception for New Corporate Members."*

2

3



4) *Linda J. Wachner, President Frank G. Wisner, and Speaker I.K. Gujral, Prime Minister of India, at the September 23, 1997, Meeting, "India and the United States: The Start of a New Friendship."*

4

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

E.J.P. BROWNE

Group Chief Executive, British Petroleum plc
"Corporate Responsibility in an International Context"*

PRESIDER: KAREN N. HORN

RICHARD W. BURKHOLDER JR.

Vice President and Director of International Operations, Survey Research, The Gallup Organization
"1997 Gallup Survey: The People's Republic of China—Consumer Attitudes and Lifestyle Trends"*

PRESIDER: CARROLL R. BOGERT

ANSON CHAN

Chief Secretary for Administration of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government
"Hong Kong One Year After Transition"*

PRESIDER: JEROME A. COHEN

WILLIAM M. DALEY

U.S. Secretary of Commerce
"The U.S.-India Relationship: The Next Fifty Years"*

PRESIDER: BARBARA HACKMAN FRANKLIN
WASHINGTON, D.C.

BOYD E. GIVAN

Senior Vice President and Chief Financial Officer, The Boeing Company

CLIFTON R. WHARTON JR.

Former Chairman and CEO, TIAA-CREF;
former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State
"Settling Trade Disputes with Asia"

PRESIDER: NANCY YOUNG

MAURICE R. GREENBERG

Chairman and CEO, American International Group, Inc.
"The Economic Climate in Asia: A CEO's View"*

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

I.K. GUJRAL

Prime Minister, India
"India and the United States: The Start of a New Friendship"*

PRESIDER: FRANK G. WISNER

BRIAN JENKINS

Special Adviser, International Chamber of Commerce
"Crime and Conflict at the End of the Twentieth Century"*

PRESIDER: JOHN B. HURFO

MICKEY KANTOR

Partner, Mayer, Brown & Platt; former U.S. Secretary

Commerce; former U.S. Trade Representative
"U.S. Trade Negotiations: Lessons Learned, Lessons Applied"*
PRESIDER: JULIA CHANG BLOCH

MAHN-JE KIM

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer,
Pohang Iron and Steel Company
"The Financial Crisis in Korea"

PRESIDER: HENRY KAUFMAN

ANNE O. KRUEGER

Herald and Caroline L. Ritch Professor in Humanities and Sciences, Stanford University; Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution
"Regionalism and the Future of the Multilateral Trading System"*

PRESIDER: JOHN D. NEGROPONTE

NICHOLAS R. LARDY

Senior Fellow, the Brookings Institution

MINXIN PEI

Assistant Professor of Politics, Princeton University
"Chinese Banking Reform: How Far Will It Go?*"

PRESIDER: GARY C. HUFFBAUER

CHUAN LEEKPAI

Prime Minister, Thailand
"Thailand's Response to the Asian Financial Crisis"*

PRESIDER: GEORGE SOROS

IRA MAGAZINER

Senior Adviser to the President for Policy Development
"Technology and Global Change:
Defining the Information Age"

PRESIDER: JAMES V. KIMSEY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

PEDRO SAMPAIO MALAN

Minister of Finance, Brazil
"Brazil in the Current International Financial Environment"*

PRESIDER: JAMES R. JONES

ROBERT M. MORGENTHAU

District Attorney, County of New York
"Crime and International Business"*

PRESIDER: CONRAD K. HARPER

AMRE MAHMOUD MOUSSA

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt
"Prospects for Movement Forward
in the Middle East Peace Process"*

PRESIDER: EDWARD BLEIER

* A cosponsored event.

CORPORATE PROGRAM

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TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

One of the Council's principal goals is to find and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers. Between 1994 and 1996, Council President Leslie H. Gelb established three advisory committees of term members in New York City, Washington, D.C., and Boston. These committees have served as advisory bodies to the Council leadership, while providing term members with the opportunity to help create programs that respond to their interests and areas of expertise. Term members are now some of the most devoted and active members of the Council.

The Term Member Program is a vibrant Council program focusing on the next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers. The term members are an accomplished and dynamic group of younger professionals drawn from a diversity of fields—diplomacy, law, business, the military, academia, and the media. The impressive roster of program activities for this past year, which have included roundtable discussion meetings, informal reading and discussion groups called Term Member Seminars, special luncheons and dinners with senior Council members, and receptions hosted by Council members for term members, appears below. A subcommittee of term members, headed by Brian P. Mathis and Hanya Marie Kim, has also worked to increase the level of participation and term members' contributions to the Council's annual fund, further demonstrating their commitment to the institution. A special appeal letter co-signed by Nancy F. Goodman and Paul Golob, along with a telephone campaign, were part of this effort. A list of term member contributors appears on page 83.

Each year the Board of Directors elects up to 90 individuals, all U.S. citizens age 34 and under when elected to a five-year term. Today, there are approximately 390 term members.

Elise Carlson Lewis
Director, Membership and Fellowship Affairs

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"Bosnia after Dayton"

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Vice President, Overseas Policy and Planning, International Rescue Committee

MIKE FROMAN

Chief of Staff,
U.S. Department
of the Treasury

NANCY GOODMAN

Attorney, Winslow
Partners LLC



Goodman: One of my favorite Council events was the military trip to Parris Island. I had no background in the role of the U.S. military in foreign policy. It was very interesting to start learning about how the marines view their role in an environment where I could talk to the commandant of the Marine Corps as well as to new recruits.

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Froman: Term member events provide a good opportunity for us to have give-and-take with some of the more interesting figures in Washington. In addition, they are a great forum for meeting people off whom I can informally bounce ideas and with whom I can then work in other contexts. They create a nice foundation based on an informal exchange of perspectives. A number of times, I've met someone at a term member event, had an opportunity to get to know them better by exchanging views, and then called them a day or two later and actually moved some policy process along.

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Goodman: I think the term member events create greater opportunities for frank exchanges. The events have fewer

attendees, so there's more opportunity to participate. Moreover, term members get to know each other over the course of the year and are thus more apt to bring up controversial points of discussion. Beside the more traditional forums, term member events are held as breakfasts or after work over a beer. Paula Dobriansky, director of the Washington Office, has begun hosting different kinds of events that mix term members and regular members, including lunches at embassies and cocktail parties at members' homes.

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Goodman: The Council enhances my professional life in two respects. First, as I am involved in investing abroad, conversations with Council members who work on the same countries in which I'm interested give me a different perspective on some of the issues I may be addressing. Second, being involved in the Council provides me an opportunity to stay engaged in foreign affairs issues. It increases the likelihood that I might be able to make a meaningful contribution to public policy later in my career.

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Froman: Washington is a town where young people have a disproportionate amount of access and opportunity, whether it's on Capitol Hill or in the administration. The town works them hard and promotes them, so a lot of term members are already in positions of responsibility throughout government.

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Goodman: One aspect of the Council that I really enjoy is that members come from such a wide range of professional perspectives—journalists, academics, lawyers, people involved in the financial community, the administration, and the Hill.

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Froman: I think the Council is doing quite a good job of incorporating nontraditional foreign policy concerns into its program, including for example in the area of international economics. In Washington, there is a great need for programs that help the policy community understand the impact of the global economy on traditional foreign policy, and the Council is playing a vital role in that effort.

TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

"Military Medical Missions: Are They Effective Foreign Policy Instruments?"

PRESIDER: JORDAN S. KASSALOW • NEW YORK

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Assistant Administrator for International Activities, Environmental Protection Agency

"Globalization and Environmental Protection: Are They Compatible?"

PRESIDER: SERENA LYNN WILSON • WASHINGTON, D.C.

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Chairman, Emerging Markets Partnership

"New Paradigms in International Development"

PRESIDERS: RAFFIQ A. NATHOO AND BRIAN P. MATHIS • NEW YORK

GIDEON ROSE

Deputy Director of National Security Studies and Olin Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

JESSICA E. STERN

"The New Terrorism: The Role of Weapons of Mass Destruction"

PRESIDER: JORDANA D. FRIEDMAN • NEW YORK

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Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, U.S. Department of Defense

"Defense Perspectives at the End of the Century"

PRESIDER: JEFFREY F. PRYCE • WASHINGTON, D.C.

GARE A. SMITH

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Labor and External Affairs, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State

"Labor Rights as Human Rights: The Clinton Administration's Labor Policy in Action"

PRESIDER: DAVID S. BERNSTEIN • WASHINGTON, D.C.

SUSAN WELD

Harvard Law School and Boston College Law School

"A View from the Rim: Hong Kong and Singapore in 1998"

PRESIDER: ANNE STETSON • BOSTON

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"Vietnam: Is Time Running Out for Reform? Can Vietnam Still Attain Tiger Status?"

PRESIDER: JASON T. SHAPLEN • NEW YORK

DAI QING

Journalist and Activist

"Current Political Trends in China and Recent Developments in the Three Gorges Dam"*

PRESIDER: ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY • NEW YORK

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Director of the Peace Corps

"The Peace Corps in the 21st Century"

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Professor, Harvard Business School

DEBRA SPAR

Professor, Harvard Business School

"The Global Information Infrastructure"

PRESIDER: ANNE STETSON • BOSTON

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"In Search of the Next Economic Crisis"

PRESIDER: CHARLOTTE G. KEA • WASHINGTON, D.C.

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BOSTON

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TOUR OF THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MUSEUM

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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Founder and Managing Director, Ohmae & Associates

ERVIN J. ROKKE

President, Moravian College; Lieutenant General,
U.S. Air Force (Ret.)

JOHN G. RUGGIE

Assistant Secretary-General and Special Adviser
to the Secretary-General Kofi Annan, United Nations

DEBORA L. SPAR

Professor, Harvard Business School

ADAM SCHWARZ

1997-98 Edward R. Murrow Fellow,
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"The Challenge of Governance in a Global World"

MODERATOR: GARY C. HUFBAUER • BOSTON

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ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES OF THE AMERICAN
ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES)

SPECIAL RECEPTIONS

NEW ENGLAND TERM MEMBER FALL RECEPTION WITH LESLIE GELB

BOSTON

NEW YORK TERM MEMBER FALL RECEPTION WITH LESLIE AND JUDY GELB

Hosted by the Gelbs
NEW YORK

WASHINGTON TERM MEMBER FALL RECEPTION WITH LESLIE GELB

Hosted by Michael B.G. Froman and Nancy F. Goodman
WASHINGTON, D.C.

WASHINGTON TERM MEMBER SUMMER COCKTAILS

Hosted by Clint N. Smith
WASHINGTON, D.C.

TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

TERM MEMBER ANNUAL GIVING

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David Altshuler
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Gustavo Arnavat
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September/October 1997
Volume 76, Number 5
75th Anniversary Issue

Article Title

ESSAYS

Has Democracy a Future?
How America Does It
The Erosion of American National Interests
A Geostrategy for Eurasia
Is Russia Still an Enemy?
Is Capitalism Too Productive?
The Social Question Redivivus
Islamic and Western Values
The Arab Inheritance
An Asia-Pacific Consensus
The Global Economy and the Nation-State
Bits, Bytes, and Diplomacy
The Real New World Order
Diplomacy Without Diplomats?
Significant Books of the Last 75 Years

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Arthur Schlesinger Jr.
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Geography as Destiny
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March/April 1998
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The Natural Market Fallacy

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Bernard K. Gordon

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Kyoto's Unfinished Business

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Lahouari Addi
Khalil Shikaki
Henry D. Jacoby, Ronald G. Prinn, and
Richard Schmalensee
Neil C. Hughes
Nicholas R. Lardy

Smashing the Iron Rice Bowl
China and the Asian Contagion

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John Hillen

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America's Berlin
Berlin, the *Hauptstadt*
Spies in Berlin
The Boss of Occupied Germany
Germany Moves On

Ernest R. May
Gordon A. Craig
David E. Murphy
Peter Grose
Christoph Bertram

Note: The Editor's review of the past year's articles appears on p. 16.

PUBLISHING

Both in print and on-line, the Council publishes the results of its Studies activities, information about its staff and program activities, and summaries and transcripts of selected events. The Council's web site—www.foreignrelations.org—reaches an evergrowing audience nationally and internationally, while a steady stream of high-quality books and reports is read by increasing numbers of policymakers, scholars, business leaders, and students.

The Council publishes the results of its Studies activities in a variety of formats and through several distribution channels. The majority of publications are released simultaneously in print and on the Council's web site, and an increasing number are published on the web exclusively. This has helped shorten the time between manuscript and publication. For shorter publications—including papers and reports—that have limited distribution through traditional commercial channels, on-line publishing has helped the Council reach important new audiences, especially overseas.

This past year, the Council published eight books, which are marketed through the Brookings Institution to bookstores and for use in university classrooms. In addition, the Council published two Council Policy Initiatives, two Task Force Reports, and a number of Study Group papers and reports.

We also saw a rapid expansion of content offered on the Council web site, with over 100 original papers, reports, transcripts, and meeting summaries posted. Named the premier international affairs web site by Lycos, one of the web's leading search engines, the Council's web site also underwent a major redesign—both graphical and technical. The Council's redesigned public web site, members' site (accessible by password),

and the *Foreign Affairs* site were updated in September 1998. Among the new features is the capability to access full-length audio and video files of Council events.

David Kellogg
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PUBLICATIONS 1997–98

Council on Foreign Relations Press Books

Atlantic Security: Contending Visions, edited by Charles Kupchan (forthcoming).

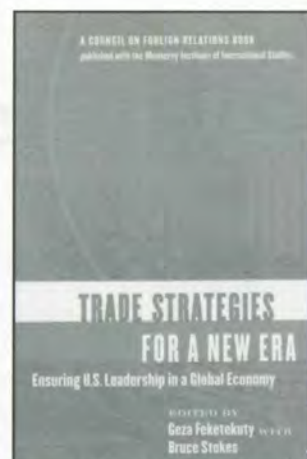
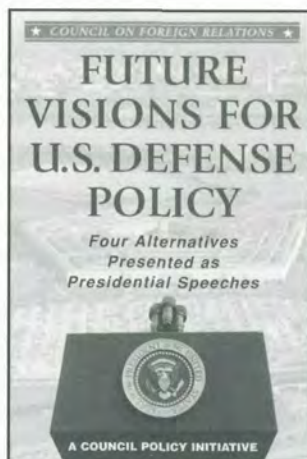
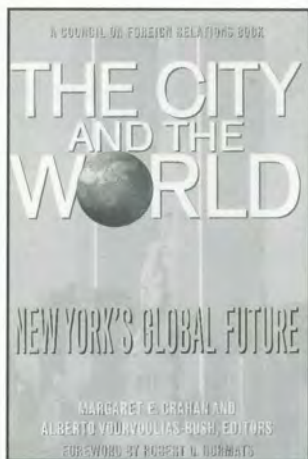
Centralization or Fragmentation? Europe Before the Challenges of Deepening, Diversity, and Democracy, edited by Andrew Moravcsik (1998).

China Joins the World: Progress and Prospects, edited by Elizabeth Economy and Michel Oksenberg (forthcoming).

The City and the World: New York's Global Future, edited by Margaret E. Crahan and Alberto Vourvoulias-Bush (1997).

Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy, edited by Richard N. Haass (1998).

The Expanding Role of State and Local Governments in U.S. Foreign Affairs, by Earl H. Fry (1998).



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Trade Strategies for a New Era: Ensuring U.S. Leadership in a Global Economy, edited by Geza Feketekuty with Bruce Stokes (1998).

Independent Task Force Reports

Managing Change on the Korean Peninsula, Report of an Independent Task Force. Morton I. Abramowitz and James T. Laney, Chairs; Michael Green, Project Director (1998).

Promoting U.S. Economic Relations with Africa, Report of an Independent Task Force. Peggy Dulany and Frank Savage, Chairs; Salih Booker, Project Director (1998).

Council Policy Initiatives

Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy: Four Alternatives Presented as Presidential Speeches. John Hillen, Project Director (1998).

Future Visions for U.S. Trade Policy. Bruce Stokes, Project Director (1998).

Study Group Reports and Papers

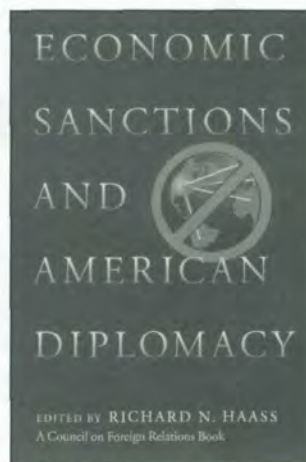
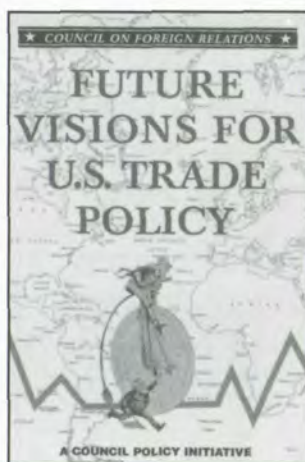
Exporting U.S. High Tech: Facts and Fiction about the Globalization of Industrial R&D, by Bénédicte Callan, Sean S. Costigan, and Kenneth H. Keller (1997).

John J. McCloy Roundtable on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons: Chairman's Report, by Larry D. Welch (1998).

Pirates on the High Seas: The United States and Global Intellectual Property Rights, by Bénédicte Callan (1998).

Riding the Tigers: American Commercial Diplomacy in Asia, Jeffrey Garten and Robert Zoellick, Chairs; James Shinn, Project Director (1998).

The Tests of War and the Strains of Peace: The U.S.-Japan Security Relationship, Richard Armitage and Harold Brown, Chairs; Bruce Stokes, Project Director (1998). (A bilingual edition.)



U.S. Commercial Diplomacy, four background papers by Raymond J. Albright, Robbin S. Johnson, David J. Rothkopf, and Christopher B. Johnstone (1998).

The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance in the 21st Century, two background papers by Michael Green and Mike M. Mochizuki (1998).

Preventive Action Reports

Cases and Strategies for Preventive Action, edited by Barnett R. Rubin, Council on Foreign Relations and the Twentieth Century Fund (1998).

Stabilizing Nigeria: Sanctions, Incentives, and Support for Civil Society, by Peter M. Lewis, Pearl T. Robinson, and Barnett R. Rubin, Council on Foreign Relations and the Twentieth Century Fund (1998).

Preventing Conflict in Central Asia: The Ferghana Valley, by Nancy Lubin, Keith Martin, and Barnett R. Rubin, Council on Foreign Relations and the Twentieth Century Fund (1998).

Report of the Conference on Nigeria, Council on Foreign Relations and the Twentieth Century Fund (1998).

Other Publications by Council Fellows and Staff

The American Encounter: The United States and the Making of the Modern World, edited by James F. Hoge Jr. and Fareed Zakaria, Basic Books (1997).

Blue Helmets, by John Hillen, Brassey's Inc. (1998).

Capital Flows and Financial Crises, by Miles Kahler, Cornell University Press (1998).

Civic Society in the Atlantic Community, edited by Charles Kupchan, Josef Janning, and Dirk Rumberg, Bertelsmann (1998).

The Implementation and Effectiveness of International Environmental Commitments, edited by David G. Victor, Kal Rautiala, and Eugene B. Skolnikoff, MIT Press (1998).

The Internationalization of Environmental Protection, edited by Miranda A. Schreurs and Elizabeth Economy, Cambridge University Press (1997).

Post-Soviet Political Order: Conflict and State Building, edited by Barnett R. Rubin and Jack Snyder, Routledge (1998).

All books, Council Policy Initiatives, and task force reports are marketed and distributed by the Brookings Institution. To order, call 1-800-275-1447.

DEVELOPMENT

To sustain its rich array of programs, the Council depends in part on the generous support of individuals and institutional donors to supplement income from dues and other sources. The Board and staff gratefully thank those donors who added so much to the financial strength of the organization.

This has been a year of increased engagement and involvement in the development process by individual members. Various members volunteered their time and efforts and have helped us immeasurably in reaching ever-higher goals. Term members, on their own initiative, formed a fund-raising subcommittee to help with the Annual Fund. Volunteers wrote letters and made calls resulting in the best giving record ever from term members. Their efforts are covered more fully in the term member program section on pages 79–83.

The Council is extremely fortunate to have almost half of its members contribute each year. Under the leadership of Maurice Sonnenberg and Lester Pollack, efforts are underway to engage through very personal solicitations those members whose giving is more sporadic. Special thanks go to all the volunteers who helped to make 1997–98 an extraordinary year, both from the standpoint of money raised and increased participation of members.

In addition to engaging more of its membership, the Council has focused on involving more foundations in its programs. At a time when attention has shifted away from international affairs, the Council continues to emphasize the importance and relevance of foreign policy study and the need for foundation support in this area.

During the year, the Council received significant support from several foundations, including the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation, the Horace W. Goldsmith Foundation, the W. Alton Jones Foundation, the Korea Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation, and the Pew Charitable Trusts.

Janice L. Murray
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75th Anniversary Capital Campaign

This campaign, culminating with the Council's 75th anniversary celebration in 1996, brought \$36 million in gifts and pledges to the Council, providing major funding for our unrestricted endowment, nine endowed chairs, and a number of fellowships. This year, \$3,580,500 in campaign gifts and pledge payments were received. The names of those contributors are listed on page 92.

The Maurice R. Greenberg Reception Room

The Council is indebted to Vice Chairman Maurice R. Greenberg and the Starr Foundation for two generous grants, one to endow a second chair on Asia with a focus on China, and another toward the construction of our new Peter G. Peterson Center for International Studies. At a dinner in November to inaugurate the Maurice R.

Greenberg Director of Studies Chair, the Council dedicated the main reception room in the Harold Pratt House to Mr. Greenberg in recognition of his outstanding generosity.

New Major Gifts

A number of individuals made major gifts to the Council, and we extend a deep note of appreciation to each of them: Chairman Peter G. Peterson for funding the Peterson Center; Mimi and Peter E. Haas for their funding of the Council's outreach program; Stephen M. Kellen for his donation to younger and term member programming; and Arthur Ross for his contribution to the Council's Rapid Response Fund.

The Studies Program received major contributions from Linda J. Wachner to establish a new chair in U.S. foreign economic policy; Washington SyCip for Southeast Asia studies; Bandar Bin Sultan Bin Abdulaziz to support the Council's work on conflict resolution, the state of Qatar for the Council's New Initiatives Program; and Ronnie C. Chan, Victor K. Fung, and C.C. Tung for the China Studies Program.

The Council received a generous bequest from the estate of William A.M. Burden. Mr. Burden was a member of the Board of Directors from 1945 to 1974. The charitable lead trust he left will continue to distribute funds for the next 13 years. A full list of current contributors to a broad range of Council activities appears on page 92.

The Annual Fund

President Leslie H. Gelb sent the fall appeal to the membership. A letter from Chairman Peter G. Peterson followed in the spring. Term members Paul Golob and Nancy F. Goodman wrote to term members in the spring with follow-up calls made by a team of volunteers. As a result, giving by term members increased from 27 percent to 35 percent. Paul A. Allaire, Chairman of the Council's Committee on Corporate Affairs and Development, made a final appeal to previous donors in mid-May.

Special emphasis was put this year on increasing the number of Harold Pratt Associates (Annual Fund donors of \$10,000 or more). Established in 1994 to recognize the Council's most generous donors to the Annual Fund, the Harold Pratt Associates grew this year from 35 to 60. We are grateful to the members of this group whose yearly gifts to the Annual Fund do so much to further the Council's well-being. Their names appear on page 93.

Member enthusiasm and confidence in the Council produced an all-time high of \$1,825,500 contributed to this year's Annual Fund from 1,511 members (45 percent of the membership). We are grateful to the members who multiplied their contributions through 45 corporate and foundation matching gifts. Donors are listed on pages 93-98.

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Gifts and pledge payments to the Council's 75th anniversary capital campaign and other endowment funds were received from the following donors:

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Tomas A. Arciniega
Michael H. Armacost
Gustavo Arnavat
Jonathan David Aronson
Robert E. Asher
Alfred Leroy Atherton Jr.
James E. Auer
Jesse H. Ausubel
M. Delal Baer
Charles Waldo Bailey
Charles F. Baird
Zoe Baird
James E. Baker

John R. Baker
Robert Edward Baldwin
Sherman Baldwin
Kenneth David Balick
Gerald L. Baliles
Charles F. Barber
Teresa C. Barger
John P. Barker
William J. Barnds
Harry G. Barnes Jr.
Joseph W. Bartlett
Thomas A. Bartlett
Whitman Bassow
Carol Edler Baumann
David Z. Beckler
Richard E. Beeman
David O. Beim
Ruth Margolies Beitler
Burwell B. Bell
Holley Mack Bell
Steve Bell
Stephanie K. Bell-Rose
John B. Bellinger III
Judith H. Bello
Terence H. Benbow
Lucy Wilson Benson
Douglas K. Bereuter
Bruce D. Berkowitz
John E. Berndt
Peter W. Bernstein
Susan Vail Berresford
Jan C. Berris
Richard K. Betts
John C. Beyer
Betsy Biemann
Henry S. Bienen
John C. Bierley
Richard B. Bilder
Nicholas Burns Binkley
Eugene A. Birnbaum
Joseph E. Black
Robert O. Blake
Stephen Blank
Robert Jay Blendon
Alexander B. Blumrosen
Daniel E. Bob
Avis T. Bohlen
Landrum R. Bolling
Marshall M. Bouton
Robert R. Bowie

Nicholas F. Brady
Lawrence J. Brainard
David A. Bramlett
Marcus W. Brauchli
George William
Breslauer
John J. Bresnan
Andrew F. Brimmer
David V. B. Britt
Raymond L. Brittenham
Harvey Brooks
Charles N. Brower
Carroll Brown
Frederic J. Brown
L. Carl Brown
Robert S. Browne
Judith Bruce
Greyson L. Bryan
Mark F. Brzezinski
Mark E. Buchman
William F. Buckley Jr.
Thomas Buergethal
Mary Brown Bullock
William P. Bundy
John A. Burgess
Patrick Owen Burns
Rodgers Christopher
Busbee
Rolland H. Bushner
Elizabeth Cabot
Louis W. Cabot
Camille M. Caesar
Dawn T. Calabia
Thomas M. Callaghy
Robert J. Callander
David Patrick Calleo
John C. Campbell
John Carey
Steven E. Carlson
William D. Carmichael
Mark Andrew Carter
W. Hodding Carter
Ray Charles Cave
Elaine L. Chao
Robert Bruce Charles
Robert Chartener
Linda Chavez
Daniel S. Cheever
Stephen A. Cheney
Leo Cherne

DEVELOPMENT

Paula H. J. Cholmondeley	Edwin A. Deagle Jr.	Martin S. Feldstein	Robert F. Goheen	Richard M. Heller
Marjorie Ann Chorlins	Jonathan Dean	Frank E. Ferrari	Ronnie L. Goldberg	Daniel P. Henninger
Jack C. Chow	Alfred C. DeCrane Jr.	Russell Hunt Fifield	James M. Goldgeier	Alan K. Henrikson
Howard Longstreth	Roxanne J. Decyk	Barbara D. Finberg	Harrison J. Goldin	Roy A. Herberger Jr.
Clark	Ralston H. Deffenbaugh	Seymour Maxwell Finger	Marshall I. Goldman	Christian A. Herter Jr.
J. H. Cullum Clark	David B. H. Denoon	Lawrence S. Finkelstein	Merle D. Goldman	Arthur Hertzberg
Harlan Cleveland	Vivian Lowery Derryck	James Finn	Neil Goldschmidt	Charles M. Herzfeld
William R. Cline	I. M. Destler	Paul B. Finney	Paul Golob	Theodore M. Hesburgh
Barbara S. Cochran	John Deutch	Edwin B. Firmage	George J. W. Goodman	Sylvia Ann Hewlett
C. Shelby Coffey III	Robert P. DeVecchi	Stanley Fischer	Nancy F. Goodman	Keith Highet
Joseph I. Coffey	Joan Didion	Stephen E. Flynn	Andrew J. Goodpaster	Roger Hilsman
Ariel Cohen	William Diebold Jr.	S. R. Foley Jr.	Lincoln Gordon	James Andrew Himes
Herman J. Cohen	Justin Doebele	Edward T. Foote II	Joseph T. Gorman	Ruth Hinerfeld
Johnnetta Cole	William C. Doherty	Gerald R. Ford	Alan L. Gornick	Deane R. Hinton
Julius E. Coles	Robert H. Donaldson	Brenda Lei Foster	Kurt Gottfried	Christine M.Y. Ho
Leila Anne Connors	Harold C. Donnelly	Donald T. Fox	Peter G. Gould	Jim Hoagland
John T. Connor Jr.	Grant R. Doty	Joseph Carrere Fox	Robert D. Graff	Tammany D. Hobbs
Jill M. Consideine	Robert R. Douglass	Thomas M. Franck	Stephen Richards	Amoretta M. Hoerber
Frances D. Cook	Michael W. Doyle	Charles R. Frank Jr.	Graubard	Malcolm I. Hoenlein
Gary M. Cook	Kenneth M. Duberstein	Isaiah Frank	R. Scott Greathead	Warren M. Hoge
Goodwin Cooke	Seth H. Dubin	Barbara Hackman	Joseph N. Greene Jr.	Mary Elizabeth Hoinkes
Philip H. Coombs	James H. Duffy	Franklin	Hugh D. S. Greenway	Jane E. Holl
Chester L. Cooper	Michael J. Dugan	Jendayi E. Frazer	Richard Grenier	Dwight F. Holloway Jr.
Suzanne Cott	Kempton Dunn	J. Wayne Fredericks	Brandon Grove Jr.	Henry Allen Holmes
William Harrison	Donald B. Easum	Roger C. Freeman	Edwin O. Guthman	John D. Holum
Courtney	Ralph E. Eberhart	Edward R. Fried	Bernard M. Gwertzman	Townsend W. Hoopes
Elizabeth M. Cousens	Randolph P. Eddy III	Jordana D. Friedman	Robert D. Haas	Gary N. Horlick
Sally Grooms Cowal	Mark D. W. Edington	Michael B. G. Froman	Richard N. Haass	Karen N. Horn
Margaret E. Crahan	Robert H. Edwards Jr.	Ellen L. Frost	Alexander M. Haig Jr.	Alan W. Horton
Ann Crittenden	Robert H. Edwards	Kathryn S. Fuller	John P. Hall	Bradley C. Hosmer
Adelaide McGuinn	Karl Eikenberry	William P. Fuller	Paul Hallingby Jr.	Amory Houghton Jr.
Cromwell	Hermann Frederick Eilts	Robert L. Gallucci	David R. Halperin	Lee W. Huebner
Lester M. Crystal	Charles R. Eisendrath	Charles S. Ganoë	Michael P. Hamilton	R. John Hughes
Kenneth A. Cutshaw	James Reed Ellis	Jeffrey E. Garten	Carl Thor Hanson	Ellen H. Hume
William B. Dale	Patricia Ellis	Charles Gati	Giselle P. Hantz	J. C. Hurewitz
Charles H. Dallara	Nancy Halliday	Toby Trister Gati	Conrad K. Harper	Sol Hurwitz
George Albert Dalley	Ely-Raphel	Claire L. Gaudiani	Todd C. Hart	David R. Ignatius
Dorinda G. Dallmeyer	Ainslie T. Embree	Catherine C. Gay	Arthur A. Hartman	Alice Stone Ilchman
James E. Dalton	Jason Epstein	Inge Gedo	John H. F. Haskell Jr.	Karl F. Inderfurth
William H. Danforth	Richard D. Erb	Philip O. Geier	John Resor Hauge	B. R. Inman
D. Ronald Daniel	Claude E. Erbsen	Louis Gerber	William Locke Hauser	Michael D. Intriligator
Mark D. Danner	Robert H. Estabrook	Allan Gerson	Fred Haynes	John N. Irwin II
Russell J. DaSilva	Daniel C. Esty	Ralph J. Gerson	Thomas B. Hayward	Steven M. Irwin
Kathryn W. Davis	Douglas Elton	Michael Getler	Charles B. Heck	John Jay Iselin
Nathaniel Davis	Fairbanks Jr.	Tatiana C. Gfoeller	Barbara D. Heep-Richter	Steven Laurence Isenberg
W. Phillips Davison	Richard M. Fairbanks III	Loren Ghiglione	Elaine F. Heifetz	Christopher Isham
Marion M. Dawson Carr	Mathea Falco	Jackson B. Gilbert	Stephen B. Heintz	Eric K. Jackson
Arthur R. Day	Katherine W. Fanning	Robert R. Glauber	Harry Leonard Heintzen	Sarah Jackson
Arnaud de Borchgrave	Jonathan Foster Fanton	Norma Globerman	Robert C. Helander	Nancy A. Jarvis
Peter E. de Janosi	Samuel H. Feist	Carol Gluck	Ricki Tigert Helfer	Alpheus W. Jessup

DEVELOPMENT

Robert H. Johnson	Charles A. Kupchan	Clement B. Malin	Allan R. Millett	William E. Odom
David C. Jones	Joyce A. Ladner	Mahmoud A. Mamdani	Bradford Mills	Anthony G. Oettinger
James R. Jones	Betty Goetz Lall	Michael Mandelbaum	Susan Linda Mills	Kongdan Oh
Sidney R. Jones	Denis Lamb	Audrey Forbes Manley	Yehudah Mirsky	Michel Oksenberg
Amos A. Jordan	Lansing Lamont	J. Eugene Marans	George D. Moffett	April A. Oliver
Geri M. Joseph	Virginia A. Lampley	David E. Mark	Walter Thomas Molano	John R. Opel
John P. Jumper	David M. Lampton	Hans M. Mark	Walter F. Mondale	Michael F. Oppenheimer
Kenneth I. Juster	George D. Langdon Jr.	Leonard H. Marks	William S. Moody	Norman J. Ornstein
Robert P. Kadlec	Joseph LaPalombara	Andrew W. Marshall	John Norton Moore	Peter R. Orszag
Philip M. Kaiser	Nicholas R. Lardy	Anthony D. Marshall	Julia A. Moore	Elizabeth M. Osisek
Bernard Kalb	F. Stephen Larrabee	F. Ray Marshall	Paul Moore Jr.	F. Taylor Ostrander
Jan H. Kalicki	Jonathan Lash	Katherine Marshall	Theodore H. Moran	William A. Owens
Peter H. Kaminer	Ned C. Lautenbach	Lisa L. Martin	Lloyd N. Morrisett	George C. Paine II
Donald P. Kanak	Richard D. Lawrence	Lynn Morley Martin	Kenneth P. Morse	Abraham Pais
Roger E. Kanet	Ernest S. Lee	Leo S. Martinuzzi Jr.	Alfred H. Moses	Mark Palmer
Arnold Kanter	Robert Legvold	Jessica T. Mathews	Michael David Mosettig	Karen E. Parker
Stephen S. Kaplan	John Foster Leich	William B. Matteson	Michael H. Moskow	Maynard Parker
Stanley Karnow	Marc E. Leland	Ernest R. May	Ambler H. Moss Jr.	Gerald L. Parsky
Margaret P. Karns	Richard C. Leone	Gerald M. Mayer Jr.	Joel W. Motley	Juliette M. Passer-Muslin
Jordan S. Kassalow	Bernard Lewis	Barry R. McCaffrey	Dan T. Motulsky	Hugh T. Patrick
Allen H. Kassof	Stephen R. Lewis Jr.	Edward McCann	Margaret Farris Mudd	Roland A. Paul
Abraham Katz	Cynthia C. Lichtenstein	Paul B. McCarthy	David C. Mulford	Scott D. Pearson
Daniel Roger Katz	Kenneth G. Lieberthal	John J. McCloy II	Steven Muller	Richard Foote Pedersen
Stanley N. Katz	Sally L. Lilienthal	Elizabeth J. McCormack	Douglas P. Murray	James K. Penfield
Daniel J. Kaufman	David F. Linowes	Paul W. McCracken	Janice L. Murray	Don Peretz
Carl Kaysen	Robert S. Litwak	Jennifer A. McFarlane	Martha T. Muse	Edward J. Perkins
Farhad Kazemi	Eric P. Liu	Alan McGowan	Ted M. Natt	James A. Perkins
Thomas H. Kean	J. Bruce Llewellyn	David T. McLaughlin	John D. Negroponte	Robert C. Perry
Barbara L. Kellerman	Jan M. Lodal	Kathleen Roberta McNamara	Merlin E. Nelson	Arthur King Peters
Paul X. Kelley	George Cabot Lodge	M. Peter McPherson	Richard A. Nenneman	Aulana L. Peters
John H. Kelly	Bevis Longstreth	Lawrence C. McQuade	Richard E. Neustadt	Michael P. Peters
Geoffrey Kemp	James G. Lowenstein	Robert S. McWade	Andre W. G. Newburg	Holly Peterson
Peter B. Kenen	Abraham F. Lowenthal	Jon Meacham	Richard T. Newman	David H. Petraeus
William H. Kent	Ignacio E. Lozano	Walter Russell Mead	David D. Newsom	Richard W. Petree
Robert O. Keohane	C. Payne Lucas	Robert F. Meagher	Quigg Newton	Stephen R. Petschek
Ann Zwicker Kerr	Edward C. Luck	Irene W. Meister	Carole Nichols	Jane Cahill Pfeiffer
W. Carl Kester	William H. Luers	Eric D. K. Melby	Rosemary Neaher Niehuss	Steven B. Pfeiffer
John W. Kiermaier	Richard W. Lyman	Judy Hendren Mello	Waldemar August Nielsen	Christopher H. Phillips
Robert M. Kimmitt	Christopher Ma	Saul H. Mendlovitz	Matthew Nimetz	Russell A. Phillips Jr.
Judith Kipper	Charles Frederick McCormack	John R. Menke	William A. Nitze	Lawrence W. Pierce
Melanie M. Kirkpatrick	Gary E. MacDougal	Theodor Meron	Eli M. Noam	Andrew J. Pierre
Karin L. Kizer	Leo Sidney Mackay Jr.	William Curtis Messner Jr.	Marcus Noland	Donald L. Pilling
David Klein	William B. Macomber	George Rich Metcalf	Richard H. Nolte	Walter H. Pincus
William Allen Knowlton	Robert M. Macy Jr.	Martin Meyerson	J. Benjamin H. Nye	Rutherford M. Poats
George Kolt	John David Maguire	Elizabeth Midgley	Robert B. Oakley	Richard W. Pogue
Jessica Korn	Thomas G. Mahnken	Debra L. Miller	Don Oberdorfer	Gerald A. Pollack
John C. Kornblum	Thomas H. Mahoney IV	Matthew L. Miller	Carol O'Cleireacain	Kenneth Michael Pollack
Louis Kraar	Charles S. Maier	Roberta Balstad Miller	Walter F. O'Connor	Daniel Bruce Poneman
Jane Kramer	Christopher J. Makins	Michelle Miller-Adams		Marquita J. Pool-Eckert
David Kruidenier				Arturo C. Porzecanski

DEVELOPMENT

Barry R. Posen	Michael A. Samuels	Malcolm B. Smith	Harry D. Train II	Charles Weiss Jr.
Wesley W. Posvar	Miguel A. Sanchez	Perry M. Smith	Russell E. Train	Cora Weiss
Thomas Powers	Stephen Thomas	Louis B. Sohn	Eugene P. Trani	Edith Brown Weiss
Jeffrey F. Pryce	Sargeant	Stephen J. Solarz	Thomas J. Trebat	Thomas G. Weiss
William T. Pryce	Ralph Southey Saul	Peter O. A. Solbert	Philip H. Trezise	Herman B. Wells
Robert H. Puckett	Harold H. Saunders	Andrew Wallace	Peter D. Trooboff	Samuel F. Wells Jr.
Lucian W. Pye	Kori Schake	Solomon	Alexander B. Trowbridge	Allan Wendt
William B. Quandt	Jerrold Schecter	Anne G. K. Solomon	Edwin M. Truman	Mitzi Mallina Wertheim
Kevin F. F. Quigley	Frank W. Schiff	Anthony M. Solomon	Katherine K. Tucker	Joanna Weschler
John Raisian	Christopher Matthew	Joshua N. Solomon	J. Michael Turner	C. S. Whitaker
Charles B. Rangel	Schroeder	Robert Solomon	William C. Turner	Julia A. White
Robin Lynn Raphael	Richard F. Schubert	Tara Diane Sonenshine	Richard H. Ullman	Charles S. Whitehouse
J. Thomas Ratchford	G. Edward Schuh	Debora L. Spar	Cornelius M. Ulman	Christine Todd Whitman
Gregory J. Rattray	Jill A. Schuker	James Gustave Speth	Marybeth Peterson Ulrich	Richard A. Wiley
Jack Raymond	Susan Carroll Schwab	Ronald I. Spiers	Sanford J. Ungar	Earle C. Williams
Lee R. Raymond	William W. Schwarzer	Howard M. Squadron	Maureen T. Upton	Eddie Nathan Williams
Charles B. Reed	Stephen M. Schwebel	John Stacks	Victor A. Utgoff	Harold M. Williams
William Sears Reese	Brent Scowcroft	Stephen Stamas	Sara Vagliano	Howard Roy Williams
William M. Reichert	Norman P. Seagrave	Eugene S. Staples	Gregory E. van der Vink	Edwin D. Williamson
Mitchell B. Reiss	Robert C. Seamans Jr.	Paul E. Steiger	Ted Van Dyk	Donald M. Wilson
Charles Byron Renfrew	Sheldon J. Segal	Mark Brian Stein	James Alward Van Fleet	Jacques D. Wimpfheimer
Renate Rennie	Eugene A. Sekulow	John D. Stempel	L. Bruce van Voorst	Thomas Winship
Nicholas A. Rey	Frank W. Sesno	Alfred C. Stepan	Brian VanDeMark	Philip S. Winterer
Stephen H. Richards	Sarah Sewall	Paula Stern	Marta B. Varela	Francis X. Winters
Elliot L. Richardson	John W. Sewell	Ruth Ann Stewart	Nicholas A. Veliotis	John D. Wirth
Henry J. Richardson III	Frances J. Seymour	Jeremy J. Stone	Toni G. Verstandig	Frank G. Wisner II
William R. Richardson	Donna E. Shalala	Roger D. Stone	Elizabeth G. Verville	Michael Witunski
Joan F. Richman	Eli Shapiro	James M. Strock	Richard Noyes Viets	Charles Wolf Jr.
Rozanne L. Ridgway	Daniel A. Sharp	William H. Sullivan	Adis M. Vila	Paul D. Wolfowitz
Alice M. Rivlin	Joanna Reed Shelton	James S. Sutterlin	Milton Viorst	Lee S. Wolosky
Walter R. Roberts	George H. Shenk	Francis X. Sutton	George J. Vojta	R. James Woolsey
David Z. Robinson	George L. Sherry	John Temple Swing	Roderick K. von Lipsey	Mona Yacoubian
Davis R. Robinson	Jerome J. Shestack	William H. Taft IV	Carmen Delgado Votaw	Linda Tsao Yang
Hays H. Rockwell	Donald W. Shriver	Phillips Talbot	Carl E. Vuono	Daniel Yankelovich
William D. Rogers	Gustave H. Shubert	Angelica O. Tang	Frederic E. Wakeman Jr.	Adam Yarmolinsky
Ervin J. Rokke	Gary G. Sick	Theodore Tannenwald	Arthur Waldron	John N. Yochelson
Alan D. Romberg	Robert B. Silvers	Raymond Tanter	Charls E. Walker	David B. Yoffie
Arthur H. Rosen	Adele Simmons	Peter Tarnoff	John L. Walker	Edgar B. Young
Peter R. Rosenblatt	P.J. Simmons	William Taubman	Nancy J. Walker	M. Crawford Young
Patricia L. Rosenfield	William E. Simon	Michael S. Teitelbaum	Anthony John Walton	Frederick T. C. Yu
Ronald W. Roskens	Joseph John Sisco	Barbara S. Thomas	Volney James Warner	Donald S. Zagoria
Roger Ross	Elliott P. Skinner	Franklin A. Thomas	Gerald L. Warren	Dov S. Zakheim
Thomas B. Ross	Eugene B. Skolnikoff	James P. Thomas	Lewis M. Warren Jr.	Jonathan I. Zemmol
Stanley Owen Roth	Joseph E. Slater	James A. Thomson	William Watts	Peter D. Zimmerman
Nancy H. Rubin	Anne-Marie Slaughter	Chang-Lin Tien	Dennis Weatherstone	Warren Zimmermann
Seymour Jeffrey Rubin	Ann Brownell Sloane	Paul E. Tierney Jr.	Jennifer R. Weeks	Dorothy Shore Zinberg
Neil L. Rudenstine	Leon Sloss	Terence A. Todman	Leroy Snyder Wehrle	Marvin Zonis
Douglas B. Rutzen	Lawrence M. Small	Alexander C. Tomlinson	George B. Weiksner Jr.	Barry Zorthian
John Thomas Ryan III	S. Bruce Smart Jr.	Stephen Joel Trachtenberg	Sidney Weintraub	E. R. Zumwalt Jr.
Steven B. Sample	Hedrick L. Smith			

1998 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, each class to serve a term of five years. In each class, three Directors are elected by the membership and three are appointed by the Board.

Directors with terms expiring on August 31, 1998, were Peggy Dulany, Robert F. Erburu, Karen Elliott House, Joshua Lederberg, Vincent A. Mai, and Garrick Utley. Of these, Robert F. Erburu, Karen Elliott House, and Joshua Lederberg were not eligible for continued service, since each had served the maximum number of terms permitted by the By-Laws.

The Nominating Committee was composed of Carla A. Hills (chairman), Mario L. Baeza (vice chairman), John E. Bryson, Linda Chavez, Kenneth W. Dam, Thomas R. Donahue, William H. Donaldson, David R. Gergen, Helene L. Kaplan, Steven R. Koltai, Robert H. Legvold, Steven L. Rattner, James B. Sitrick, Anne Wexler, and Nancy Young. On January 23, 1998, Carla Hills solicited the entire Council membership for names of possible candidates. The Nominating Committee met on March 19 to consider a large pool of names suggested by Council members for the three elective vacancies, and, mindful of its mandate to consider "the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation, and professional background," the Nominating Committee developed the following slate of nominees: Judith Hip-

pler Bello, Martin S. Feldstein, Thomas W. Jones, James T. Laney, Bette Bao Lord, and Garrick Utley. On March 31, Council members were notified of the slate.

At the Annual Meeting for the Election of Directors on May 21, 1998, 1,160 members participated in person or by proxy, fulfilling the quorum required by By-Law V. No member's name was written on ten or more ballots cast at the meeting, and, therefore, no member was nominated for the 1999 election by the write-in procedure outlined in the By-Laws. Edward F. Cox, Donald H. Rivkin, and Ned B. Stiles served as election overseers. The following nominees were elected and allocated five-year terms beginning September 1, 1998, and expiring August 31, 2003: Martin S. Feldstein, Bette Bao Lord, and Garrick Utley.

Under current procedures, the Board was then required to complete the class of 2003 by appointing three Directors. Acting on the recommendation of the Nominating Committee, at its June 4 meeting the Board appointed the following three Council members to serve five-year terms through August 31, 2003: Peggy Dulany, Vincent A. Mai, and Michael H. Moskow. The Board also acted to fill vacancies created by the resignation of two sitting Directors, Hanna Holborn Gray in the class of 2000 and Charlayne Hunter-Gault in the class of 2002, by appointing, respectively, Diane Sawyer and Roone Arledge.

Michael P. Peters
Senior Vice President

COMMITTEES OF THE BOARD, 1997-98

Executive

Peter G. Peterson
Chairman
Maurice R. Greenberg
Vice Chairman
Paul A. Allaire
Kenneth W. Dam
Thomas R. Donahue
Carla A. Hills
Richard C. Holbrooke
Karen Elliott House
William J. McDonough
Laura D'Andrea Tyson
Robert B. Zoellick

Corporate Affairs and Development

Paul A. Allaire
Chairman
Odeh Aburdene
John P. Birkelund
Robert F. Erburu
Lynn Forester
Bart Friedman
Karen N. Horn
John B. Hurford
Morton L. Janklow
Hanya Marie Kim†
Robert M. Kimmitt
Vincent A. Mai
Brian Pierre Mathist
Judy Hendren Mello
Stephen A. Orlins
Lester Pollack
Warren B. Rudman
Frank Savage
Ronald K. Shelp
Maurice Sonnenberg
Carl Spielvogel
Enzo Viscusi
Robert C. Waggoner
John H. Watts

Finance and Budget

William J. McDonough
Chairman
Jessica P. Einhorn‡
Vice Chairman
Roger C. Altman‡
Mario L. Baeza
Thomas R. Donahue
Gail Fosler
J. Tomilson Hill‡
Jon M. Huntsman Jr.†
Thomas W. Jones‡
Roger M. Kubarych
Sharon I. Meers†
Joel W. Motley
Priscilla A. Newman
Stephen Robert
Richard E. Salomon‡
Paul A. Volcker

Foreign Affairs

Kenneth W. Dam
Chairman
Lee Cullum
Vice Chairman
Fouad Ajami
Michael R. Beschloss
John Lewis Gaddis
Rita E. Hauser
Jim Hoagland
Richard C. Holbrooke
Jeane J. Kirkpatrick
Kirk Kraeutler†
Donald F. McHenry
Rodney Nichols
Felix G. Rohatyn
Elisabeth Sifton
Paula Sinclair†
Theodore C. Sorensen
Garrick Utley
Paul D. Wolfowitz

Meetings and Media

Richard C. Holbrooke
Chairman
Garrick Utley
Vice Chairman
Roone Arledge
Alan R. Batkin
Thomas E. Donilon
Peggy Dulany
Jose W. Fernandez
Conrad K. Harper
John M. Hennessy
James F. Hoge Jr.*
Robert D. Hormats
Morton L. Janklow
Melanie Kirkpatrick
Bette Bao Lord
Vincent A. Mai
Rafiq A. Nathoo†
Holly Peterson†
Richard Plepler
Enid C. B. Schoettle
Ron Silver

Membership

Karen Elliott House
Chairman
Robert D. Hormats
Vice Chairman
Lee Cullum
George A. Dalley
Rodolfo de la Garza
Merit E. Janow
Richard Mallery
Michael H. Moskow
Philip A. Odeen
John B. Rhinelandier
Frank Savage
Thomas Schick
Anne-Marie Slaughter
Theodore C. Sorensen
Nancy Young

Term Membership

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Chairman
Esther Diane Brimmer
Deborah K. Burand
C. Shelby Coffey III
Stephen E. Flynn
Jon M. Huntsman Jr.
Lehmann Li
Brian P. Mathis
Kenneth A. Moskow
April Oliver
Frances J. Seymour

Nominating

Carla A. Hills
Chairman
Mario L. Baeza
Vice Chairman
John E. Bryson
Linda Chavez
Kenneth W. Dam
Thomas R. Donahue
William H. Donaldson
David R. Gergen
Helene L. Kaplan
Steven R. Koltai
Robert H. Legvold
Steven L. Rattner
James B. Sitrick
Anne Wexler
Nancy Young

COMMITTEES OF THE BOARD, 1997-98

Studies

Laura D'Andrea Tyson
Chairman
Graham T. Allison Jr.
Jesse Huntley Ausubel
Laurence Merrill Band
Richard R. Burt
W. Bowman Cutter
Kenneth W. Dam
David B. H. Denoon
Padma Desai
John M. Deutch
Jendayi E. Frazer†
John Lewis Gaddis
James F. Hoge Jr.*
Gary C. Hufbauer*
Arnold Kanter
Roger M. Kubarych
Joshua Lederberg
John P. Lipsky
Abraham F. Lowenthal*
Rebecca Mark
Martha T. Muse
Stephen J. Solarz
Fritz Stern
Gordon C. Stewart
Peter Tarnoff
Marc Thiessen†
Richard H. Ullman
Marta B. Varela
Ernest James Wilson III
Frank H. Wisner
Daniel H. Yergin
Robert B. Zoellick

Washington and National Programs

Robert B. Zoellick
Chairman
John E. Bryson
Vice Chairman
Judith Hippler Bello
Henry S. Bienan
Daniel Bob†
John F. Cooke
Lee Cullum
Edward P. Djerejian
Jessica P. Einhorn
James T. Laney
Susan B. Levine
George J. Mitchell
Michael H. Moskow
Ambler H. Moss Jr.
Emily Murase
Philip A. Odeen
William D. Rogers
Peter R. Rosenblatt
Josette Shiner

Washington Program Advisory Committee

Robert B. Zoellick
Chairman
Bernard W. Aronson
Pauline H. Baker
Judith Hippler Bello
Mark F. Brzezinski†
Linda Chavez
Eliot A. Cohen
Jessica P. Einhorn
Douglas J. Feith
Lauri J. Fitz-Pegado
Charles Gati
Carl Gershman
Michael H. Haltzel
Kim R. Holmes
Bruce P. Jackson
Kenneth I. Juster
Mark P. Lagon†
Susan B. Levine
Dave K. McCurdy
Alberto J. Mora
Philip A. Odeen
Mark Palmer
William D. Rogers
Peter R. Rosenblatt
Josette Shiner
Julia V. Taft
Terence A. Todman
W. Bruce Weinrod
R. James Woolsey

Advisory Committee on Diversity

Mario L. Baeza
Co-Chairman
Linda Chavez
Co-Chairman
Gordon P. Bell†
Stephanie K. Bell-Rose
Julia Change Bloch
Mark A. Carter†
Herschelle S. Challenor
Robert J. Chaves†
Rodolfo O. de la Garza
MacArthur DeShazer
Thomas R. Donahue
Patricia Ellis
Lauri J. Fitz-Pegado
Conrad K. Harper
Dwight F. Holloway†
Mahnaz Z. Ispahani
Charlotte G. Keat
William H. Luers
Vincent A. Mai
Gwendolyn Mikell
Mike Masato Mochizuki
Richard M. Moose
Joel W. Motley
Nancy S. Newcomb
Eugene H. Robinson
Rita M. Rodriguez
Puneet Talwar†
R. Keith Walton†
Alice Young

* Ex officio

† Designated Term Member

‡ Serves also on the Investment Subcommittee

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

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

The IAB includes the following distinguished individuals:

- MARICLAIRE ACOSTA** (Mexico), President, Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights
- GIOVANNI AGNELLI** (Italy), Chairman, Istituto Finanziario Industriale; Honorary Chairman, Fiat S.p.A.
- KHALID A. ALTURKI** (Saudi Arabia), Chairman, Trading and Development Company (TRADCO)
- MOSHE ARENS** (Israel), Chairman, NTA Ltd.; Chairman, Council for Parliamentary Democracy
- HANAN ASHRAWI** (West Bank), Member, Palestinian National Council
- PERCY N. BARNEVIK** (Sweden), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd.
- CONRAD M. BLACK** (Canada), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Argus Corporation Limited; Chairman, Hollinger International, Inc., and The Telegraph plc
- GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND** (Norway), Director General, World Health Organization
- GUSTAVO A. CISNEROS** (Venezuela), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Cisneros Group of Companies
- ALEJANDRO FOXLEY** (Chile), Member, Senate of the Republic of Chile
- TOYOO GYOHTEN** (Japan), President, Institute for International Monetary Affairs; Senior Adviser, The Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Ltd.
- ABDLATIF Y. AL-HAMAD** (Kuwait), Director General and Chairman of the Board of Directors, Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development
- ABID HUSSAIN** (India), Vice Chairman, Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies
- SERGEI A. KARAGANOV** (Russia), Deputy Director, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences; Chairman, Council on Foreign and Defence Policy
- KYUNG-WON KIM** (Republic of Korea), President, Institute of Social Sciences
- YOTARO KOBAYASHI** (Japan), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd.
- RAHMI M. KOÇ** (Turkey), Chairman, Koç Holdings A.S.
- OTTO GRAF LAMBSDORFF** (Germany), Member of the Bundestag
- GRAÇA MACHEL** (Mozambique), President, Mozambique Community Development Foundation
- JUAN MARCH** (Spain), Chairman, Juan March Foundation
- MARIA ROSA MARTINI** (Argentina), Cofounder and President, Social Sector Forum
- BARBARA MCDUGALL** (Canada), Former Secretary of State for External Affairs
- RIGOBERTA MENCHÚ TUM** (Guatemala), Founder, Rigoberta Menchú Tum Foundation; 1992 Nobel Peace Prize recipient
- ADAM MICHNIK** (Poland), Editor-in-Chief, *Gazeta Wyborcza*
- OLUSEGUN OBASANJO** (Nigeria), Chairman, Africa Leadership Forum
- ANAND PANYARACHUN** (Thailand), Chairman, Saha-Union Public Company Limited
- MOEEN A. QURESHI** (Pakistan), Chairman and Managing Partner, Emerging Markets Partnership
- EDZARD REUTER** (Germany), Former Chairman, Daimler-Benz AG
- MICHEL ROCARD** (France), President, Commission of Development, European Parliament
- KHEHLA SHUBANE** (South Africa), Research Officer, Centre for Policy Studies, University of Witwatersrand
- PETER D. SUTHERLAND** (Ireland), Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, British Petroleum Company plc
- WASHINGTON SYCIP** (Philippines), Chairman and Founder, The SGV Group
- SHIRLEY V. T. BRITAIN WILLIAMS** (Great Britain), Member, House of Lords; Public Service Professor of Electoral Politics, Harvard University
- MUHAMMAD YUNUS** (Bangladesh), Founder, Managing Director, and Chief Executive Officer, Grameen Bank

BY-LAWS OF THE COUNCIL

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

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

In any fiscal year, the Board may elect up to 90 persons to five-year term membership. The terms and conditions of such membership shall be as prescribed by the Board, provided that no person shall be elected to such membership who is more than 34 years of age on January 1 of the year in which his or her election would take place, and that of the total number of persons elected each year no more than 60 shall be age 31 or over, and that so long as their term continues such members will have the full rights and privileges of Council membership.

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

Of the total membership of the Council, the stated membership shall not exceed 3,500. Stated membership is defined as the total of those members who at the time of computation are under the age of 70, who are residing within the United States, and who are neither honorary members nor five-year term members. Of the stated membership, not less than one-third and not more than one-half shall be composed of resident members. A resident 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 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 nonresident. All members other than honorary members shall be citizens of the United States or permanent residents of the United States who have made application to become citizens.

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

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

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

BY-LAWS OF THE COUNCIL

	Business	Nonbusiness
RESIDENT		
Under 30	\$ 600	\$170
30-39	1,200	300
40 and Over	2,400	550
WASHINGTON, D.C.		
Under 30	\$ 370	\$150
30-39	770	220
40 and Over	1,550	330
NONRESIDENT		
Under 30	\$ 300	\$100
30-39	500	150
40 and Over	1,100	250

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 semiannually in equal installments in advance. Default in the payment of any dues for a period of 60 days may be deemed to be equivalent to resignation.

IV A. There shall be a Board of not more than 31 Directors. The President of the corporation shall be a Director, *ex officio*. The remaining members shall be divided into five equal classes, each class to serve for a term of five years and until their successors are elected and take office. Each class shall consist of three Directors elected directly by the membership at large and three Directors appointed by the Board. Following each Annual Election but prior to the commencement of the term of the new Directors, the Board shall appoint three Directors to serve in the same class as the three Directors elected at the Annual Election.

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

C. Directors are expected faithfully to attend Board and Board Committee meetings to which they are

assigned. A Director who fails to attend two-thirds of all such regularly scheduled Board and Board Committee meetings in any two consecutive calendar years shall be deemed to have submitted his or her resignation to be accepted at the pleasure of the Chairman of the Board. The Board shall have the power to fill any vacancy in its membership. A Director appointed to fill a vacancy created by the retirement, resignation, or death of a Director previously elected by the membership at large shall be nominated by the Nominating Committee as the sole candidate in the next Annual Election to complete the balance of the unexpired term.

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

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

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

BY-LAWS OF THE COUNCIL

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 and Development, a Committee on Meetings and Media Projects, a Committee on Washington and National Programs, a Committee on Membership, a Nominating Committee, a Committee on *Foreign Affairs*, and a Committee on Studies. Elections of Board members to Committees shall be held at Annual Meetings of the Board, except that, on the nomination of the Chairman of the Board, a Director may be elected at any meeting of the Board to fill a Committee vacancy.

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

The Committee on Finance and Budget shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than eight additional members. The Committee shall have general supervision of the investment of the funds of the Council and of its financial affairs, and shall present the budget at the Spring meeting of the Board.

The Committee on Corporate Affairs and Development shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than 20 additional members. The Committee shall help to plan, implement, and oversee the Corporate Program and the Council's financial development programs.

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

volving electronic and other broadcast media.

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

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

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

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

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

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

VII The Officers of the corporation shall be a Chairman of the Board, a Vice Chairman, a President, one or more Vice Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and such other Officers as in the Board's judgment may be required. The Board shall annually fix their compensation. The Chairman of the Board shall be elected for a term of five years and shall be eligible for reelection to a second term. The Chairman shall be eligible to complete any such term without regard to By-Law limitations on the number or tenure of Directors. The other Officers of the corporation shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors.

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

The President, subject to the overall direction of the Board of Directors, shall be the Chief Executive Officer of the corporation.

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

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

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

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

IX The funds of the corporation shall be invested by the Committee on Finance and Budget or shall be deposited with trust companies or banking institutions designated by either the Board of Directors or the Committee on Finance and Budget. Disbursements shall be made only upon checks or vouchers approved by any one of the following for amounts up to \$1,000.00 and by any two of the following for amounts of \$1,000.00 and over: the President, any Vice President, the Treasurer, the Secretary, the Director of Finance, the Editor of *Foreign Affairs*, and such other employees of the corporation as may from time to time be designated by the Committee on Finance and Budget.

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

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

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

RULES, GUIDELINES, AND PRACTICES

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

Rule on Foreign Policy Positions

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

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

Rule on Non-Attribution

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

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

"An appropriate officer of the Council may, however, by advance announcement declare this Rule inapplicable

in whole or in part to any particular Council meeting, and the presentation portion of the meeting may be recorded and broadcast on electronic media and/or covered in the print media with the agreement of the speaker and advance announcement to other participants.

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

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

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

other such person who is likely to publish it in a public medium. The essence of the Rule as reformulated is simple enough: participants in Council meetings should not pass along an attributed statement in circumstances where there is substantial risk that it will promptly be widely circulated or published."

Guidelines on Meetings

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

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

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

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

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

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

Apart from the traditional meetings for spouses and for sons and daughters of the members, occasional meetings are also open to guests of members. Guest privileges are for those who have special expertise or experience that relates directly to the meeting, as well as

the general qualifications of potential candidates for Council membership. Members bringing guests should complete a "guest notice card" and acquaint their guests with the Council's Non-Attribution Rule governing what is said at meetings.

Rule on Conflicts of Interest

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

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

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

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

Archival Practice

By resolution of the Council's Board of Directors, adopted December 17, 1974, all substantive records of the Council more than 25 years old are open for reference use during library hours at the Harold Pratt House, subject to the following proviso:

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

HISTORICAL ROSTER OF DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

Directors

Isaiah Bowman	1921-50	Arthur H. Dean	1955-72	C. Peter McColough	1978-87
Archibald Cary Coolidge	1921-28	Charles M. Spofford	1955-72	Richard L. Gelb	1979-88
Paul D. Cravath	1921-40	Adlai E. Stevenson	1958-62	Graham T. Allison Jr.	1979-88
John W. Davis	1921-55	William C. Foster	1959-72	William D. Ruckelshaus	1979-83
Norman H. Davis	1921-44	Caryl P. Haskins	1961-75	James F. Hoge Jr.	1980-84
Stephen P. Duggan	1921-50	James A. Perkins	1963-79	George P. Shultz	1980-82
John H. Finley	1921-29	William P. Bundy	1964-74	William D. Rogers	1980-90
Edwin F. Gay	1921-45	Gabriel Hauge	1964-81	Walter B. Wriston	1981-87
David F. Houston	1921-27	Carroll L. Wilson	1964-79	Lewis T. Preston	1981-88
Otto H. Kahn	1921-34	Douglas Dillon	1965-78	Warren Christopher	1982-91
Frank L. Polk	1921-43	Henry R. Labouisse	1965-74	Alan Greenspan	1982-88
Whitney H. Shepardson	1921-66	Robert V. Roosa	1966-81	Robert A. Scalapino	1982-89
William R. Shepherd	1921-27	Lucian W. Pye	1966-82	Harold Brown	1983-92
Paul M. Warburg	1921-32	Alfred C. Neal	1967-76	Stanley Hoffmann	1983-92
George W. Wickersham	1921-36	Bill Moyers	1967-74	Juanita M. Kreps	1983-89
Allen W. Dulles	1927-69	Cyrus R. Vance	1968-76, 1981-87	Brent Scowcroft	1983-89
Russell C. Leffingwell	1927-60	Hedley Donovan	1969-79	Clifton R. Wharton Jr.	1983-92
George O. May	1927-53	Najeeb E. Halaby	1970-72	Donald F. McHenry	1984-93
Wesley C. Mitchell	1927-34	Bayless Manning	1971-77	B. R. Inman	1985-93
Owen D. Young	1927-40	W. Michael Blumenthal	1972-77, 1979-84	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1985-94
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928-72	Zbigniew Brzezinski	1972-77	Peter Tarnoff	1986-93
Charles P. Howland	1929-31	Elizabeth Drew	1972-77	Charles McC. Mathias Jr.	1986-92
Walter Lippmann	1932-37	George S. Franklin	1972-83	Ruben F. Mettler	1986-92
Clarence M. Woolley	1932-35	Marshall D. Shulman	1972-77	James E. Burke	1987-95
Frank Altschul	1934-72	Martha Redfield Wallace	1972-82	Richard B. Cheney	1987-89, 1993-95
Philip C. Jessup	1934-42	Paul C. Warnke	1972-77	Robert F. Erburu	1987-98
Harold W. Dodds	1935-43	Peter G. Peterson	1972-77	Karen Elliott House	1987-98
Leon Fraser	1936-45	Robert O. Anderson	1973-83, 1984-	Glenn E. Watts	1987-90
John H. Williams	1937-64	Edward K. Hamilton	1974-80	Thomas S. Foley	1988-94
Lewis W. Douglas	1940-64	Harry C. McPherson Jr.	1974-83	James D. Robinson III	1988-91
Edward Warner	1940-49	Elliot L. Richardson	1974-77	Strobe Talbott	1988-93
Clarence E. Hunter	1942-53	Franklin Hall Williams	1974-75	John L. Clendenin	1989-94
Myron C. Taylor	1943-59	Nicholas deB. Katzenbach	1975-83	William S. Cohen	1989-97
Henry M. Wriston	1943-67	Paul A. Volcker	1975-86, 1975-79, 1988-	Joshua Lederberg	1989-98
Thomas K. Finletter	1944-67	Theodore M. Hesburgh	1976-85	John S. Reed	1989-92
William A. M. Burden	1945-74	Lane Kirkland	1976-86	Alice M. Rivlin	1989-92
Walter H. Mallory	1945-68	George H. W. Bush	1977-79	William J. Crowe Jr.	1990-93
Philip D. Reed	1945-69	Lloyd N. Cutler	1977-79	Thomas R. Donahue	1990-
Winfield W. Riefler	1945-50	Philip L. Geyelin	1977-87	Richard C. Holbrooke	1991-93, 1996-
David Rockefeller	1949-85	Henry A. Kissinger	1977-81	Robert D. Hormats	1991-
W. Averell Harriman	1950-55	Winston Lord	1977-85	John E. Bryson	1992-
Joseph E. Johnson	1950-74	Stephen Stamas	1977-89	Maurice R. Greenberg	1992-
Grayson Kirk	1950-73	Marina v.N. Whitman	1977-87	Karen N. Horn	1992-95
Devereux C. Josephs	1951-58			James R. Houghton	1992-96
Elliott V. Bell	1953-66			Charlayne Hunter-Gault	1992-98
John J. McCloy	1953-72				

HISTORICAL ROSTER OF DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

Kenneth W. Dam	1992-	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1993-94	Abraham F. Lowenthal	1995-
Donna E. Shalala	1992-93	Maurice R. Greenberg	1994-	Janice L. Murray	1995-
Alton Frye	1993			David J. Vidal	1995-97
Richard N. Cooper	1993-94	Presidents		Ethan B. Kapstein	1995-96
Rita E. Hauser	1993-97	John W. Davis	1921-33	Frederick C. Broda	1996-97
E. Gerald Corrigan	1993-95	George W. Wickersham	1933-36	Kenneth Maxwell	1996
Leslie H. Gelb	1993-	Norman H. Davis	1936-44	Gary C. Hufbauer	1997-98
Paul A. Allaire	1993-	Russell C. Leffingwell	1944-46	David Kellogg	1997-
Robert E. Allen	1993-96	Allen W. Dulles	1946-50	Paula J. Dobriansky	1997-
Theodore C. Sorensen	1993-	Henry M. Wriston	1951-64	Anne R. Luzzatto	1998-
Garrick Utley	1993-	Grayson Kirk	1964-71	Lawrence J. Korb	1998-
Carla A. Hills	1994-	Bayless Manning	1971-77		
Helene L. Kaplan	1994-96	Winston Lord	1977-85	Executive Directors	
Frank G. Zarb	1994-96	John Temple Swing*	1985-86	Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1922-28
Robert B. Zoellick	1994-	Peter Tarnoff	1986-93	Malcolm W. Davis	1925-27
Les Aspin	1995	Alton Frye	1993	Walter H. Mallory	1927-59
Mario L. Baeza	1995-	Leslie H. Gelb	1993-	George S. Franklin	1953-71
Peggy Dulany	1995-				
Jessica P. Einhorn	1995-	Honorary President		Secretaries	
William J. McDonough	1995-	Elihu Root	1921-37	Edwin F. Gay	1921-33
Frank Savage	1995-			Allen W. Dulles	1933-44
George Soros	1995-	Executive Vice President		Frank Altschul	1944-72
Hannah Holborn Gray	1995-98	John Temple Swing	1986-93	John Temple Swing	1972-87
George J. Mitchell	1995-			Judith Gustafson	1987-
Louis V. Gerstner, Jr.	1995-	Senior Vice Presidents		Treasurers	
Lee Cullum	1996-	Alton Frye	1993-98	Edwin F. Gay	1921-33
Vincent A. Mai	1997-	Kenneth H. Keller	1993-95	Whitney H. Shepardson	1933-42
Warren B. Rudman	1997-	Larry L. Fabian	1994-95	Clarence E. Hunter	1942-51
Laura D'Andrea Tyson	1997-	Michael P. Peters	1995-	Devereux C. Josephs	1951-52
Roone Arledge	1998-			Elliott V. Bell	1952-64
Diane Sawyer	1998-	Vice Presidents		Gabriel Hauge	1964-81
Martin S. Feldstein	1998-	Paul D. Cravath	1921-33	Peter G. Peterson	1981-85
Bette Bao Lord	1998-	Norman H. Davis	1933-36	C. Peter McColough	1985-87
Michael H. Moskow	1998-	Edwin F. Gay	1933-40	Lewis T. Preston	1987-88
		Frank L. Polk	1940-43	James E. Burke	1988-89
Chairmen of the Board		Russell C. Leffingwell	1943-44	David Woodbridge	1989-94
Russell C. Leffingwell	1946-53	Allen W. Dulles	1944-46	Janice L. Murray	1994-
John J. McCloy	1953-70	Isaiah Bowman	1945-49		
David Rockefeller	1970-85	Henry M. Wriston	1950-51	Editors of Foreign Affairs	
Peter G. Peterson	1985-	David Rockefeller	1950-70	Archibald Cary Coolidge	1922-28
		Frank Altschul	1951-71	Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928-72
Vice Chairmen of the Board		Devereux C. Josephs	1951-52	William P. Bundy	1972-84
Grayson Kirk	1971-73	David W. MacEachron	1972-74	William G. Hyland	1984-92
Cyrus R. Vance	1973-76, 1985-87	John Temple Swing	1972-86	James F. Hoge Jr.	1992-
Douglas Dillon	1976-78	Alton Frye	1987-93		
Carroll L. Wilson	1978-79	William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987-89	Directors of Studies	
Warren Christopher	1987-91	John A. Millington	1987-96	Percy W. Bidwell	1937-53
Harold Brown	1991-92	Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1987-93	Philip E. Mosely	1955-63
B. R. Inman	1992-93	Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989-94	Richard H. Ullman	1973-76
		Karen M. Sughrue	1993-98		

HISTORICAL ROSTER OF DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

Abraham F. Lowenthal	1976-77
John C. Campbell	1977-78
Paul H. Kreisberg	1981-87
William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987-89
Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989-94
Kenneth H. Keller*	1994-95
Ethan B. Kapstein	1995-96
Kenneth Maxwell	1996
Gary C. Hufbauer	1997-98
Lawrence J. Korb	1998-

Directors of Meetings

George S. Franklin	1949-50
William Henderson	1952-54, 1955-56
Melvin Conant	1954-55,* 1956-57,* 1957-59

George V. H. Moseley III	1959-62
Harry Boardman	1962-69
Zygmunt Nagorski Jr.	1969-78
Marilyn Berger	1978-79
Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1979-93
Karen M. Sughrue	1993-98
Anne R. Luzzatto	1998-

* *Pro-tempore*

BUDGET AND FINANCE

The Council ended this fiscal year with an operating surplus of just over \$1,000,000. This is the fifth consecutive year that the Council has maintained a surplus. The budget remained firmly in the black thanks to increased strength in the annual fund and Corporate Program; special grants from members, foundations, and other donors; and continuing emphasis on cost containment.

The strong stock market has, of course, contributed to the Council's financial base in recent years. Recognizing that this desirable state of affairs is unlikely to continue

indefinitely, on the advice of the Investment Subcommittee and the approval of the Finance and Budget Committee, the Council has moved to diversify its portfolio, as shown in note 3 on page 116.

Maintaining a balanced budget by establishing strict priorities, containing costs, and working to diversify and increase our sources of support are the firm commitments underlying our financial planning. Our annual level of activity is based on a conservative estimate of revenues, in hand and projected, for the year.

Statements of Financial Position

	June 30	
	1998	1997
Assets		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 8,954,400	\$ 5,683,400
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	897,800	1,021,400
Grants and contributions receivable, current portion (Note 5)	3,505,100	3,240,800
Inventories, at lower of cost or market	240,400	227,500
Grants and contributions receivable, long-term portion (Note 5)	1,247,900	3,056,700
Contributions receivable for endowment and capital expenditures (Note 5)	4,444,100	7,032,700
Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, net (Note 6)	16,072,500	11,453,400
Investments (Note 3)	69,605,200	62,243,000
Investments to be held in perpetuity (Note 3)	49,008,700	44,111,800
Total assets	<u>\$153,976,100</u>	<u>\$138,070,700</u>
Liabilities and net assets		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 1,796,000	\$ 2,552,600
Deferred subscription revenue	2,335,500	2,495,200
Accrued postretirement benefits (Note 8)	1,815,000	1,797,000
Total liabilities	<u>5,946,500</u>	<u>6,844,800</u>
Commitments (Note 12)		
Net assets (Notes 10 and 11):		
Unrestricted	70,275,000	65,343,500
Temporarily restricted	27,301,800	18,682,200
Permanently restricted	50,452,800	47,200,200
Total net assets	<u>148,029,600</u>	<u>131,225,900</u>
Total liabilities and net assets	<u>\$153,976,100</u>	<u>\$138,070,700</u>

See accompanying notes.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

Statement of Activities

Year ended June 30, 1998, with summarized financial information for 1997

	1998			Total	1997 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted		
Operating revenue, support, and reclassifications					
Membership dues	\$ 2,457,700	\$	\$	\$ 2,457,700	\$ 2,053,700
Annual giving	1,825,500			1,825,500	1,463,300
Corporate memberships and related income	2,687,700			2,687,700	2,204,600
Meetings	38,700			38,700	165,900
International Affairs Fellowships		530,600		530,600	5,000
Grants and contributions for Studies	299,300	4,357,500		4,656,800	4,983,100
Other grants and contributions	122,200	41,300		163,500	27,000
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	4,282,000			4,282,000	4,020,600
Book publication	56,600			56,600	102,000
Investment income allocation (<i>Note 4</i>)	2,233,700	898,400		3,132,100	3,421,200
Miscellaneous	394,100			394,100	306,700
Total operating revenue and support	14,397,500	5,827,800		20,225,300	18,753,100
Net assets released from restrictions (<i>Note 10</i>)	5,774,100	(5,774,100)		—	—
Total operating revenue, support, and reclassifications	20,171,600	53,700		20,225,300	18,753,100
Operating expenses					
Program expenses:					
Studies Program	6,012,000			6,012,000	6,128,300
Meetings Program	1,982,200			1,982,200	2,021,400
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	4,130,200			4,130,200	3,937,400
Book publication	375,000			375,000	257,500
National Program	402,600			402,600	351,900
International Affairs Fellowships	537,300			537,300	436,300
Media	237,800			237,800	167,200
Total program expenses	13,677,100			13,677,100	13,300,000
Supporting services:					
Management and general	4,085,200			4,085,200	3,218,000
Fund-raising:					
Development	317,500			317,500	499,900
Membership	292,800			292,800	300,000
Corporate Program	839,300			839,300	587,300
Total fund-raising	1,449,600			1,449,600	1,387,200
Total supporting services expenses	5,534,800			5,534,800	4,605,200
Total operating expenses	19,211,900			19,211,900	17,905,200
Excess of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses	959,700	53,700		1,013,400	847,900

See accompanying notes.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

Statement of Activities (continued)

	1998			Total	1997 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted		
Nonoperating revenue					
Investment income earned in excess of spending rate (Note 4)	\$ 3,971,800	\$ 7,545,700	\$	\$ 11,517,500	\$ 15,715,100
Contributions for capital expenditures		1,020,200		1,020,200	5,000,000
Endowment contributions			3,252,600	3,252,600	3,358,200
Total nonoperating revenue	<u>3,971,800</u>	<u>8,565,900</u>	<u>3,252,600</u>	<u>15,790,300</u>	<u>24,073,300</u>
Change in net assets	4,931,500	8,619,600	3,252,600	16,803,700	24,921,200
Net assets at the beginning of the year, as restated (Note 2)	65,343,500	18,682,200	47,200,200	131,225,900	106,304,700
Net assets at the end of the year	<u>\$70,275,000</u>	<u>\$27,301,800</u>	<u>\$50,452,800</u>	<u>\$148,029,600</u>	<u>\$131,225,900</u>

See accompanying notes.

Statements of Cash Flows

	Year ended June 30	
	1998	1997
Operating activities		
Change in net assets	\$16,803,700	\$ 24,921,200
Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash provided by operating activities:		
Depreciation	1,140,800	723,800
Net realized and unrealized gains on investments	(11,914,300)	(16,544,400)
Contributions restricted for capital expenditures	(1,020,200)	(5,000,000)
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	(3,252,600)	(3,358,200)
Changes in operating assets and liabilities:		
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	123,600	189,100
Grants and contributions receivable, current portion	(264,300)	(546,000)
Inventories	(12,900)	133,500
Grants and contributions receivable, long-term portion	1,808,800	(503,200)
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	(756,600)	1,233,200
Deferred subscription revenue	(159,700)	272,400
Accrued postretirement benefits	18,000	38,000
Net cash provided by operating activities	<u>2,514,300</u>	<u>1,559,400</u>

BUDGET AND FINANCE

Statements of Cash Flows (continued)

	Year ended June 30	
	1998	1997
Investing activities		
Purchases of building, building improvements, equipment, and construction in progress	(5,759,900)	(840,500)
Purchases of investments	(106,146,800)	(136,412,100)
Proceeds from sales of investments	105,802,000	130,194,400
Net cash used in investing activities	(6,104,700)	(7,058,200)
Financing activities		
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	3,841,200	3,570,400
Contributions for capital expenditures	3,020,200	—
Net cash provided by financing activities	6,861,400	3,570,400
Net increase (decrease) in cash and cash equivalents	3,271,000	(1,928,400)
Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year	5,683,400	7,611,800
Cash and cash equivalents, end of year	<u>\$ 8,954,400</u>	<u>\$ 5,683,400</u>
Supplemental disclosure of cash flow information		
Non-cash investing and financing activity:		
Contributions receivable for investment in endowment	\$ 1,444,100	\$ 2,032,700
Contributions receivable for capital expenditures	<u>\$ 3,000,000</u>	<u>\$ 5,000,000</u>

See accompanying notes.

Notes to Financial Statements

June 30, 1998

1. Organization

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

2. Summary of Significant Accounting Policies

Fund Accounting and Net Asset Classifications

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

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

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

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

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

As of June 30, 1997, a correction of \$944,300, which decreased permanently restricted net assets and increased temporarily restricted net assets, was made to properly reflect donor restrictions.

1997 Financial Information

The financial statements include certain prior year summarized comparative information in total but not by net asset class. Such information does not include sufficient detail to constitute a presentation in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles. Accordingly, such information should be read in conjunction with the Council's financial statements for the year ended June 30, 1997, from which the summarized information was derived, prior to the restatement noted above.

In addition, certain 1997 amounts were reclassified to conform to the 1998 presentation.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

Support and Revenue

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

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

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

Cash and Cash Equivalents

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

Investments

The Council's investments, other than hedge funds, are recorded at their fair values, which are based on quoted market prices for individual debt and marketable equity securities, and published unit values for mutual funds. The Council's hedge funds, which consist of interests in investment limited partnerships and investment companies, are carried at cost, which reflects the Council's net contributions to the respective funds.

Land, Buildings and Building Improvements, and Equipment

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

Measure of Operations

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

Use of Estimates

The preparation of financial statements in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles requires management to make estimates and assumptions that affect the reported amounts of assets and liabilities and disclosure of contingent assets and liabilities at the date of the financial statements and the reported amounts of revenue and expenses during the reporting period. Actual results could differ from those estimates.

3. Investments

The components of the Council's long-term investments at June 30, 1998 and 1997, were as follows:

	1998		June 30		1997	
	Cost	Carrying Value	Cost	Carrying Value	Cost	Carrying Value
Domestic equity securities	\$ 37,624,500	\$ 52,185,600	\$21,072,500	\$ 41,484,300		
International equity securities	17,035,200	18,555,700	—	—		
Foreign and corporate bonds	9,612,500	9,691,300	6,704,700	6,680,600		
U.S. government agency obligations	11,088,000	11,404,000	13,221,000	13,312,600		
Hedge funds	23,392,500	23,392,500	—	—		
Mutual funds:						
Equity funds	171,400	164,600	35,595,500	38,242,700		
Bond funds	—	—	3,226,400	3,267,400		
Money market funds	3,220,200	3,220,200	3,367,200	3,367,200		
Total	\$102,144,300	\$118,613,900	\$83,187,300	\$106,354,800		

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

BUDGET AND FINANCE

4. Investment Allocation

It is a Council policy to make an annual investment allocation for the support of operations at 5% of the average market value of the investments for the three previous years. For fiscal years 1998 and 1997, the Board also approved an additional draw of \$161,000 in each year for information systems upgrades. In 1998 and 1997, additional gains of \$1,439,000 and \$1,232,300, respectively, were also authorized for spending. Investment income has been reported as follows:

	June 30			1997
	1998	Temporarily Restricted	Total	
	Unrestricted		Total	Total
Dividends and interest, net of investment expenses of \$674,900 and \$462,600 in 1998 and 1997, respectively	\$ 1,832,700	\$ 902,600	\$ 2,735,300	\$ 2,591,900
Net realized and unrealized gains	4,372,800	7,541,500	11,914,300	16,544,400
Total return on investments	6,205,500	8,444,100	14,649,600	19,136,300
Investment return used for current operations	(2,233,700)	(898,400)	(3,132,100)	(3,421,200)
Investment return in excess of amounts used for current operations	\$ 3,971,800	\$7,545,700	\$11,517,500	\$15,715,100

5. Grants and Contributions Receivable

Receivables consist substantially of promises to give and are due from individuals, corporations, and foundations. Contributions receivable for endowment and capital expenditures are primarily due within one year. Grants and contributions receivable at June 30, 1998 and 1997, are due to be collected as follows:

	June 30	
	1998	1997
Less than one year	\$7,949,200	\$11,696,900
One to five years	1,133,400	1,466,700
After five years	450,000	600,000
	9,532,600	13,763,600
Less discount (using 6% rate)	335,500	433,400
Grants and contributions receivable, net	\$9,197,100	\$13,330,200

6. Land, Buildings and Building Improvements, and Equipment

Land, buildings and building improvements, and equipment, at cost, are summarized as follows:

	June 30		Estimated Useful Life
	1998	1997	
Land	\$ 1,854,300	\$ 1,854,300	
Buildings and building improvements	10,581,900	10,572,700	10-55 years
Equipment	4,994,200	4,400,300	3-15 years
Construction in progress	5,566,800	410,000	
	22,997,200	17,237,300	
Less accumulated depreciation	6,924,700	5,783,900	
	\$16,072,500	\$11,453,400	

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, are made to Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association and College Retirement Equity Fund to purchase individual annuities for plan members. The expense for the plan was \$599,400 for 1998 and \$544,000 for 1997. Employees must contribute 2.5% of their salaries and have the option to make additional contributions on their own behalf.

8. Other Postretirement Benefits

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

The following table presents the postretirement benefit plan's funded status reconciled with amounts recognized in the Council's statements of financial position:

BUDGET AND FINANCE

	June 30	
	1998	1997
Accumulated postretirement benefit obligation:		
Active employees:		
Eligible	\$ 350,000	\$ 350,000
Other	182,000	269,000
Total	532,000	619,000
Retirees	1,053,000	1,069,000
	1,585,000	1,688,000
Plan assets at fair value	—	—
Accumulated postretirement benefit obligation in excess of plan assets	1,585,000	1,688,000
Unrecognized net actuarial gain	88,000	109,000
Unrecognized prior service cost	142,000	—
Accrued postretirement benefit cost	<u>\$1,815,000</u>	<u>\$1,797,000</u>

Net periodic postretirement benefit cost includes the following components:

	Year ended June 30	
	1998	1997
Service cost	\$ 12,000	\$ 13,000
Interest cost	122,000	123,000
Amortization of prior service cost	(5,000)	—
Net periodic postretirement benefit cost	<u>\$129,000</u>	<u>\$136,000</u>

The discount rate used in determining the accumulated postretirement benefit obligation at June 30, 1998 and 1997, and the 1998 and 1997 net periodic postretirement benefit cost, was 7.75%.

For purposes of calculating the accumulated postretirement benefit obligation and the net periodic postretirement benefit cost, the average annual assumed rate of increase in the per capita cost of medical and dental benefits is 7% and 7.5% for 1998 and 1997, respectively, decreasing to 6% in fiscal 2000 and remaining at that level thereafter.

Increasing the assumed health care cost trend rate by 1% would increase the accumulated postretirement benefit obligation as of June 30, 1998, by \$204,000 and the aggregate of the service and interest cost components of net periodic postretirement benefit cost for 1998 by \$19,000.

9. Income Taxes

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 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.

10. Temporarily Restricted Net Assets

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

	June 30	
	1998	1997
Studies	\$14,721,100	\$ 9,310,900
International Affairs Fellowships	3,082,100	1,766,800
Meetings	1,774,900	1,221,500
Next Generation	1,703,500	1,383,000
Capital expenditures	6,020,200	5,000,000
	<u>\$27,301,800</u>	<u>\$18,682,200</u>

In fiscal 1998, temporarily restricted net assets were released from restrictions for fulfillment of the following:

Purposes and time periods:	
Studies	\$4,365,200
International Affairs Fellowships	460,600
Meetings	627,700
Library	30,000
Other	290,600
	<u>\$5,774,100</u>

The above amount released from restrictions primarily represents revenue recognized in prior years and expended in 1998.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

11. Permanently Restricted Net Assets

Permanently restricted net assets are restricted as to income for the following purposes:

	June 30	
	1998	1997
Studies	\$26,211,200	\$23,058,100
International Affairs Fellowships	6,066,100	6,066,100
Meetings	3,853,200	3,853,200
Library	156,700	156,700
Unrestricted as to use	14,165,600	14,066,100
	<u>\$50,452,800</u>	<u>\$47,200,200</u>

12. Commitments

In fiscal 1997, the Council began refurbishing a recently purchased building. Total construction costs relating to the refurbishment are estimated at \$12,500,000. At June 30, 1998, the Council's remaining commitment approximated \$6,933,200.

13. Year 2000 Issue (Unaudited)

The Council has developed a plan to modify its information technology to be ready for the year 2000. The project is expected to be completed in 1999 and is not expected to have a significant effect on operations.

 ERNST & YOUNG LLP

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REPORT OF INDEPENDENT AUDITORS

Board of Directors
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

We have audited the accompanying statements of financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., as of June 30, 1998 and 1997, and the related statements of cash flows for the years then ended and the statement of activities for the year ended June 30, 1998. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Council's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audits.

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

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., at June 30, 1998 and 1997, and its cash flows for the years then ended and the changes in its net assets for the year ended June 30, 1998, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

August 7, 1998

Ernst & Young LLP

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STAFF

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

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MEMBERSHIP

The Council relies on its members for their active engagement, substantive contributions, and support. It also counts on its members to take the initiative in identifying and proposing qualified prospects. Each candidate is judged on the basis of his or her intellectual attainment; 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 with a desire to participate; and community standing. Under the Council's By-Laws, membership is limited to U.S. citizens and permanent residents who have applied to become citizens.

Quality, diversity, and balance are the key objectives sought by the Council in the composition of its membership. To that end, the Committee on Membership adheres to established guidelines and targets intended to achieve the optimal occupational, geographic, and age distribution; to identify demographic and other segments in which the membership is deficient; and to generate a proportionate influx of talented younger people.

In furtherance of the Council's goal of becoming a truly national organization, the Committee on Membership has welcomed the efforts of members around the country to identify and nominate qualified candidates from key cities—Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay area, Chicago, Houston, Atlanta, Dallas, and Boston. Over the next several years, we will continue to concentrate our efforts on building our membership base in these areas in parallel with efforts to bring more programming to our national members.

The Membership and Fellowship Affairs Department also administers the International Affairs Fellowship, International Affairs Fellowship in Japan, Military Fellowship, Edward R. Murrow Fellowship, State Department Fellowship, and Intelligence Fellowship. Full descriptions of these fellowships appear at the end of the Studies Program section.

Elise Carlson Lewis
Director, Membership and Fellowship Affairs

Profile of the Membership

As of June 30, 1998, the Council had 3,477 members, an increase of 94 (3 percent) over last year. Broadly categorized, the membership profile is as follows:

	Number of Members	Percentage of Membership
LOCATION		
Resident (New York)	1,114	32
Washington, D.C.	1,113	32
Nonresident (including overseas)	1,250	36
Total	3,477	100
PROFESSION		
Business Executives (including banking)	876	25
Academic Scholars and Administrators	731	21
Nonprofit Institution Scholars and Administrators	653	19
U.S. Government Officials	542	16
Journalists, Correspondents, and Communications Executives	363	10
Lawyers	293	8
Other	19	1
Total	3,477	100

MEMBERSHIP SELECTION PROCEDURE

Membership Selection

New members are named twice a year by the Board of Directors, which invites selected men and women to join based on recommendations by the Committee on Membership. The Committee also meets twice a year and is composed of six members of the Board and such other members as the committee chairman deems appropriate. To be considered by the Committee on Membership, candidates must be proposed for membership by Council members. The roster of members is listed in the annual report.

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

Term Membership

In an effort to reach out to the next generation of leaders, the Board has also established a separate Term Membership Committee. This committee meets annually in the spring to evaluate candidates age 34 and younger for consideration as five-year term members of the Council. The selection process for term membership is nearly identical to, although separate from, that for regular members. Initiated nearly 30 years ago, the program has grown to the point where the Board has gradually raised the yearly limit on the number of term members who may be elected. At present, the limit is 90 and no more than 60 of these are permitted to be age 31 or over.

Becoming a Member

Current procedure requires that every candidate for regular membership be formally *nominated in writing by one member and seconded by a minimum of two other individuals, at least one of whom is a Council member*. An additional letter or two, from Council members, reflecting different perspectives is welcome but is not technically required. Currently, an average candidacy includes four to five letters of support. The nominator or candidate must submit a separate *curriculum vitae* or chronological resume,

which must include the candidate's date of birth and, if foreign-born, a statement that he or she has been naturalized or is a permanent resident who has made formal application for citizenship. Additionally, the nominator or candidate should submit a list of the names of up to ten Council members by whom the candidate is well known.

Rules and Regulations to Keep in Mind

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

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

Nominating Letters

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

- Intellectual attainment and expertise;
- Degree of experience, interest, and current involvement in international affairs or in other areas affecting international affairs;
- Promise of future achievement and service in foreign relations;
- Potential contributions to the Council's work;

- Desire and ability to participate in Council activities;
- Standing among his or her peers.

Seconding Letters

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

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

Deadlines

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

REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

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

TERM MEMBERSHIP

For prospective term members, the deadline for receipt of all materials for the annual meeting of the Committee to consider term membership candidates is *January 31*.

Notification of Candidates

Candidates recommended by the Committee on Membership and elected by the Board are so notified, as are their nominators and seconders. Candidates who are unsuccessful at any given meeting are not notified, as they remain eligible for consideration at subsequent meetings of the Committee, and may continue to submit new materials and secure additional letters of support. The process is entirely one of affirmative selection, i.e., from the large and evolving pool of nominees, the Committee and the Board choose a number of members without prejudice to the candidacies of those remaining in the pool.

Contact for All Membership Matters and Correspondence:

Elise Carlson Lewis
Director of Membership and Fellowship Affairs
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, New York 10021
Telephone: (212) 434-9400 Fax: (212) 861-2701
E-mail: membership@cfr.org

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

A

Aaron, David L.
 Abbot, Charles S.
 Abboud, A. Robert
 Abboud, Labeeb M.
 Abel, Elie
 Abercrombie-
 Winstanley, Gina*
 Abernethy, Robert John
 Abram, Morris B.
 Abramowitz, Morton I.
 Abrams, Elliott
 Abshire, David M.
 Aburdene, Odeh F.
 Ackerman, Peter
 Adams, Gordon M.
 Adams, Robert
 McCormick
 Adelman, Carol C.
 Adelman, Kenneth L.
 Agnew, Harold M.
 Agostinelli, Robert F.
 Ahmad, Kamal
 Aho, C. Michael
 Aidinoff, M. Bernard
 Ajami, Fouad
 Akins, James E.
 Albright, Alice P.
 Albright, Madeleine
 Alderman, Michael H.
 Aldrich, George H.
 Alexander, Robert J.
 Alexander, Sarah
 Elizabeth
 Alford, Rogert
 Alford, William P.
 Allaire, Paul A.
 Allbritton, Joe L.
 Allen, Jodie T.
 Allen, Lew Jr.
 Allen, Robert E.
 Allison, Graham T.
 Allison, Richard C.

Almond, Michael A.
 Alpern, Alan N.
 Alterman, Jon B.†
 Altman, Roger C.
 Altschul, Arthur G.
 Altshuler, David
 Alvarado, Donna Maria
 Alvarez, Jose E.
 Ames, Oakes
 Amos, Deborah Susan
 Andelman, David A.
 Andersen, Harold W.
 Anderson, Craig B.
 Anderson, John B.
 Anderson, Joseph A.
 Anderson, Laurence
 Desaix*
 Anderson, Lisa
 Anderson, Marcus A.
 Anderson, Mark A.
 Anderson, Paul F.
 Anderson, Robert O.
 Andreas, Dwayne O.
 Andreas, Terry Lynn
 Andrews, David R.
 Andrews, Michael A.
 Ansour, M. Michael
 Anthoine, Robert
 Anthony, John Duke
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 Apodaca, Jerry
 Aponte, Mari Carmen
 Appiah, Kwame
 Anthony
 Apter, David E.
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 Arcos, Cresencio S.
 Areizaga-Soto, Jaime A.†
 Arkin, Stanley S.
 Arledge, Roone
 Armacost, Michael H.
 Armstrong, Anne L.

Armstrong, C. Michael
 Armstrong, John A. Jr.
 Arnavat, Gustavo
 Arnhold, Henry H.
 Arnold, Millard W.
 Aron, Adam M.
 Aronson, Bernard W.
 Aronson, Jonathan David
 Aronson, Michael†
 Arredondo, Fabiola R.†
 Art, Robert J.
 Arthurs, Alberta
 Artzt, Edwin L.
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 Asher, Robert E.
 Ashton, Sarah S.
 Asmus, Ronald D.
 Assevero, Vicki-Ann E.
 Assousa, George E.
 Atherton, Alfred L. Jr.
 Atwood, J. Brian
 Auer, James E.
 Augustine, Norman R.
 Auspitz, Josiah Lee
 Ausubel, Jesse H.
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B

Babbitt, Bruce
 Babbitt, Eileen F.
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 Baer, M. Delal
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 Bailey, Charles Waldo
 Bains, Leslie E.
 Baird, Charles F.

Baird, Peter W.
 Baird, Zoe
 Baker, Howard H. Jr.
 Baker, James A. III*
 Baker, James E.
 Baker, James Edgar
 Baker, John R.
 Baker, Pauline H.
 Baker, Stewart A.
 Bakhash, Shaul*
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 Baldwin, H. Furlong
 Baldwin, Robert Edward
 Baldwin, Sherman
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 Baliles, Gerald L.
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 Barber, James Alden
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 Barger, Teresa C.
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 Bartley, Robert L.

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 Beim, Nicholas F.
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 Bell, Ruth Greenspan
 Bell, Steve
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 Benbow, Terence H.
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 Benedict, Kennette M.
 Bennet, Douglas J.
 Bennett, Andrew Owen
 Bennett, Susan J.
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† Elected to five-year term membership in 1998.

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 Berger, Marilyn
 Berger, Samuel R.
 Berger, Suzanne
 Bergsten, C. Fred
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 Berkowsky, Pamela †
 Berman, Howard L.
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 Bolling, Landrum R.
 Bollinger, Martin J.
 Bond, George Clement
 Bond, Jean Carey
 Bond, Robert D.
 Bonime-Blanc, Andrea
 Bonney, J. Dennis
 Booker, Salih
 Bookout, John F.
 Boren, David L.
 Boschwitz, Rudy
 Bossert, Philip A.
 Bosworth, Stephen W.
 Botts, John C.
 Bouis, Antonina W.
 Bouton, Marshall M.
 Bovin, Denis A.
 Bowen, Vincent E. III
 Bowen, William G.
 Bower, Joseph Lyon
 Bowie, Robert R.
 Bowman, Richard C.
- Boyd, Charles Graham
 Bracken, Paul
 Brademas, John
 Bradford, Zeb B. Jr.
 Bradley, Bill
 Bradley, Edward R.
 Bradley, William L.
 Brady, Linda Parrish
 Brady, Nicholas F.
 Brady, Rose
 Brainard, Lawrence J.
 Bramlett, David A.
 Branscomb, Lewis M.
 Branson, William Hoban
 Brauchli, Marcus W.
 Braunschvig, David
 Breck, Henry R.
 Bremer, L. Paul
 Breslauer, George William
 Bresnan, John J.
 Brevnov, Gretchen Wilson
 Brewer, John D.
 Breyer, Stephen G.
 Briggs, Everett Ellis
 Brimmer, Andrew F.
 Brimmer, Esther Diane
 Brinkley, David
 Brinkley, Douglas G.
 Britt, David V. B.
 Brittenham, Raymond L.
 Broad, Robin
 Broadman, Harry G.
 Broda, Frederick C.
 Brody, Christopher W.
 Brody, Kenneth D.
 Broitman, Elana
 Brokaw, Tom
 Bromley, D. Allan
 Bronfman, Edgar M.
 Brookins, Carole L.
 Brooks, Harvey
 Brower, Charles N.
 Brown, Alice L.
 Brown, Brian Alexander
 Brown, Carroll
 Brown, Cynthia G.
 Brown, Frederic J.
 Brown, Gwendolyn A.
 Brown, Harold
 Brown, L. Carl
- Brown, Lester R.
 Brown, Michael A. †
 Brown, Michael E.
 Brown, Richard P. Jr.
 Brown, Tobias Josef
 Browne, Robert S.
 Bruce, Judith
 Bruemmer, Russell J.
 Bryan, Greyson L.
 Bryant, Ralph C.
 Bryson, John E.
 Brzezinski, Ian Joseph
 Brzezinski, Mark F.
 Brzezinski, Zbigniew
 Buchman, Mark E.
 Buckley, William F. Jr.
 Buergenthal, Thomas
 Bugliarello, George
 Bullock, Mary Brown
 Bundy, William P.
 Bunzel, Jeffrey H.
 Burand, Deborah K.*
 Burgess, John A.
 Burke, James E.
 Burkhalter, Holly J.
 Burns, Patrick Owen
 Burns, R. Nicholas
 Burns, William F. Jr.
 Burns, William J.
 Burt, Richard R.
 Burton, Daniel F. Jr.
 Busbee, Rodgers
 Christopher
 Bushner, Rolland H.
 Bussey, Donald S.
 Bussey, John C.
 Butler, George Lee
 Butler, Samuel C.
 Butler, William J.
 Buultjens, Ralph*
 Buxbaum, Richard M.
 Buyske, Gail
 Byrne, Patrick M.
- C**
- Cabot, Elizabeth
 Cabot, Louis W.
- Cabranes, Jose A.
 Caesar, Camille M.
 Cahill, Kevin M.
 Cahn, Anne Hessing
 Cain, Kenneth L. †
 Calabria, Dawn T.
 Calder, Kent Eyring
 Caldwell, Dan
 Caldwell, Philip
 Califano, Joseph A. Jr.
 Callaghy, Thomas M.
 Callahan, David L.
 Callander, Robert J.
 Callen, Michael A.
 Calleo, David Patrick
 Campbell, Carolyn †
 Campbell, Colin G.
 Campbell, John C.
 Campbell, Kurt M.
 Campbell, Thomas J.
 Campbell, W. Glenn
 Campbell, William
 Canfield, Franklin O.
 Cappello, Juan Carlos
 Caputo, Lisa M. †
 Carbonell, Nestor T.
 Carey, Hugh L.
 Carey, John
 Carey, Sarah C.
 Carey, William D.
 Carlos, Manuel Luis
 Carlson, Scott A.*
 Carlson, Steven E.
 Carlucci, Frank C.
 Carmichael, William D.
 Carnesale, Albert
 Carothers, Thomas
 Carr, John W.
 Carrington, Walter C.
 Carrion, Richard L.
 Carroll, J. Speed
 Carruth, Reba Anne
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 Carswell, Robert
 Carter, Ashton B.
 Carter, Barry E.
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 Carter, James Earl
 Carter, James H.*
 Carter, Mark Andrew

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|--------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Carter, Marshall Nichols | Chickering, A. Lawrence | Cohen, Eliot A. | Cooper, Rebecca J.† |
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| Carter, W. Hodding | Choi, Audrey† | Cohen, Jerome Alan | Cordesman, Anthony H. |
| Casper, Gerhard | Chollet, Derek H.† | Cohen, Joel E. | Cornelius, Wayne A. |
| Cassidy, Eileen E.† | Cholmondeley, Paula H. J. | Cohen, Roberta Jane | Cott, Suzanne |
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| Cattarulla, Elliot R. | Choucri, Nazli | Cohen, Stephen F. | Courtney, William |
| Catto, Henry E. | Chow, Jack C. | Cohen, Stephen S. | Harrison |
| Caulfield, Matthew P. | Christensen, Thomas J. | Cohen, Warren I. | Cousens, Elizabeth M. |
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| Edward* | Christianson, Geryld B. | Colbert, Evelyn Speyer | Cowan, L. Gray |
| Cave, Ray Charles | Christman, Daniel | Colby, Jonathan E. | Cowhey, Peter F. |
| Cebrowski, Arthur Karl | William | Cole, Johnnetta | Cox, Edward F. |
| Celeste, Richard F. | Christopher, Warren | Coleman, Isobel | Cox, Robert G. |
| Cerjan, Paul G. | Churchill, Buntzie Ellis | Coleman, Lewis W. | Crahan, Margaret E. |
| Chace, James C. | Cisneros, Marc A. | Coleman, William T. Jr. | Craner, Lorne W. |
| Chafee, John H. | Clapp, Priscilla A. | Coles, Julius E. | Crawford, John F. |
| Challenor, Herschelle S. | Clark, Dick | Collier, David | Creekmore, Marion V. Jr. |
| Chambers, Anne Cox | Clark, Howard | Collins, Joseph J. | Cressey, Roger W. |
| Chan, Gerald L. | Longstreth | Colon, Rafael | Crichton, Kyle C.* |
| Chan, Ronnie C. | Clark, J. H. Cullum | Hernandez | Crile, George III |
| Chang, Gareth C.C. | Clark, Mark Edmond | Comstock, Philip E. Jr. | Crittenden, Ann |
| Chanin, Clifford | Clark, Noreen M. | Cone, Sydney M. III | Crocker, Chester A. |
| Chanis, Jonathan A. | Clark, Wesley K. | Connaughton, James L. | Cromwell, Adelaide |
| Chao, Elaine L. | Clark, William Jr. | Connors, Leila Anne | McGuinn |
| Chao, Victor Tzu-Ping | Clarke, J. G. | Connolly, Gerald E. | Cross, June V. |
| Chapman, Margaret Holt | Clarke, Teresa H. | Connor, John T. Jr. | Cross, Sam Y. |
| Charles, Robert Bruce | Clarkson, Lawrence W. | Considine, Jill M. | Cross, Theodore |
| Charney, Jonathan Isa | Clemons, Steven C. | Constable, Pamela | Crossette, Barbara |
| Charpie, Robert A. | Cleveland, Harlan | Conway, Jill | Crowe, William J. |
| Chartener, Robert | Cleveland, Peter M. | Cook, Frances D. | Crown, Lester |
| Chase, Anthony R.* | Clifford, Donald K. Jr. | Cook, Gary M. | Crystal, Lester M. |
| Chatterjee, Purnendu | Cline, William R. | Cook, Gretchen Rachelle | Cullum, Lee |
| Chaves, Robert J. | Clinger, William F. Jr. | Cooke, Goodwin | Culver, John C. |
| Chavez, Linda | Clinton, Bill | Cooke, John F. | Cumpiano, Flavio† |
| Chavira, Ricardo | Cloherty, Patricia M. | Coolidge, Nicholas J. | Cuneo, Donald |
| Chayes, Abram J. | Cloonan, Edward T. | Coombe, George | Cuomo, Mario M. |
| Chayes, Antonia Handler | Cloud, Stanley W. | William Jr. | Curley, Walter J. Jr. |
| Checki, Terrence J. | Clough, Michael | Coombs, Philip H. | Curran, R. T. |
| Cheever, Daniel S. | Cobb, Charles E. Jr. | Coon, Jane Abell | Curtis, Charles B. |
| Chen, Kimball C. | Cochran, Barbara S. | Cooney, Joan Ganz | Curtis, Gerry |
| Chenault, Kenneth I. | Coffey, C. Shelby III | Cooper, Charles A. | Cutler, Lloyd N. |
| Cheney, Elizabeth L.† | Coffey, Joseph I. | Cooper, Chester L. | Cutler, Walter L. |
| Cheney, Richard B. | Cohen, Ariel | Cooper, James H. S. | Cutshaw, Kenneth A. |
| Cheney, Stephen A. | Cohen, Benjamin J. | Cooper, John Milton | Cutter, W. Bowman |
| Cherne, Leo | Cohen, Betsy Helen | Cooper, Kerry | Cyr, Arthur I. |

D

- D'Amato, Alfonse M.
 Dahlman, Michael K.
 Dailey, Brian D.
 Dale, William B.
 Dallara, Charles H.
 Dalley, George Albert
 Dallmeyer, Dorinda G.
 Dalton, Gregory R.
 Dalton, James E.
 Dam, Kenneth W.
 Dam, Marcia Wachs
 Damrosch, Lori Fisler
 Danforth, William H.
 Daniel, D. Ronald
 Danner, Mark D.
 Dash, Michele
 Samantha†
 DaSilva, Russell J.
 David, Jack
 Davidson, Daniel I.
 Davidson, Ralph K.
 Davidson, Ralph Parsons
 Davis, Evan A.
 Davis, Jacquelyn K.
 Davis, Jerome
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 Davis, Lynn E.
 Davis, Maceo N.
 Davis, Nathaniel
 Davis, Vincent
 Davison, Kristina Perkin
 Davison, W. Phillips
 Dawisha, Karen Lea
 Dawkins, Peter M.
 Dawson Carr, Marion M.
 Dawson, Christine L.
 Dawson, Horace G. Jr.
 Day, Anthony
 Day, Arthur R.
 Day, Robert A.
 Days, Drew Saunders Jr.
 de Borchgrave, Arnaud
 de Janosi, Peter E.
 de la Garza, Rodolfo O.

* Elected to membership in 1998.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 1998.

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- de Menil, George
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 de Vries, Rimmer
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 Dean, Jonathan
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 Debevoise, Eli Whitney II
 Debs, Barbara Knowles
 Debs, Richard A.
 DeBusk, F. Amanda
 DeCrane, Alfred C. Jr.
 Decter, Midge
 Decyk, Roxanne J.
 Dedrick, Fred T.
 Deffenbaugh, Ralston H.
 Deibel, Terry L.
 del Olmo, Frank Phillip
 Del Toro, Carlos
 Delaney, Andrew J.
 Rubicam
 Deming, Rust
 Macpherson
 Denham, Robert E.
 Denison, Robert J.
 Dennis, Everette E.
 Denny, Brewster C.
 Denoon, David B. H.
 Denton, Hazel
 Denton, James S.*
 DePalma, Samuel
 Dergham, Raghida
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 Desai, Padma
 DeShazer, MacArthur
 Destler, I. M.
 Deutch, John
 DeVecchi, Robert P.
 Devine, Caroline M.
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 Robert L.
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 DiMartino, Rita
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 Dinkins, David N.
 DiPaola, Joseph P. Jr.
 Diuk, Nadia
 Dixon, Carmen R.†
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 Dobriansky, Paula
 Dodd, Christopher J.
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 Doerge, David J.
 Doherty, William C.
 Dominguez, Jorge I.
 Donahue, Thomas R.
 Donaldson, Robert H.
 Donaldson, William
 Donilon, Thomas E.
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 Donnelly, Harold C.
 Doran, Charles F.
 Dornbusch, Rudi
 Dorsen, Norman
 Dory, Amanda Jean†
 Doty, Grant R.
 Dougan, Diana Lady
 Douglass, Robert R.
 Dowling, John Nicholas
 Doyle, James S.
 Doyle, Michael W.
 Draper, William H.
 Drayton, William
 Drell, Sidney D.
 Drew, Elizabeth
 Dreyfuss, Joel
 Drobnick, Richard Lee
 Drucker, Joy E.
 Druyan, Ann
 Duberstein,
 Kenneth M.
 Dubin, Seth H.
 DuBrul, Stephen M. Jr.
 Due, Johnita P.†
 Duersten, Althea L.
 Duffey, Joseph D.
 Duffy, Gloria Charmian
- Duffy, James H.
 Dugan, Michael J.
 Dukakis, Michael S.
 Duke, Robin Chandler
 Dulany, Peggy
 Duncan, Charles W. Jr.
 Duncan, John C.
 Dunigan, P. Andrew
 Dunkerley, Craig G.
 Dunlop, Joan B.
 Dunn, Kempton
 Dunn, Lewis A.
 Dunn, Michael M.
 Dur, Philip A.
 Dutton, Frederick G.
 Dyke, Nancy Bearg
 Dyson, Esther
- E**
- Eagleburger, Lawrence S.
 Earle, Ralph II
 East, Maurice A.
 Easum, Donald B.
 Eberhart, Ralph E.
 Eberle, William D.
 Eberstadt, Nicholas N.
 Echols, Marsha A.
 Economy, Elizabeth C.
 Ecton, Donna R.
 Eddy, Randolph P. III
 Edelman, Albert I.
 Edelman, Gerald M.
 Edelman, Marian Wright
 Edelstein, Julius C. C.
 Edington, Mark D. W.
 Edley, Christopher Jr.
 Edwards, Howard
 Edwards, Mickey
 Edwards, Robert H. Jr.
 Eggers, Thomas E.
 Ehrlich, Thomas
 Eichengreen, Barry J.
 Eikenberry, Karl
 Eilts, Hermann Frederick
 Einaudi, Luigi R.
 Einhorn, Jessica P.
 Einhorn, Robert J.
- Eisendrath, Charles R.
 Eizenstat, Stuart E.
 Eliason, Leslie Carol
 Ellingwood, Susan K.
 Elliott, Inger McCabe
 Elliott, Osborn
 Ellis, James Reed
 Ellis, Patricia
 Ellison, Keith Paty
 Ellsberg, Daniel
 Ellsworth, Robert F.
 Ely, John Hart
 Ely-Raphel, Nancy
 Halliday
 Embree, Ainslie T.
 Emerson, Alice F.
 Enthoven, Alain C.
 Epstein, Barbara
 Epstein, Jason
 Epstein, Jeffrey
 Epstein, Joshua M.
 Erb, Guy F.
 Erb, Richard D.
 Erbsen, Claude E.
 Erburu, Robert F.
 Ercklentz, Alexander T.
 Estabrook, Robert H.
 Estrada, Alfredo
 Esty, Daniel C.
 Evans, Gail H.
 Evans, Harold M.
 Evans, Rowland Jr.
 Evans, Tatjana H.†
 Everingham, Susan M. S.
 Ewing, Anthony P.
- F**
- Fairbanks, Douglas
 Elton Jr.
 Fairbanks, Richard M. III
 Falco, Mathea
 Falcoff, Mark
 Falk, Pamela S.
 Falk, Richard A.
 Falkenrath, Richard A.
 Fallows, James
 Fanning, Katherine W.
- Fanton, Jonathan Foster
 Farer, Tom J.
 Farmer, Thomas L.
 Fascell, Dante B.
 Fawaz, Leila
 Feiner, Ava S.
 Feinstein, Lee Andrew
 Feissel, Gustave
 Feist, Samuel H.
 Feith, Douglas J.
 Feldman, Mark B.
 Feldstein, Martin S.
 Ferguson, Charles H.
 Ferguson, Glenn W.
 Ferguson, James L.
 Ferguson, Ronald E.
 Fernandez, Jose W.
 Ferrari, Frank E.
 Ferraro, Geraldine A.
 Ferre, Antonio Luis
 Ferre, Maurice A.
 Ferrell, Lisa C.†
 Fesharaki, Fereidun
 Fessenden, Hart
 Fiedler, Jeffrey L.
 Fields, Bertram H.
 Fields, Craig I.
 Fife, Eugene V.
 Fifield, Russell Hunt
 Finberg, Barbara D.
 Findakly, Hani K.*
 Finger, Seymour Maxwell
 Finkelstein, Lawrence S.
 Finn, James
 Finnemore, Martha
 Finney, Paul B.
 Firmage, Edwin B.
 Fischer, David Joseph
 Fischer, Stanley
 Fisher, Peter R.
 Fisher, Richard W.
 Fisher, Roger
 Fishlow, Albert
 Fitts, Sarah Watkins†
 Fitz-Pegado, Lauri J.
 FitzGerald, Frances
 Fitzgibbons, Harold E.
 Flaherty, Peter
 Flanagan, Stephen J.
 Flanigan, Peter M.

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Fleischmann, Alan H.	Fribourg, Michel P.	Ganoe, Charles S.	Gerstner, Louis V. Jr.	Goldman, Marshall I.
Fleishman, Rachel	Fribourg, Paul J.	Gantcher, Nathan	Getler, Michael	Goldman, Merle D.
Flournoy, Michele A.	Fried, Edward R.	Garcia-Passalacqua, Juan M.	Geyelin, Philip L.	Goldmark, Peter C. Jr.
Flynn, Stephen E.*	Friedberg, Aaron Louis	Gard, Robert G.	Geyer, Georgie Anne	Goldschmidt, Neil
Foege, William H.	Friedman, Bart	Gardels, Nathan P.	Gfoeller, Joachim Jr.	Goldsmith, Jack Landman
Fogleman, Ronald R.	Friedman, Benjamin M.	Gardner, Anthony L.	Gfoeller, Michael	Goldstein, Gordon
Foley, S. R. Jr.	Friedman, Fredrica S.	Gardner, James A.	Gfoeller, Tatiana C.	Goldstein, Jeffrey A.
Foley, Thomas S.	Friedman, Jennifer†	Gardner, Nina Luzzatto	Ghiglione, Loren	Goldwyn, David L.
Foote, Edward T. II	Friedman, Jordana D.	Gardner, Richard N.	Giacomo, Carol Ann†	Golob, Paul
Ford, Gerald R.	Friedman, Stephen	Garment, Leonard	Gibbons, John Howard	Gomory, Ralph E.
Ford, Paul B. Jr.	Friedman, Stephen J.	Garment, Suzanne R.	Gibney, Frank B.	Gompert, David C.
Fore, Henrietta	Friedman, Thomas L.	Gart, Murray J.	Giffen, James Henry	Goodby, James E.
Holsman*	Frieman, Wendy	Garten, Jeffrey E.	Gilbert, Jackson B.	Goodman, George J. W.
Forester, Lynn	Friend, Theodore W.	Garthoff, Raymond L.	Gilbert, Jarobin Jr.	Goodman, Herbert I.
Forman, Shepard L.	Froman, Michael B. G.	Garwin, Richard L.	Gilbert, Steven J.	Goodman, Nancy F.
Forstmann, Theodore J.	Fromkin, David	Gaston, Patricia E.*	Gillette, Michael James	Goodman, Roy M.
Fosler, Gail D.	Fromm, Joseph	Gates, Henry Louis Jr.	Gilmore, Kenneth O.	Goodman, Sherri W.
Foster, Brenda Lei	Frost, Ellen L.	Gates, Philomene A.	Gilmore, Richard	Goodpaster, Andrew J.
Foster, Richard N.	Fry, Earl H.	Gates, Robert M.	Gilpin, Robert G. Jr.	Gordon, Albert H.
Fox, Donald T.	Frye, Alton	Gati, Charles	Gingrich, Newton L.	Gordon, John A.
Fox, Eleanor M.	Fukushima, Glen S.	Gati, Toby Trister	Ginsberg, Marc Charles	Gordon, Lincoln
Fox, Joseph Carrere	Fukuyama, Francis	Gaudiani, Claire L.	Ginsburg, David	Gordon, Michael R.
Fraga, Arminio	Fuld, Richard S. Jr.	Gause, F. Gregory III	Ginsburg, Jane C.	Gordon, Philip H.
Franck, Thomas M.	Fuller, Kathryn S.	Gay, Catherine C.	Ginsburg, Ruth Bader	Gorelick, Jamie S.
Francke, Albert	Fuller, William P.	Gebhard, Paul R. S.	Glassman, Charisse	Gorman, Joseph T.
Frank, Andrew D.	Fung, Victor K.	Gedo, Inge	Glauber, Robert R.	Gornick, Alan L.
Frank, Barney	Furlaud, Richard M.	Geertz, Clifford	Gleysteen, Peter	Gotbaum, Victor
Frank, Charles R. Jr.	Futter, Ellen V.	Geier, Philip O.	Gleysteen, William H. Jr.	Gottemoeller, Rose Eilene
Frank, Isaiah		Geithner, Timothy F.	Globerman, Norma	Gottfried, Kurt
Frank, Richard A.		Gelb, Bruce S.	Gluck, Carol	Gottlieb, Gidon A. G.
Frankel, Francine R.		Gelb, Leslie H.	Gluck, Frederick W.	Gottsegen, Peter M.
Frankel, Jeffrey A.		Gelb, Richard L.	Glusker, Peter Henry	Gould, Peter G.
Franklin, Barbara		Gell-Mann, Murray	Godchaux, Frank A. III	Gourevitch, Peter A.
Hackman		Gellman, Barton	Godwin, Lamond	Graff, Henry Franklin
Franklin, William Emery		Georgescu, Peter Andrew	Goekjian, Samuel V.	Graff, Robert D.
Frazer, Jendayi E.		Gephardt, Richard A.	Goelten, Robert F.	Graham, Bob
Fredericks, J. Wayne		Gerber, Louis	Goins, Charlynn	Graham, Carol L.
Fredman, Jonathan M.		Gergen, David R.	Goldberg, Ronnie L.	Graham, Katharine
Freedman, Eugene M.		Gerhart, Gail M.	Goldberger, Marvin L.	Graham, Lawrence Otis
Freedman, Constance J.*		Germain, Adrienne	Golden, James R.	Graham, Thomas Jr.
Freeman, Harry L.		Gerschel, Patrick A.	Golden, William T.	Graham, Thomas Wallace
Freeman, Roger C.		Gershman, Carl Samuel	Goldgeier, James M.	Granoff, Michael D.
Freidheim, Cyrus F.		Gerson, Allan	Goldin, Harrison J.	Grant, Stephen A.
Frelinghuysen, Peter H. B.		Gerson, Ralph J.	Goldman, Charles N.	Graubard, Stephen Richards
Frey, Donald N.			Goldman, Guido	
Freytag, Richard A.				

* Elected to membership in 1998.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 1998.

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- Graves, Howard D.
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 Greathead, R. Scott
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 Green, Jerrold D.
 Green, Michael Jonathan
 Greenberg, Arthur N.
 Greenberg, Evan G.
 Greenberg, Karen J.
 Greenberg, Maurice R.
 Greenberg, Sanford D.
 Greenberger, Robert
 Stephen
 Greene, Joseph N. Jr.
 Greene, Margaret L.
 Greene, Wade
 Greenfield, James L.
 Greenfield, Meg
 Greenspan, Alan
 Greenwald, Joseph A.
 Greenway, Hugh D. S.
 Gregg, Donald P.
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 Gregson, Wallace C.
 Grenier, Richard
 Griego, Linda
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 Griffith, William E.
 Griffiths, Alessandra J.†
 Grimes, Joseph
 Anthony Jr.
 Grimes, Julie M.†
 Grose, Peter
 Gross, Patrick W.
 Grove, Brandon Jr.
 Groves, Ray J.
 Grundfest, Joseph
 Grunwald, Henry A.
 Guerra-Mondragon,
 Gabriel
 Guisinger, Stephen E.
 Gundlach, Andrew S.†
 Gutfreund, John H.
 Guth, John H. J.
 Guthman, Edwin O.
 Gutmann, Henning P.
- Gwertzman, Bernard M.
 Gwin, Catherine
- H**
- Haas, Peter E.
 Haas, Robert D.
 Haass, Richard N.
 Habsburg, Inmaculada
 Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck
 Hadley, Stephen J.
 Hafner, Joseph A. Jr.
 Hagen, Katherine A.*
 Haggard, Stephan
 Hahn, Keith D.
 Haig, Alexander M. Jr.
 Hakim, Peter
 Halaby, Najeeb E.
 Hale, David D.
 Hall, C. Barrows
 Hall, John P.
 Hallerberg, Mark S.†
 Hallingby, Paul Jr.
 Halperin, David R.
 Halperin, Morton H.
 Halsted, Thomas A.
 Haltzel, Michael H.
 Hamburg, David A.
 Hamburg, Jill Emily
 Hamburg, Margaret Ann
 Hamilton, Ann O.
 Hamilton, Charles V.
 Hamilton, Daniel
 Hamilton, Edward K.
 Hamilton, Jonathan
 Carroll†
 Hamilton, Lee H.
 Hamilton, Michael P.
 Hamilton, Ruth Simms
 Hammonds, D. Holly
 Hancock, Ellen
 Hand, Scott M.
 Handelman, Stephen
 Hanscom, Patricia L.
 Hansell, Herbert J.
 Hansen, Carol Rae
 Hanson, Carl Thor
 Hantz, Giselle P.*
- Harari, Maurice
 Harding, Harry
 Hardt, John P.
 Hargrove, John Lawrence
 Harman, Jane
 Harman, Sidney
 Harmon, James A.
 Harpel, James W.
 Harper, Conrad K.
 Harris, Irving B.
 Harris, John M.
 Harris, Joseph E.
 Harris, Martha Caldwell
 Harrison, Selig S.
 Harshberger, Edward R.
 Hart, Augustin S. Jr.
 Hart, Gary
 Hart, Todd C.
 Hartman, Arthur A.
 Haskell, John H. F. Jr.
 Haskins, Caryl P.
 Hatfield, Robert S.
 Hauge, John Resor
 Hauser, Rita E.
 Hauser, William Locke
 Havell, Theresa A.
 Hawkins, Ashton
 Hawley, F. William
 Hayek, Alexandre P.
 Hayes, Margaret Daly
 Haynes, Fred
 Haynes, Ulric Jr.
 Hayward, Thomas B.
 Healy, Harold H. Jr.
 Heck, Charles B.
 Hecker, Siegfried S.*
 Hedstrom, Mitchell W.
 Heep-Richter, Barbara D.
 Heginbotham, Stanley J.
 Hehir, J. Bryan
 Heifetz, Elaine F.
 Heilbrunn, Jacob E.
 Heimann, John G.
 Heimbold, Charles A. Jr.
 Heimowitz, James B.
 Heineman,
 Benjamin W. Jr.
 Heintz, Stephen B.
 Heintzen, Harry
 Leonard
- Heinz, Teresa
 Hejlik, Dennis J.*
 Helander, Robert C.
 Heldring, Frederick
 Helfer, Ricki Tigert
 Heller, Michael A.
 Heller, Richard M.
 Hellman, F. Warren
 Hellmann, Donald
 Charles
 Helm, Robert W.*
 Helms, Richard McG.
 Helprin, Mark
 Hendrickson, David C.
 Henkin, Alice H.
 Henkin, Louis
 Hennessy, John M.
 Henninger, Daniel P.
 Henrikson, Alan K.
 Hentges, Harriet
 Herberger, Roy A. Jr.
 Hermann, Charles F.
 Hernandez, Antonia
 Herskovits, Jean
 Herter, Christian A. Jr.
 Herter, Frederic P.
 Hertzberg, Arthur
 Hertzberg, Hendrik
 Herz, Barbara
 Herzfeld, Charles M.
 Herzstein, Robert E.
 Hesburgh, Theodore M.
 Heslin, Sheila N.
 Hess, John B.
 Hessler, Curtis A.
 Hewlett, Sylvia Ann
 Hiatt, Fred
 Hicks, Irvin Jr.
 Hicks, John E., Sr.
 Hicks, Kathleen Holland
 Higginbotham, F. Michael
 Higgins, Robert F.
 Highet, Keith
 Hight, B. Boyd
 Hill, J. Tomilson
 Hill, James T.
 Hill, Joseph C.†
 Hill, Pamela
 Hillen, John
 Hillenbrand, Martin J.
- Hillgren, Sonja
 Hills, Carla A.
 Hilsman, Roger
 Hilton, Robert P., Sr.
 Himes, James Andrew
 Hinerfeld, Ruth
 Hines, Rachel
 Hinshaw, Randall
 Hinton, Deane R.
 Hirschman, Albert O.
 Ho, Christine M.Y.
 Hoagland, Jim
 Hoar, Joseph Paul
 Hobbs, Tammany D.
 Hoch, Frank W.
 Hoerber, Amoretta M.
 Hoehn, William E. Jr.
 Hoenlein, Malcolm I.
 Hoffenberg, Mark
 Raymond
 Hoffman, Adonis E.
 Hoffmann, Stanley
 Hoge, James F. Jr.
 Hoge, Warren M.
 Hoguet, George Roberts
 Hohenberg, John
 Hoinkes, Mary Elizabeth
 Holbrooke, Richard C.
 Holcomb, M. Staser
 Holdren, John P.†
 Holgate, Laura S. Hayes
 Holl, Jane E.
 Hollick, Ann Lorraine
 Holloway, Dwight F. Jr.
 Holmes, Henry Allen
 Holmes, Kim R.
 Holt, Pat M.
 Holum, John D.
 Hooker, Richard D. Jr.
 Hoopes, Townsend W.
 Hope, Judith Richards
 Hope, Richard O.
 Horelick, Arnold L.
 Horlick, Gary N.
 Hormats, Robert D.
 Horn, Garfield H.
 Horn, Karen N.
 Horn, Miriam E.
 Horn, Sally K.
 Horner, Matina Souretis

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Hornik, Richard H.
 Horowitz, Irving Louis
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 Horton, Robert Scott
 Hosmer, Bradley C.
 Hoston, Germaine A.
 Hottelet, Richard C.
 Houghton, Amory Jr.
 Houghton, James R.
 House, Karen Elliott
 Hovey, J. Allan
 Howard, A. E. Dick
 Howard, John R.
 Howard, M. William Jr.
 Howell, Ernest M.
 Howell, Peter
 Howson, Nicholas C.*
 Hoyt, Mont P.
 Hrynkow, Sharon H.
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 Hudson, Manley O. Jr.
 Hudson, Michael C.
 Hudson, Stewart J.
 Huebner, Lee W.
 Hufbauer, Gary C.
 Huffington, Roy M.
 Hughes, Justin J. T.
 Hughes, R. John
 Hughes, Thomas Lowe
 Huiizenga, John W.
 Hultman, Tamela
 Hume, Ellen H.
 Hummel, Arthur W. Jr.
 Hunter, Robert E.
 Hunter, Shireen T.
 Hunter-Gault, Charlayne
 Huntington, Patricia
 Skinner
 Huntington, Samuel
 Phillips
 Huntsman, Jon M.
 Hurewitz, J. C.
 Hurford, John B.
 Hurlock, James B.
 Hurst, Robert J.

Hurwitz, Seth L.
 Hurwitz, Sol
 Hutchings, Robert L.
 Hutchins, Glenn H.
 Hutzler, Charles
 Huyck, Philip M.
 Hyland, William G.
 Hyman, Allen I.

I

Ignatius, David R.
 Ikenberry, G. John
 Ikle, Fred C.
 Ilchman, Alice Stone
 Inderfurth, Karl F.
 Ingersoll, Robert S.
 Inman, B. R.
 Intriligator,
 Michael D.
 Irish, Leon E.
 Irvin, Patricia L.
 Irwin, John N. II
 Irwin, Steven M.
 Isaacs, Maxine
 Isaacson, Walter S.
 Iselin, John Jay
 Isenberg, Steven
 Laurence
 Isham, Christopher
 Ispahani, Mahnaz Z.
 Istel, Yves-Andre
 Itoh, William H.
 Izlar, William H. Jr.

J

Jabber, Paul
 Jacklin, Nancy P.
 Jackson, Bruce P.
 Jackson, Eric K.
 Jackson, Jesse L.

Jackson, John Howard
 Jackson, Lois M.
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 Jacobson, Harold K.
 Jacobson, Jerome
 Jacoby, Tamar
 Jakub, Jay†
 James, Francis J.†
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 Janklow, Morton L.
 Janow, Merit E.
 Jaquette, Jane S.
 Jarvis, Nancy A.
 Jastrow, Robert
 Jebb, Cindy R.
 Jeffries, Bradley C.
 Jervis, Robert
 Jessup, Alpheus W.
 Jessup, Philip C. Jr.
 Jeter, Howard F.
 Joffe, Robert D.
 Johns, Lionel
 Skipwith
 Johnson, Howard W.
 Johnson, James A.
 Johnson, Jay L.
 Johnson, L. Oakley
 Johnson, Larry D.
 Johnson, Lionel C.
 Johnson, Nancie S.
 Johnson, Robbin S.
 Johnson, Robert H.
 Johnson, Robert W. IV
 Johnson, Thomas S.
 Johnson, Willene A.*
 Johnson, Wyatt
 Thomas
 Jones, Alan Kent
 Jones, Anita K.
 Jones, David C.
 Jones, James R.
 Jones, Kerri-Ann

Jones, Sidney R.
 Jones, Thomas V.
 Jones, Thomas W.
 Joost, Peter Martin*
 Jordan, Amos A.
 Jordan, Eason T.
 Jordan, Vernon E. Jr.
 Joseph, Geri M.
 Joseph, Ira B.
 Joseph, James A.
 Joseph, Richard A.
 Josephson, William
 Joyce, John T.
 Jumper, John P.
 Junz, Helen B.
 Juster, Kenneth I.

K

Kaden, Lewis B.
 Kadlec, Robert P.
 Kagan, Robert W.
 Kahan, Jerome H.
 Kahin, George
 McTurnan
 Kahler, Miles
 Kahn, Harry
 Kaiser, Philip M.
 Kaiser, Robert G.
 Kalb, Bernard
 Kalb, Marvin
 Kalicki, Jan H.
 Kalil, Thomas Amadeus
 Kamarck, Andrew
 Martin
 Kamarck, Elaine C.
 Kaminer, Peter H.
 Kaminsky, Howard
 Kampelman, Max M.
 Kamsky, Virginia Ann
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 Kandell, Jonathan
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 Kang, C. S. Eliot
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 Kansteiner, Walter H. III*
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 Kanter, Rosabeth Moss
 Kaplan, Gilbert E.
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 Kaplan, Stephen S.
 Kapp, Robert A.
 Kapstein, Ethan B.
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 Karamanian, Susan L.
 Karatnycky, Adrian
 Karatz, Bruce E.
 Karis, Thomas G.
 Karl, Terry Lynn
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 Karns, Margaret P.
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 Kasdin, Robert
 Kass, Stephen L.
 Kassalow, Jordan S.
 Kassof, Allen H.
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 Katz, Abraham
 Katz, Daniel Roger
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 Kaufman, Daniel J.
 Kaufman, Henry
 Kaufman, Robert R.
 Kaufmann, William W.
 Kaye, Charles R.†
 Kaysen, Carl
 Kazemi, Farhad
 Kea, Charlotte G.
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 Kean, Thomas H.
 Kearney, Jude
 Keel, Alton G. Jr.
 Keene, Lonnie S.
 Keeny, Spurgeon M. Jr.
 Kelleher, Catherine M.
 Kellen, Stephen M.
 Keller, Edmond J.

* Elected to membership in 1998.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 1998.

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 Kempe, Fred
 Kempner, Maximilian W.
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 Keniston, Kenneth
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 Kennedy Cuomo, Kerry
 Kennedy, Craig
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 King, John A. Jr.
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 Kirkland, Lane
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 Kornblum, John C.
 Korry, Edward M.
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 Kramer, Mark Nathan
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 Krauss, Clifford
 Krauthammer, Charles
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 Kreisberg, Paul H.
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 Kristol, Irving
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 Townsend
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 Kuniholm, Bruce Robellet
 ←Kunstadter, Geraldine S.
 Kupchan, Charles A.
 Kupchan, Clifford A.
 Kupperman, Robert H.
 Kurth, James R.
 Kurtzer, Daniel C.
 Kwoh, Stewart

L

 Laber, Jeri L.
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 Lader, Philip
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 LaFleur, Vinca Showalter
 Lagon, Mark P.
 Laipson, Ellen
 Laird, Vanessa
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 Lake, William T.
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 Lamb, Denis
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 Lampley, Virginia A.
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 Frank Jr.
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 LeMelle, Wilbert J.
 Lenzen, Louis C.
 LeoGrande, William M.
 Leonard, James F.
 Leonard, James G.
 Leone, Richard C.
 Lerner-Lam, Eva
 Lesch, Ann Mosely
 Lesser, Ian O.
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 Levin, Herbert
 Levin, John A.
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 Levine, Susan B.
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 Lewis, Bernard
 Lewis, David A.
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 Lewis, Flora
 Lewis, John P.
 Lewis, Loida Nicolas
 Lewis, Samuel W.
 Lewis, Sherman R. Jr.
 Lewis, Stephen R. Jr.
 Lewis, W. Walker
 Lewy, Glen S.
 Li, Lehmann
 Li, Victor H.
 Libby, I. Lewis
 Lichtblau, John H.
 Lichtenstein,
 Cynthia C.
 Lieber, James E.
 Lieber, Robert J.
 Lieberman, Jodi Beth
 Lieberman, Joseph I.
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 Lieberthal, Kenneth G.
 Lifton, Robert K.

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Lilienthal, Sally L.	Lubman, Stanley B.	Mahoney, Margaret E.	Martin, Daniel Richard	McCloy, John J. II
Lilley, James R.	Lucas, C. Payne	Mahoney, Thomas H. IV	Martin, Lisa L.	McCormack, Elizabeth J.
Lincoln, Edward J.	Luck, Edward C.	Mai, Vincent A.	Martin, Lynn Morley	McCormick, David H.†
Lindsay, Franklin A.	Lucy, William	Maier, Charles S.	Martin, Susan F.	McCouch, Donald G.
Linen, Jonathan S.	Luers, Wendy W.	Makins, Christopher J.	Martin, William F.	McCracken, Paul W.
Link, Troland S.	Luers, William H.	Mako, William P.	Martin-Brown, Joan C.	McCurdy, Dave
Linowes, David F.	Luke, John A. Jr.	Malek, Frederic V.	Martinez, Armando Bravo	McDermott, Jim
Linowitz, Sol M.	Lumpe, Lora	Malin, Clement B.	Martinuzzi, Leo S. Jr.	McDevitt, Sean Daniel†
Lipper, Kenneth	Lustick, Ian S.	Mallery, Richard	Marton, Kati I.	McDonald, Alonzo L.
Lippman, Thomas W.	Luttwak, Edward N.	Malley, Robert A.	Masin, Michael T.	McDonough, William J.
Lipscomb, Thomas H.	Luu, Thien-Kyt	Malmgren, Harald B.	Mason, Elvis L.	McDougall, Gay J.
Lipset, Seymour Martin	Lyall, Katharine C.	Malmgren, Philippa	Massey, L. Camille	McEntee, Joan M.
Lipsky, John P.	Lyman, Princeton N.	Malone, Alice Kimball†	Massey, Walter E.	McFarlane, Jennifer A.
Lipsky, Seth	Lyman, Richard W.	Mamdani, Mahmoud A.	Massie, Suzanne	McFarlane, Robert C.
Lissakers, Karin M.	Lynch, William Jr.	Manca, Marie Antoinette	Rohrbach	McFate, Patricia Ann
Litan, Robert E.	Lynk, Myles V.	Mandelbaum, Michael	Mathews, Jessica T.	McGiffert, David E.
Litt, David G.	Lynn, James T.	Manilow, Lewis	Mathews, Michael S.	McGovern, George S.
Little, David	Lynn, Laurence E. Jr.	Manley, Audrey Forbes	Mathews, Sylvia M.	McGowan, Alan
Litwak, Robert S.	Lyon, David W.	Mann, Hillary	Mathias, Charles McC. Jr.	McGrath, Eugene R.
Liu, Eric P.	Lyons, Gene M.	Prudence†	Mathis, Brian P.	McGurn, William
Livingston, Robert	Lyons, James E.	Mann, Michael D.	Matlock, Jack F. Jr.	McHale, Thomas R.
Gerald		Mann, Thomas E.	Matsui, Robert T.	McHenry, Donald F.
Llewellyn, J. Bruce		Manning, Bayless	Matteson, William B.	McKinney, Robert Moody
Lodal, Jan M.		Mansfield, Edward D.	Mattox, Gale A.	McLaughlin, David T.
Lodge, George Cabot		Manzi, Jim*	Matuszewski, Daniel C.	McLean, Sheila Avrin
Loeb, Marshall		Marans, J. Eugene	Maxwell, Kenneth Robert	McLin, Jon Blythe
Logan, Francis D.		Marcucci, Anna Patricia†	May, Ernest R.	McManus, Doyle
Long, Susan M.		Marcum, John Arthur	May, Michael M.	McManus, Jason D.
Long, William J.		Marder, Murrey	Mayer, Claudette	McNamara, Kathleen
Longstreth, Bevis		Margolis, David I.	Mayer, Gerald M. Jr.	Roberta
Loranger, Donald		Mark, David E.	Mayer, Lawrence A.	McNamara, Robert S.
Eugene		Mark, Hans M.	Mayhew, Alice E.	McNaugher, Thomas L.
Lord, Bette Bao		Mark, Rebecca P.	Maynes, Charles William	McNerney, Michael J.†
Lord, Winston		Marks, Leonard H.	Mazarr, Michael J.	McPeak, Merrill A.
Lorentzen, Oivind III		Marks, Paul A.	Mazur, Jay	McPherson, M. Peter
Louis, William Roger		Marks, Russell E. Jr.	McAfee, William Gage	McQuade, Lawrence C.
Lovejoy, Thomas E.		Markusen, Ann R.	McAllister, Jef Olivarius	McWade, Robert S.
Lovelace, Jon B.		Marlin, Alice Tepper	McCaffrey, Barry R.	Meacham, Jon
Low, Stephen		Marr, Phebe A.	McCain, John S. III	Mead, Dana G.
Lowenfeld, Andreas F.		Marron, Donald B.	McCall, H. Carl	Mead, Walter Russell
Lowenstein, James G.		Marshall, Andrew W.	McCann, Edward	Meagher, Robert F.
Lowenthal, Abraham F.		Marshall, Anthony D.	McCartan, Patrick F.	Mearsheimer, John J.
Loy, Frank E.		Marshall, Dale Rogers	McCarthy, James P.	Medina, Kathryn B.
Lozano, Ignacio E.		Marshall, F. Ray	McCarthy, Paul B.	Medish, Mark C.

* Elected to membership in 1998.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 1998.

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- Meers, Sharon I.
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 Elizabeth
 Mendlovitz, Saul H.
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 Merkel, David A.†
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 Merrill, Philip
 Merritt, Jack Neil
 Merszei, Zoltan
 Mertus, Julie A.†
 Mesa-Lago, Carmelo
 Meselson, Matthew S.
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 Mestres, Ricardo A. Jr.
 Metcalf, George Rich
 Mettler, Ruben F.
 Metzl, Jamie Frederic
 Meyer, Cord
 Meyer, Edward C.
 Meyer, John Robert
 Meyer, Karl E.
 Meyer, Michael Ryder*
 Meyerman, Harold J.
 Meyerson, Martin
 Michaels, Marguerite
 Mickiewicz, Ellen
 Midgley, Elizabeth
 Mihaly, Eugene B.
 Mikell, Gwendolyn
 Miles, Edward L.
 Milestone, Judith B.*
 Miller, Charles D.
 Miller, David Charles Jr.
 Miller, Debra L.
 Miller, Franklin C.
 Miller, J. Irwin
 Miller, Judith
 Miller, Ken
 Miller, Linda B.
- Miller, Marcia E.
 Miller, Matthew L.
 Miller, Paul David
 Miller, Roberta Balstad
 Miller, William Green
 Miller-Adams, Michelle
 Millett, Allan R.
 Millington, John A.
 Mills, Bradford
 Mills, Karen Gordon
 Mills, Susan Linda
 Mims, Valerie A.
 Minow, Newton N.
 Miranda, Lourdes R.
 Mirsky, Yehudah
 Mishkin, Alexander V.
 Mitchell, Arthur M. III
 Mitchell, George H. Jr.
 Mitchell, George J.
 Mitchell, Wandra G.
 Mize, David M.
 Mochizuki, Kiichi
 Mochizuki, Mike M.
 Moe, Sherwood G.
 Moffett, George D.
 Molano, Walter Thomas
 Molinari, Susan K.
 Mondale, Walter F.
 Montgomery, George
 Cranwell
 Montgomery, Parker G.
 Montgomery, Philip
 O'Bryan, III
 Moock, Joyce Lewinger
 Moody, Jim
 Moody, William S.
 Moore, John J. Jr.
 Moore, John M.
 Moore, John Norton
 Moore, Jonathan
 Moore, Julia A.
 Moore, Paul Jr.
 Moorman, Thomas S. Jr.
 Moose, George E.
 Moose, Richard M.
 Mora, Alberto J.
 Moragoda, Asoka Milinda
 Moran, Theodore H.
 Morris, Max King
 Morris, Milton D.
- Morris-Eck, Bailey
 Morrisett, Lloyd N.
 Morse, Edward L.
 Morse, Kenneth P.
 Mortimer, David H.
 Mosbacher, Robert A.
 Moses, Alfred H.
 Mosettig, Michael David
 Moskow, Kenneth A.*
 Moskow, Michael H.
 Moss, Ambler H. Jr.
 Motley, Joel W.
 Mottahedeh, Roy P.
 Motulsky, Dan T.
 Moynihan, Daniel P.
 Mroz, John Edwin
 Mudd, Margaret Farris
 Mujal-Leon, Eusebio
 Mulford, David C.
 Mulholland, William D.
 Muller, Edward R.*
 Muller, Henry
 Muller, Steven
 Mundy, Carl E. Jr.
 Munger, Edwin S.
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 Munyan, Winthrop R.
 Murase, Emily Moto
 Muravchik, Joshua
 — Murdoch, Rupert
 Murdock, Deroy†
 Murdy, William F.
 Murphy, Caryle Marie
 Murphy, Richard W.
 Murphy, Thomas S.
 Murray, Allen E.
 Murray, Douglas P.
 Murray, Ian P.
 Murray, Janice L.
 Murray, Lori Esposito
 Muse, Martha T.
 Musham, Bettye Martin
 Myerson, Toby S.
- N**
- Nachmanoff, Arnold
 Nacht, Michael
- Nadiri, M. Ishaq
 Nagl, John A.†
 Nagorski, Andrew
 Nagorski, Zygmunt
 Namkung, K. A.
 — Nasher, Raymond Donald
 Nathan, Andrew J.
 Nathan, James A.
 Nathoo, Raffiq A.
 Natt, Ted M.
 Nau, Henry R.
 Navab, Alexander
 Neal, Stephen L.
 Negroponte, John D.
 Neier, Aryeh
 Nelson, Anne
 Nelson, Daniel N.
 Nelson, Jack H.
 Nelson, Merlin E.
 Nenneman, Richard A.
 Neuman, Stephanie G.
 Neustadt, Richard E.
 Newberg, Esther R.
 Newburg, Andre W. G.
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 Newell, Barbara W.
 Newhouse, John
 Newman, Constance
 Berry
 Newman, Frank Neil*
 Newman, Priscilla A.
 Newman, Richard T.
 Newsom, David D.
 Newton, Quigg
 Ney, Edward N.
 Nicholas, N. J. Jr.
 Nichols, Carole
 Nichols, Nancy
 Stephenson
 Nichols, Rodney W.
 Niehuss, John M.
 Niehuss, Rosemary
 Neaher
 Nielsen, Nancy
 Nielsen, Waldemar
 August
 Nierenberg, Claudia
 Nilsson, Kenneth
 Nimetz, Matthew
 Nitze, Paul H.
- Nitze, William A.
 Nix, Crystal L.
 Noam, Eli M.
 Nolan, Janne Emilie
 Noland, Marcus
 Nolte, Richard H.
 Nonacs, Eric S.†
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 Norman, William S.
 Norton, Augustus Richard
 Norton, Eleanor Holmes
 Nossel, Suzanne
 Noto, Lucio A.
 Nuechterlein, Jeffrey D.
 Nugent, Walter
 Nunn, Sam
 Nussbaum, Bruce
 Nye, J. Benjamin H.
 Nye, Joseph S. Jr.
-
- O'Brien, Dennis J.
 O'Cleireacain, Carol
 O'Connor, Sandra Day
 O'Connor, Walter F.
 O'Flaherty, J. Daniel
 O'Hare, Joseph A.
 O'Malley, Cormac K. H.
 O'Neil, Michael J.
 O'Neill, Michael J.
 O'Prey, Kevin P.
 Oakes, John B.
 Oakes, John G. H.
 Oakley, Phyllis E.
 Oakley, Robert B.
 Oberdorfer, Don
 Odeen, Philip A.
 Odell, John S.
 Odom, William E.
 Oettinger, Anthony G.
 Offit, Morris W.
 Ogden, Alfred
 Oh, Kongdan
 Okawara, Merle Aiko
 Oksenberg, Michel
 Oliva, L. Jay
 Oliver, April A.

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| <p>Olmer, Lionel Herbert
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Opel, John R.
Oppenheimer, Franz
 Martin
Oppenheimer, Michael F.
Orlins, Stephen A.
Ornstein, Norman J.
Orr, Robert C.
Orszag, Peter R.
Osborne, Richard de J.
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Osmer-McQuade,
 Margaret
Osnos, Peter L.W.
Osnos, Susan Sherer
Ostrander, F. Taylor
Otero, Joaquin F.
Ovitz, Michael S.
Owen, Henry David
Owen, Roberts Bishop
Owens, James W.
Owens, William A.
Oxman, Stephen Alan
Oxnam, Robert B.
Oye, Kenneth A.</p> | <p>Parent, Alexandra Wood
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Parker, Jason H.
Parker, Karen E.
Parker, Maynard
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Parsky, Gerald L.
Parsons, Richard D.
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Pearson, Scott D.
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Pederson, Rena M.
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Perkins, Edward J.
Perkins, James A.
Perkins, Roswell B.
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Petri, Thomas E.
Petschek, Stephen R.
Pettibone, Peter J.
Petty, John R.
Peyronnin, Joseph F.
Pezzullo, Lawrence A.
Pfaltzgraff, Robert L. Jr.
Pfeiffer, Jane Cahill
Pfeiffer, Steven B.
Pham, Kien D.
Pharr, Susan J.
Phelan, John J. Jr.
Phillips, Cecil M.
Phillips, Christopher H.
Phillips, David L.
Phillips, Russell A. Jr.
Picker, Harvey
Pickering, Thomas R.
Pieczenik, Steve R.
Piedra, Alberto M. Jr.
Piel, Gerard
Pierce, Lawrence W.
Pierce, Ponchitta
Piercy, Jan
Pierre, Andrew J.
Pigott, Charles M.
Pike, John E.
Pillar, Russell I.†
Pilling, Donald L.
Pilliod, Charles J. Jr.
Pilon, Juliana Geran*
Pincus, Lionel I.
Pincus, Walter H.
Pinkerton, W. Stewart
Pino, John Anthony
Pipes, Daniel
Pipes, Richard
Pisano, Jane G.</p> | <p>Platt, Alan A.
Platt, Alexander H.
Platt, Nicholas
Platz, Stephanie Semple
Plaut, Peter G.†
Plepler, Richard L.
Plimpton, Calvin H.
Ploumpis, Valerie R.
Plumeri, Joseph J. II
Poats, Rutherford M.
Pocalyko, Michael N.
Podhoretz, Norman
Pogue, Richard W.
Polk, George W.†
Polk, William R.
Pollack, Gerald A.
Pollack, Jonathan D.
Pollack, Kenneth Michael
Pollack, Lester
Polsby, Nelson W.
Pond, Elizabeth
Poneman, Daniel Bruce
Pool-Eckert, Marquita J.
Pope, Clara A.
Popkin, Anne Brandeis
Popoff, Frank
Porter, John Edward
Portes, Jonathan D.
Portes, Richard D.
Porzeczanski, Arturo C.
Posen, Adam†
Posen, Barry R.
Posner, Michael
Posvar, Wesley W.
Potter, William C.
Powell, Colin L.
Powell, Jerome H.
Power, Philip H.
Powers, Averill L.
Powers, Thomas
Pranger, Robert J.
Prasso, Sheri T.
Precht, Henry
Pressler, Larry
Prewitt, Kenneth
Price, Hugh</p> | <p>Price, John R. Jr.
Price, Raymond K.
Price, Robert
Pritzker, Penny
Prothro, Charles Vincent
Pruitt, Lisa R.
Pryce, Jeffrey F.*
Pryce, William T.
Puchala, Donald James
Puckett, Allen E.
Puckett, Robert H.
Pulling, Thomas L.
Purcell, Susan Kaufman
Pursley, Robert E.
Pusey, Nathan M.
Pustay, John S.
Putnam, Robert D.
Pye, Lucian W.
Pyle, Cassandra A.
Pyle, Kenneth B.</p> |
|---|---|---|--|---|
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- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>P</p> <p>Paal, Douglas Haines
Pachon, Harry P.
Packard, George R.
Paine, George C. II
Pais, Abraham
Pakula, Hannah C.
Palmer, Mark
Palmer, Ronald D.
Palmieri, Victor H.
Panofsky, Wolfgang K. H.
Pardee, Scott E.
Pardew, James W. Jr.</p> | <p>Q</p> <p>Quandt, William B.
Quester, George H.
Quigley, Kevin F. F.
Quigley, Leonard V.
Quilter, Peter A.†
Quinn, Jane Bryant</p> | <p>R</p> <p>Rabb, Maxwell M.
Rabinowitch, Alexander
Rabinowitch, Victor
Radtko, Robert W.†
Radway, Laurence I.
Raines, Franklin D.
Raisian, John
Ralph, Regan Elisabeth
Ramirez, Lilia L.
Ramo, Joshua Coopert</p> |
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* Elected to membership in 1998.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 1998.

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 Rangel, Charles B.
 Ranis, Gustav
 Rankin, Clyde E. III
 Raoul-Duval, Michael
 Raphael, Robin Lynn
 Rappaport, Alan H.
 Rasmussen, Nicholas J.
 Ratchford, J. Thomas
 Rather, Dan
 Rathjens, George W.
 Ratner, Steven R.
 Rattner, Steven L.
 Rattray, Gregory J.
 Rauch, Rudolph S.
 Raul, Alan Charles
 Ravenal, Earl C.
 Ravenholt, Albert V.
 Ravich, Samantha F.†
 Ravitch, Richard
 Raymond, David A.
 Raymond, Jack
 Raymond, Lee R.
 Redman, Charles E.
 Reed, Charles B.
 Reed, Joseph Verner
 Reese, William Sears
 Regan, Ned
 Reichert, William M.
 Reid, Ogden
 Reimer, Dennis Joe
 Reinhardt, John E.
 Reinke, Fred W.
 Reisman, William
 Michael
 Reiss, Mitchell B.
 Renfrew, Charles Byron
 Rennie, Milbrey
 Rennie, Renate
 Reppy, Judith V.
 Resor, Stanley R.
 Rey, Nicholas A.
 Reynolds, Carolyn Ann
 Rhineland, John B.
 Rhodes, John B., Sr.
 Rhodes, William R.
 Rice, Condoleezza
 Rice, Donald B.
 Rice, Donald S.
 Rice, Joseph A.
- Rich, Brian A.†
 Rich, John H. Jr.
 Rich, Michael D.
 Richard, Anne Claire
 Richards, Paul G.
 Richards, Stephen H.
 Richardson, David B.
 Richardson, Elliot L.
 Richardson, Henry J. III
 Richardson, John
 Richardson, Richard W.
 Richardson, William B.
 Richardson, William R.
 Richardson, Yolonda C.
 Richman, Joan F.
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 Ridgway, Rozanne L.
 Rieff, David
 Rielly, John E.
 Rifkind, Robert S.
 Riley, Kevin Jack
 Rindskopf, Elizabeth R.
 Riordan, Michael L.
 Ritch, John B. III
 Rivas-Vasquez, A.
 Victoria†
 Rivers, Richard R.
 Rivkin, David B. Jr.
 Rivkin, Donald H.
 Rivlin, Alice M.
 Rizopoulos, Nicholas X.
 Robb, Charles S.
 Robbins, Carla Anne
 Robert, Joseph E. Jr.
 Robert, Stephen
 Roberts, Bradley H.
 Roberts, Chalmers M.
 Roberts, John J.
 Roberts, Richard T.†
 Roberts, Walter R.
 Robinson, Barbara Paul
 Robinson, David Z.
 Robinson, Davis R.
 Robinson, Eugene
 Harold
 Robinson, James D. III
 Robinson, Leonard H. Jr.
 Robinson, Linda
 Robinson, Pearl T.
 Robinson, Randall
- Robison, Olin C.
 Roche, James G.
 Rockefeller, David Jr.
 Rockefeller, John D. IV
 Rockefeller, Nicholas
 Rockefeller, Rodman C.
 Rockwell, Hays H.
 Rodman, Peter W.
 Rodriguez, Rita M.
 Rodriguez, Vincent A.
 Roett, Riordan
 Roff, J. Hugh
 Rogers, William D.
 Rogers, William P.
 Rohatyn, Felix G.
 Rohlen, Thomas P.
 Rokke, Ervin J.
 Roman, Nancy Ellen
 Romberg, Alan D.
 Romero, Philip Joseph
 Romero-Barcelo,
 Carlos A.
 Rondeau, Ann E.
 Roney, John H.
 Roosevelt, Theodore IV
 Rose, Daniel
 Rose, Elihu
 Rose, Frederick P.
 Rosecrance, Richard
 Rosen, Arthur H.
 Rosen, Daniel H.
 Rosen, Jane K.
 Rosen, Robert L.
 Rosen, Stephen Peter
 Rosenblatt, David S.
 Rosenblatt, Lionel A.
 Rosenblatt, Peter R.
 Rosenblum, Mort L.
 Rosenfeld, Stephen S.
 Rosenfield, Patricia L.
 Rosenstock, Robert
 Rosenthal, A. M.
 Rosenthal, Douglas
 Eurico
 Rosenthal, Jack
 Rosenthal, Joel H.
 Rosenthal, Mitchell*
 Rosenzweig, Robert M.
 Rosin, Axel G.
 Roskens, Ronald W.
- Rosner, Jeremy D.
 Rosovsky, Henry
 Ross, Alison K.
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 Ross, Arthur
 Ross, Christopher W. S.
 Ross, Dennis B.
 Ross, James D.
 Ross, Robert S.
 Ross, Roger
 Ross, Thomas B.
 Rosso, David J.
 Rossotti, Charles O.
 Rostow, Charles
 Nicholas
 Rostow, Elspeth Davies
 Rostow, Walt W.
 Rotberg, Robert I.
 Roth, Katherine
 Roth, Kathryn G.
 Roth, Kenneth
 Roth, Stanley Owen
 Roth, William M.
 Roth, William V. Jr.
 Rothkopf, David
 Jochanan
 Route, Ronald A.*
 Rovine, Arthur W.
 Rowen, Henry S.
 Rowny, Edward L.
 Rubin, Barnett R.
 Rubin, James P.
 Rubin, Nancy H.
 Rubin, Robert E.
 Rubin, Seymour Jeffrey
 Rubin, Trudy S.
 Rudenstein, Neil L.
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 Rudolph, Susanne
 Hoerber
 Ruebhausen, Oscar M.
 Ruenitz, Robert M.
 Ruggie, John G.
 Rugh, William A.*
 Runge, Carlisle Ford
 Rupp, George E.
 Russin, Elisabeth Read
 Ruttan, Vernon W.
 Rutzen, Douglas B.
- Ryan, Arthur F.
 Ryan, John Thomas III
 Ryan, Michael E.

S

- Sachs, Jeffrey D.
 Sacks, Paul M.
 Safran, Nadav
 Sagan, Scott D.
 Said, Edward
 Sakoian, Carol Knuth
 Salacuse, Jeswald
 William
 Salerno, Frederic V.
 Salomon, Richard E.
 Salomon, William R.
 Salzman, Anthony David
 Samore, Gary*
 Sample, Steven B.
 Samuels, Barbara C. II
 Samuels, Michael A.
 Samuels, Nathaniel
 Samuels, Richard J.
 Sanchez, Miguel A.
 Sanchez, Nestor D.
 Sandberg, Sheryl K.†
 Sandel, Michael J.
 Sander, Alison B.
 Sanders, Barry A.
 Sanders, Edward G.
 Sanders, J. Stanley
 Sanders, Robin Renee
 Santos, Charles Edward
 Sapolsky, Harvey M.
 Sargeant, Stephen
 Thomas
 Sassen, Saskia
 Satloff, Robert B.
 Saul, Ralph Southey
 Saunders, Harold H.
 Saunders, Paul J.
 Saunders, Phillip C.
 Savage, Frank
 Sawhill, John C.
 Sawoski, Mark
 Sawyer, Diane
 Scalapino, Robert A.

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Schachter, Oscar	Schwebel, Stephen M.	Shelp, Ronald K.	Simes, Dimitri K.	Smith, W.Y.
Schaffer, Howard Bruner	Sciolino, Elaine F.	Shelton, Henry H.	Simmons, Adele	Smith, Wayne S.
Schaffer, Teresita C.	Scott, David Wilson	Shelton, Joanna Reed	Simmons, P.J.	Smith, Winthrop H. Jr.
Schake, Kori	Scowcroft, Brent	Shelton-Colby, Sally A.	Simmons, Ruth J.	Snider, Don M.
Schechter, Jerrold	Scranton, William W.	Shenk, George H.	Simon, Francoise L.	Snider, L. Britt*
Scheffer, David J.	Seaborg, Glenn Theodore	Shepard, Stephen B.	Simon, William E.	Snow, Robert Anthony
Scheinman, Lawrence	Seagrave, Norman P.	Shepardson, Robert	Simons, Julie Ann	Snowe, Olympia J.
Schell, Orville Hickok	Seamans, Robert C. Jr.	Thomas	Sims, Albert G.	Snyder, Jack L.
Scher, Robert M.†	Seaton, James B. III	Sherman, Michael	Sims, Robert B.	Snyder, Jed C.
Schick, Thomas	Segal, Sheldon J.	Sherman, Wendy R.	Sinclair, Paula J.	Snyder, Richard E.
Schiff, Frank W.	Segal, Susan Louise	Sherry, George L.	Sinding, Steven W.	Sobol, Dorothy Meadow
Schifter, Richard	Seibold, Frederick C. Jr.	Sherwood, Benjamin B.	Sinkin, Richard N.	Soderberg, Nancy E.
Schilling, Warner R.	Seidenberg Ivan	Sherwood-Randall,	Sisco, Joseph John	Sofaer, Abraham David
Schlefer, Mark P.	Seigenthaler, John L.	Elizabeth D.	Sitrick, James Baker	Sohn, Louis B.
Schlesinger, Arthur	Seitz, Frederick	Shestack, Jerome J.	Skidmore, Thomas E.	Solarz, Stephen J.
Schlesinger, Jacob M.	Sekulow, Eugene A.	Shields, Lisa Katherine†	Skinner, Elliott P.	Solbert, Peter O. A.
Schlesinger, James R.	Selin, Douglas	Shiffman, Gary M.	Skinner, Kiron Kanina	Solnick, Steven L.
Schlesinger, Stephen C.	Selin Ivan	Shiner, Josette S.	Skolnikoff, Eugene B.	Solomon, Andrew
Schlosser, Herbert S.	Serfaty, Simon	Shinn, James J.	Slade, David R.	Wallace
Schmertz, Herbert	Sesno, Frank W.	Shingley, Walter V.	Slater, Joseph E.	Solomon, Anne G. K.
Schmidt, Benno Jr.	Sestanovich, Stephen R.	Shire, Jacqueline W.	Slaughter, Anne-Marie	Solomon, Anthony M.
Schmoke, Kurt L.	Sewall, John O. B.	Shirk, Susan L.	Slawson, Paul S.	Solomon, Joshua N.
Schneider, Jan	Sewall, Sarah	Shlaes, Amity Ruth	Sloane, Ann Brownell	Solomon, Peter J.
Schneider, William	Sewell, John W.	Shoemaker,	Slocombe, Walter B.	Solomon, Richard H.
Schneier, Arthur	Seymour, Frances J.	Christopher C.	Sloss, Leon	Solomon, Robert
Schoen, Douglas E.	Shafer, D. Michael	Shoemaker, Don	Small, Lawrence M.	Sonenshine, H. Marshall
Schoettle, Enid C. B.	Shafer, Jeffrey R.	Shore, Jennifer A.	Smalley, Patricia T.	Sonenshine, Tara Diane
Schorr, Daniel L.	Shaffer, Gail S.	Shorr, David	Smart, S. Bruce Jr.	Sonnenberg, Maurice
Schrage, Elliot J.	Shailor, Barbara*	Shriver, Donald W.	Smith, Andrew F.	Sonnenfeldt, Helmut
Schroeder, Christopher	Shair, Beth L.†	Shubert, Gustave H.	Smith, Clint E.	Sonnenfeldt, Richard W.
Matthew	Shalala, Donna E.	Shulman, Colette	Smith, Clint N.	Sorensen, Gillian Martin
Schubert, Richard F.	Shalikashvili, John M.	Shulman, Marshall D.	Smith, David Shiverick	Sorensen, Theodore C.
Schuh, G. Edward	Shapiro, Eli	Shultz, George P.	Smith, DeWitt C. Jr.	Soros, George
Schuker, Jill A.	Shapiro, Harold T.	Shuman, Stanley S.	Smith, Edwin M.	Soros, Paul
Schulhof, Michael Peter	Shapiro, Isaac	Sick, Gary G.	Smith, Hedrick L.	Southwick, James D.
Schulz, William F.	Shapiro, Judith R.	Siegman, Henry	Smith, Jeffrey H.	Sovern, Michael I.
Schumacher, Edward	Shaplen, Jason T.	Sifton, Elisabeth N.	Smith, John T. II	Spain, James W.
Schumer, Charles E.	Sharp, Daniel A.	Sigal, Leon V.	Smith, Malcolm B.	Spalter, Jonathan
Schwab, Susan Carroll	Shattuck, John	Sigmund, Paul E.	Smith, Michael B.	Spangler, Scott M.
Schwartz, Ethan	Shayne, Herbert M.	Silas, C. J.	Smith, Perry M.	Spar, Debora L.
Schwarz, Adam*	Sheehan, Kevin P.*	Silberman, Laurence H.	Smith, Peter Hopkinson	Spector, Leonard S.
Schwarz, Benjamin C.	Sheffield, Jill W.	Silkenat, James R.	Smith, R. Jeffrey	Speedie, David C.
Schwarz,	Sheinbaum, Stanley K.	Silver, Allison	Smith, Richard M.	Speidel, Kirsten
Frederick A. O. Jr.	Sheinkman, Jack	Silver, Daniel B.	Smith, Stephen G.	Elizabeth
Schwarzer, William W.	Sheldon, Eleanor B.	Silver, Ron	Smith, Theodore M.	Spencer, Edson W.

* Elected to membership in 1998.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 1998.

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- Spencer, William C.
Spero, Joan E.
Speth, James Gustave
Speyer, Jerry I.
Spielvogel, Carl
Spiers, Ronald I.
Spindler, J. Andrew
Spiro, Herbert John
Spratt, John M. Jr.
Springer, Jenny
Squadron, Howard M.
Stackpole, D. Andrew†
Stacks, John
Staheli, Donald L.
Stalson, Helena
Stamas, Stephen
Stankard, Francis X.
Stanley, Peter W.
Stanton, Frank
Staples, Eugene S.
Starr, S. Frederick
Stassen, Harold E.
Steadman, Richard C.
Stedman, Louellen
Steel, Ronald
Steiger, Paul E.
Stein, David F.
Stein, Elliot
Stein, Eric
Stein, Mark Brian
Steinberg, David J.
Steinberg, James B.
Steinberg, Richard H.
Steinbruner, John D.
Steiner, Daniel
Steiner, Joshua Linder
Steiner, Steven E.*
Stempel, John D.
Stent, Angela Evelyn
Stepan, Alfred C.
Stern, David Joel*
Stern, Ernest
Stern, Fritz
Stern, H. Peter
Stern, Jessica E.
Stern, Paula
Stern, Walter P.
Stern, Michael E.
Sternlight, David
Stetson, Anne
- Stevens, Charles R.
Stevens, James W.
Stevens, Paul Schott
Stevenson, Adlai E.
Stevenson, Charles A.
Stewart, Donald M.
Stewart, Gordon C.
Stewart, Ruth Ann
Stiehm, Judith Hicks
Stiglitz, Joseph E.
Stiles, Deborah F.
Stiles, Ned B.
Stith, Kate
Stobaugh, Robert B.
Stockman, David A.
Stoessinger, John G.
Stofft, William A.
Stoga, Alan J.
Stokes, Bruce
Stokes, Louis
Stone, Jeremy J.
Stone, Randall
Stone, Roger D.
Straus, Donald B.
Straus, Oscar S. II
Straus, R. Peter
Strauss, Robert S.
Strausz-Hupe, Robert
Stremlau, John J.
Strmecki, Marin J.
Strock, James M.
Stroock, Thomas F.
Strossen, Nadine
Stroud, Joe Hinton
Studeman, William O.
Styron, Rose
Sudarkasa, Niara
Sughrue, Karen M.*
Suleiman, Ezra
Sulkin, Seth R.
Sullivan, Gordon R.
Sullivan, Leon H.
Sullivan, Louis W.
Sullivan, William H.
Summers, Harry G. Jr.
Summers, Lawrence H.
Sunderland, Jack B.
Suslow, Leo A.
Sutphen, Mona K.†
Sutterlin, James S.
- Sutton, Francis X.
Swank, Emory C.
Swanson, David H.
Sweeney, John J.*
Sweitzer, Brandon W.
Swenson, Eric P.
Swid, Stephen Claar
Swiers, Peter Bird
Swing, John Temple
Szanton, Peter L.
Szporluk, Roman
- T**
- Taft, Julia Vadala
Taft, William H. IV
Tagliabue, Paul
Tahir-Kheli, Shirin R.
Talbot, Phillips
Talbot, Strobe
Talwar, Puneet
Tang, Angelica O.
Tang, David K.Y.
Tanham, George K.
Tannenwald, Theodore
Tanner, Harold
Tanter, Raymond
Tapia, Raul R.
Tarnoff, Peter
Tasco, Frank J.
Taubman, William
Taylor, Arthur R.
Taylor, Kathryn Pelgrift
Taylor, William J. Jr.
Tedstrom, John E.
Teece, David J.
Teeley, Peter B.
Teeter, Robert M.
Teitelbaum, Michael S.
Telhami, Shibley
Tellis, Ashley Joachim
Tempelsman, Maurice
Temple-Raston, Dina
Simonet
Tenet, George J.*
Tennyson, Leonard B.
Terracciano, Anthony P.
Terry, Sarah M.
- Theobald, Thomas C.
Thiessen, Marc A.
Thoman, G. Richard
Thomas, Barbara S.
Thomas, Brooks
Thomas, Evan W. III
Thomas, Franklin A.
Thomas, James P.
Thomas, Lee B. Jr.
Thomas-Lake, Hillary†
Thompson, Robert L.
Thompson, W. Scott
Thomson, James A.
Thomson, James C. Jr.
Thornburgh, Dick
Thornell, Richard P.
Thornton, John L.
Thornton, Thomas Perry
Thoron, Louisa
Tien, Chang-Lin
Tien, John K. Jr.†
Tierney, Paul E. Jr.
Tillman, Seth P.
Timothy, Kristen
Timpson, Sarah
Livingston
Tindell, Cynthia A.†
Tipson, Frederick S.
Tisch, Laurence Allan
Tobias, Randall L.
Todman, Terence A.
Toll, Maynard J. Jr.
Tomlinson, Alexander C.
Ton, Vy N.
Topping, Audrey
Ronning
Topping, Seymour
Torano, Maria Elena
Torres, Art
Torres, Esteban Edward
Torres, Raidza M.
Torrice, Robert G.
Toth, Robert C.
Trachtenberg, Stephen
Joel
Train, Harry D. II
Train, John
Train, Russell E.
Trainor, Bernard E.
Trani, Eugene P.
- Travis, Martin B. Jr.
Treat, John Elting
Treat, Thomas J.
Trenkle, Timothy Paul
Treverton, Gregory Frye
Trezise, Philip H.
Trice, Robert H. Jr.
Trimble, Charles R.
Trojan, Vera M.
Trooboff, Peter D.
Trowbridge, Alexander B.
Truitt, Nancy Sherwood
Truman, Edwin M.
Tsehai, Elizabeth†
Tsipis, Kosta
Tucher, H. Anton
Tuck, Edward Hallam
Tucker, Katherine K.
Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf
Tucker, Richard Frank
Tucker, Robert W.
Tuminez, Astrid S.
Tung, Ko-Yung
Turck, Nancy B.
Turner, J. Michael
Turner, Robert F.
Turner, Stansfield
Turner, William C.
Tyrrell, R. Emmett Jr.
Tyson, Laura D'Andrea
- U**
- Udovitch, Abraham L.
Uhlig, Mark
Ullman, Richard H.
Ulman, Cornelius M.
Ulrich, Marybeth
Peterson
Ungar, Sanford J.
Unger, David C.
Unger, Leonard
Upton, Maureen T.
Uriu, Robert M.
Usher, William R.
Utgo, Victor A.
Utley, Garrick
Utton, Al E.

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V

Vagliano, Alexander M.
 Vagliano, Sara
 Vagts, Detlev F.
 Vaky, Viron P.
 Valenta, Jiri
 Valentine, Debra A.
 Valenzuela, Arturo A.
 Van Cott, Donna Lee
 van der Vink, Gregory E.
 Van Dusen, Michael H.
 Van Dyk, Ted
 Van Evera, Stephen
 Van Fleet, James Alward
 Van Vlierden, Constant M.
 van Voorst, L. Bruce
 Vance, Cyrus R.
 Vande Berg, Marsha
 VanDeMark, Brian
 Vanden Heuvel, Jon D.
 vanden Heuvel, Katrina
 vanden Heuvel, William J.
 Varela, Marta B.
 Veblen, Tom C.
 Vecchi, Sesto F.
 Veit, Carol Michele
 Veit, Lawrence A.
 Veliotis, Nicholas A.
 Verleger, Philip K. Jr.*
 Vermilye, Peter H.
 Vernon, Raymond
 Verstandig, Toni G.
 Verville, Elizabeth G.
 Vessey, John W.
 Viccellio, Henry Jr.
 Victor, David G.
 Vidal, David J.
 Viebranz, Curtis G.
 Viederman, Stephen
 Viets, Richard Noyes
 Vila, Adis M.
 Villar, Arturo
 Vincent, Eric†
 Viorst, Milton
 Viscusi, Enzo

Vitale, Alberto
 Voell, Richard Allen
 Vogel, Ezra F.
 Vogelgesang, Sandy
 Louise
 Vogelson, Jay M.
 Vojta, George J.
 Volcker, Paul A.
 Volk, Stephen R.
 von Eckartsberg, K. Gayle
 von Hippel, Frank
 von Lipsey, Roderick K.
 von Mehren, Robert B.
 Votaw, Carmen Delgado
 Vuono, Carl E.

W

Wachner, Linda J.
 Wadsworth-Darby, Mary
 Waggoner, Robert C.
 Wais, Marshall I. Jr.
 Wakeman, Frederic E. Jr.
 Waldron, Arthur
 Wales, Jane M.
 Walker, Charls E.
 Walker, G. R.
 Walker, Jenonne
 Walker, John L.
 Walker, Nancy J.
 Walker, William N.
 Walker-Huntley, Mary L.
 Wallerstein, Mitchel B.
 Wallich, Christine I.
 Wallison, Peter J.
 Walsh, Michaela L.
 Walters, Barbara
 Walton, Anthony John
 Walton, R. Keith
 Waltz, Kenneth N.
 Ward, Jennifer C.
 Ward, Katherine T.*
 Ware, Carl
 Warner, Edward L. III

Warner, Volney James
 Warnke, Paul C.
 Warren, Gerald L.
 Warren, Lewis M. Jr.
 Washburn, Abbott M.
 Washburn, John L.
 Wasserstein, Bruce
 Waterbury, John
 Waters, Cherri D.
 Watson, Alexander F.
 Watson, Peter S.*
 Wattenberg, Ben J.
 Watts, Glenn E.
 Watts, John H.
 Watts, William
 Weatherstone, Dennis
 Weaver, David R.
 Webb, Hoyt K.
 Weber, Vin
 Webster, William H.
 Wechsler, William F.
 Wedgwood, Ruth
 Weeks, Jennifer R.
 Wehrle, Leroy Snyder
 Weidenbaum, Murray
 Weigel, George
 Weiksner, George B. Jr.
 Weil, Frank A.
 Weinberg, John L.
 Weinberg, Steven
 Weinberger, Caspar W.
 Weiner, Myron
 Weinert, Richard S.
 Weinrod, W. Bruce
 Weinstein, Michael M.
 Weintraub, Sidney
 Weisberg, Jacob
 Weisman, Steven R.
 Weiss, Andrew Scott
 Weiss, Charles Jr.
 Weiss, Cora
 Weiss, Edith Brown
 Weiss, Stanley A.
 Weiss, Thomas G.
 Weitz, Peter Robertson
 Welch, C. David

Welch, Jasper A. Jr.
 Welch, John F. Jr.
 Welch, Larry D.
 Wells, Damon
 Wells, Herman B.
 Wells, Louis T.
 Wells, Samuel F. Jr.
 Wells, Walter N.*
 Wender, Ira T.
 Wendt, Allan
 Wertheim, Mitzi Mallina
 Wesbrook, Stephen D.
 Weschler, Joanna
 Wesely, Edwin J.
 West, J. Robinson
 West, Togo D. Jr.
 Weston, Burns H.
 Wexler, Anne
 Weymouth, Elizabeth G.
 Whalen, Charles W. Jr.
 Whalen, Richard J.
 Wharton, Clifton R. Jr.
 Wheeler, John K.
 Wheeler, John P. III
 Whitaker, C. S.
 Whitaker, Jennifer
 Seymour
 Whitaker, Mark
 White, John P.
 White, Julia A.
 White, Maureen
 White, Peter C.
 White, Robert J.
 White, Robert M.
 White, Timothy J.
 White, Walter H. Jr.
 Whitehead, John C.
 Whitehouse, Charles S.
 Whitman, Christine Todd
 Whitman, Marina v.N.
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