

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

ANNUAL REPORT

July 1, 1996 – June 30, 1997

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† Elected in 1995 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, 1997.

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The new organization of this year's Annual Report is designed to focus attention on the intellectual substance of the Council's activities. A comprehensive listing of all programs and events can be found on the Council's new website at www.foreignrelations.org. Printed copies of all listings are also available on request.

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, 3,300 members strong, divided almost equally among New York, Washington, D.C., and the rest of the nation. Its ranks include nearly all past and present senior U.S. government officials who deal with international matters, renowned scholars, and leaders of business, media, human rights, humanitarian, and other nongovernmental groups. Its members choose new members, who aim to educate themselves and then others.

These members strictly maintain the Council's nonpartisan and nonideological heritage. The Council, headquartered in New York City with offices in Washington, D.C., is host to the widest possible range of views and advocate of none. The Council takes no institutional stand on foreign relations issues. 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 the members of committees or task forces. This tradition of neutrality enables the Council to gather contending voices for serious and civil debate and discussion. 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 gain new insights into the rules and rhythms of international affairs and to provide analysis and ideas for U.S. foreign policy. The Council does this by talking with world leaders and thinkers, and by bringing together its unmatched membership with its own expert staff of Fellows. These Fellows—with back-

grounds in government and scholarship, and with expertise in almost every world issue and region—constitute one of the country's largest and most active think tanks.

2. To share these insights, analyses, and ideas beyond Council members, with others who have a stake in international matters. The Council does this in many ways. It publishes *Foreign Affairs* magazine, the most respected publication in the field of international relations. It produces books, monographs, and policy reports, and holds numerous conferences. It runs a vibrant and exclusive Corporate Program for some 200 of the world's leading firms. It also produces a series of televised debates and hearings on major policy issues.
3. To find and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers. The Council does this primarily through a special membership program for younger Americans and a variety of fellowships. The aim is to spark interest in world affairs and U.S. foreign policy. The diverse group of 350 younger Council term members with remarkable backgrounds is increasingly active in Council events.

In recent months, Council members have heard former U.N. Ambassadors Madeleine Albright and Jeane Kirkpatrick debate the future of the United Nations; Henry Kissinger muse to younger members about the lessons of history; the four Joint Chiefs of Staff discuss strategy; House Speaker Newt Gingrich sketch his vision of our future world; CNN founder Ted Turner talk of television's next phase abroad; Israeli leader Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat give their visions of peace; Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto explain Japan's foreign and economic policies; Chairman of the Federal Reserve Alan Greenspan; former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher; European economist and banker Jacques Attali; President Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico; South African leader Thabo Mbeki; Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad of Malaysia . . .

The Council on Foreign Relations is a unique membership organization and think tank that educates members and staff to serve the nation with ideas for a better and safer world.

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

I am pleased to have the chance to report on our progress in transforming the Council on Foreign Relations from a New York-based organization into a truly national body—one that better reflects the diversity of the American body politic and its concerns and interests with regard to foreign policy in this post-Cold War era.

In the past, some of the Council's critics have sought to portray it as an organization of the "New York liberal elite." There may have been a kernel of truth to this in the early days. But in the last decade, we have reached well beyond New York to Washington and the country, and now we are reaching further into America.

In the past year, when we celebrated the Council's 75th anniversary, we also passed an important watershed: more Council members now live outside New York and Washington than in either of those two metropolitan areas. And our Board of Directors has voted unanimously to increase by 50 percent the membership outside of New York and Washington.

Now that we are becoming a truly national organization, we are gearing up to better serve our national constituency. Our new building, at 50 East 68th Street, will be wired for the latest interactive video-conferencing technology, allowing non-New Yorkers and,

indeed, the world, to participate in the Council's discussions and debates from their homes and offices across the country and around the globe. Our website has just recently been initiated. I invite all of you to visit this site. (It can be found at www.foreignrelations.org.)

Among Les Gelb's many creative initiatives, none is closer to his heart than helping to find and nurture the "next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers."

As for those who are concerned about the average age of Council members, perhaps they should note the relevant facts. The median age of our membership in the last few years has decreased from 65 to 58 and continues to grow younger. Also, the number of term members has jumped from 275 to 364 in just the past four years.

The younger members are also among the most active at the Council. They are importantly responsible for the 30 percent increase we have seen in attendance at Council meetings in New York and Washington over the last year. We also have sought to involve term members as (nonvoting) participants in most of the major Board of Directors committees. Getting them involved in the governance of this organiza-

tion serves not only the grand goal of training future foreign policy leaders but also our own internal need for developing future leaders of the Council itself.



Peter G. Peterson

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN



Presiders Jordana Friedman and Jordan S. Kassalow with Betsy Cohen at the February 19, 1997, Term Member Seminar, "Public-Private Partnership in Developing Nations: How Corporations Can Promote Community Development."

The Council is growing more diverse in other ways. The number of women members has tripled in the past decade. Diversity is an important part of our agenda. A programmatic highlight of the last year was our outstanding conference on diversity in foreign policy, which featured distinguished speakers including Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations Bill Richardson, and Professor Ronald Takaki of the University of California, Berkeley.

Our meeting formats also continue to energize the membership with new ways to participate in the dialogue and debate on critical issues. Of particular note are our televised hearings, such as one chaired by former U.S. Senators Warren Rudman and Bill Bradley on China policy and another with former Directors of Central Intelligence James R. Schlesinger, William H. Webster, and R. James Woolsey on the future of the CIA. Our "Great Debates"—including one between former U.S. Permanent Representatives Madeleine Albright and Jeane Kirkpatrick on the future of the United Nations and another between Richard C. Holbrooke and Michael Mandelbaum on the expansion of NATO—have not only attracted broad interest but have also spurred discussion among members long after they

were over. Our conference on the coming challenges of global pension funding was also notable for the variety of views about the nature of the problem and its possible solutions.

Finally, as befits an organization that is striving to become more national in scope, we continue to develop our Washington program with an increasing number of meetings, roundtables, study groups, and conferences. To manage our growing operations there, Paula J. Dobriansky has joined the Council as Vice President, Washington Program. She is an expert on Russia and Eastern Europe with a varied background in high-level government roles, including service as Associate Director of the U.S. Information Agency. The decision to base a number of Fellows in Washington has been crucial to program development there—and that decision required

the Council to move into the larger space it will now occupy in the new Carnegie Endowment building at 1779 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.

Meanwhile, when construction is completed on our new headquarters building in New York, the main meeting room in that building will accommodate almost twice the audience size we can at present, so that we can comfortably seat the increasing number of our members who want to attend discussions and dinners.

I hope to see all of you in person at upcoming Council events, and I'm confident that you will join me in congratulating and thanking Les Gelb and his colleagues for bringing a new energy to the Council, and in extending warm appreciation to my close partner and friend, our Vice Chairman, Hank Greenberg, as well as to our fellow Directors.

Peter G. Peterson
Chairman of the Board

THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The Council is firmly committed to transforming itself into a truly national organization. That is the central message of Pete Peterson's Chairman's Report, and that is the theme of this year's Annual Report.

In five years, almost half of the Council's members will reside outside of New York City and Washington, D.C. During this period, we will reach out more often and more effectively to our members and community leaders across the country with our dinner/seminar programs, and increasingly through electronic study groups and video conferencing. Our signature method of outreach will be small-group discussions. The Council's ultimate goal is to involve our members in a dialogue without fixed boundaries about a world whose new rules and rhythms remain shrouded.

We made our first halting efforts to embark on this mission three years ago. In 1994, we asked members in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, Boston, and Chicago—as well as New York and Washington—to participate in a review of U.S. national interests in the post-Cold War era. Each group met several times separately in its respective city before coming together with the others for a two-day conclave. I joined one of the sessions in Chicago led by Mike

Moskow, the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank there. The group quickly worked its way around to thinking about a world where economic concerns were displacing security concerns as the central problems and opportunities. This theme then went on to dominate the concluding general conclave at the Wye Plantation in Maryland.

During the last three years, many of our Fellows have brought their intellectual wares to the cities mentioned above, as well as to Atlanta, Minneapolis, Seattle, and Dallas. Because the Fellows were seeking as much as imparting knowledge, they sent out papers in advance to the members in these cities, kicked off the discussion, and then mainly listened. They benefited from new perspectives and became sensitized to special regional concerns.

At a recent Los Angeles meeting held to review the study group report on U.S.-Japan security policy, the power of regional focus was driven home to many Council staffers. The report was prepared under the direction of two of our nation's most thoughtful defense experts: Harold Brown and Richard Armitage. John Cooke, a senior executive at Disney,

organized the Los Angeles meeting. The business executives, scholars, and others whom Cooke gathered almost all believed, strongly, that much of the East Coast-bound



Leslie H. Gelb



Leslie H. Gelb, Stephen A. Schwarzman, James F. Hoge, Jr., Peter G. Peterson, James E. Burke, and David Rockefeller at the January 21, 1997, Investiture Dinner for the Peter G. Peterson Chair.

talk about China as America's new strategic adversary had gone haywire. Obviously, others around the country were making the same point, but the convictions of the West Coast audience were bracing.

For sure, Americans everywhere share certain national attitudes about trade, security, culture, and the like. Equally certain, however, is that regional factors count heavily, perhaps more than ever before. Put another way, the absence of an overall threat to American security has allowed and even encouraged historically divergent regional perspectives to blossom.

The Council has gone through several evolutions in order to remain vibrant and relevant. We began in New York, a band composed mainly of internationally minded bankers and lawyers. Then, in the 1960s and early 1970s, we cast our nets in Washington to include the hundreds of new full-time foreign policy experts spawned by the Cold War. From that point on, we sought to bring on board more members outside New

York and Washington, more women, more people from the ranks of nongovernmental organizations, and more African, Hispanic, and Asian Americans. Today, we are moving in an even more determined manner to ensure that the Council's membership reflects the broadest spectrum of America's leaders. Throughout these transitions, two institutional convictions held constant: Council members must better inform themselves about the world in order to better serve America; and America's security and prosperity are tied to the well-being of other peoples and nations.

Leslie H. Gelb
President

THE COUNCIL AT 75

Last fall, the Council marked its 75th year in a number of ways, including the endowment of the Next Generation Fund for younger fellows; the creation of the Peter G. Peterson Chair for the Editor of Foreign Affairs and the Maurice R. Greenberg Chair for the Director of Studies; and the publication of a history of the Council by Peter Grose. The celebration culminated in a gala evening at the Waldorf=Astoria on September 30 that drew over 1,100 members and their guests. The proceedings included the debut of a video on the Council produced by Karen M. Sughrue and a keynote address by humorist Art Buchwald.

Following is an essay on the occasion of the Council's anniversary by David Rockefeller, Honorary Chairman.

This is a notable period in the Council's history. A remarkable organization has gained fresh vitality and renewed value.

The Council is a place of great and unique tradition. I don't mean simply that we enjoy the ambiance of a

fine old mansion with pictures of distinguished colleagues adorning the walls. What I mean is that for more than three-quarters of a century the Council has been the center of resolute dedication to an informed foreign policy.



John A. Millington, James F. Hoge, Jr., Maurice R. Greenberg, David Rockefeller, Leslie H. Gelb, and Peter G. Peterson at the September 30, 1996, 75th Anniversary Dinner.

The Council was born out of the concern farsighted Americans felt at our nation's attempt to withdraw from international affairs after the First World War. Discussions with British friends spawned two organizations, the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London and what became the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. One of the British participants, Robert Cecil, gave us an enduring theme of Council life: "We have discovered a healthy discontent," he said. "Let us nourish it." That shared discontent focused on the myth that the United States or Britain or any other major country could escape from the world at large. It flowed from the conviction that America's own

future was tied inextricably to what happened beyond her borders.

So it was here at the Council that a group of Americans worked to maintain a sense of our place in the wider world during the relapse into isolationism in the 1920s. It was here that they launched what would become the leading international journal, *Foreign Affairs*. It was here that the alarm sounded over the rise of totalitarian regimes during the 1930s. It was here that a famous project known as War and Peace Studies foreshadowed U.S. plans to establish a just and durable international system after the Second World War.

It was also here that at the outset of the Cold War, George Kennan refined the guiding concept of containment in his seminal "X" article in *Foreign Affairs*. It was here that Henry Kissinger moved beyond diplomatic history to wrestle with the unprecedented test for statecraft posed by nuclear weapons. It was here that A. Doak Barnett and others undertook a critical reexamination of U.S. policy toward China that pointed to the eventual revival of relations with that country.

It was from studies here at the Council that awareness

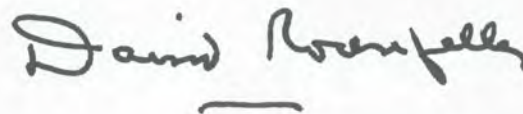
of global economic interdependence gained particular prominence in national policy discussions. And it was here in the 1980s that the strategic build-down concept emerged as a key element of President Reagan's historic proposal to reduce strategic nuclear forces.

Through nearly eight decades the Council has served as America's pre-

mier school for statesmen. It has grown from a small number of distinguished men in New York to an elected national membership of over 3,300 men and women. It has come to support extensive programs of study and debate not only here at Pratt House but in Washington and increasingly across the country. It remains the principal forum for encounters between American leaders and foreign statesmen and other international figures.

We are proud of the Council record but also occupied with the new challenges now looming in world affairs. We have never held the illusion that Americans by themselves have the wisdom to frame sound policy for a diverse community of nations. If a world prone to disorder is to define the mutual interests on which to erect a peaceful, stable future, it must do so through patient collaboration among leaders from many countries.

Fostering that collaboration becomes even more essential as we approach a new century. And in a period when many Americans are looking inward, it is more important than ever that the Council remain outward-looking, agile, and alert.



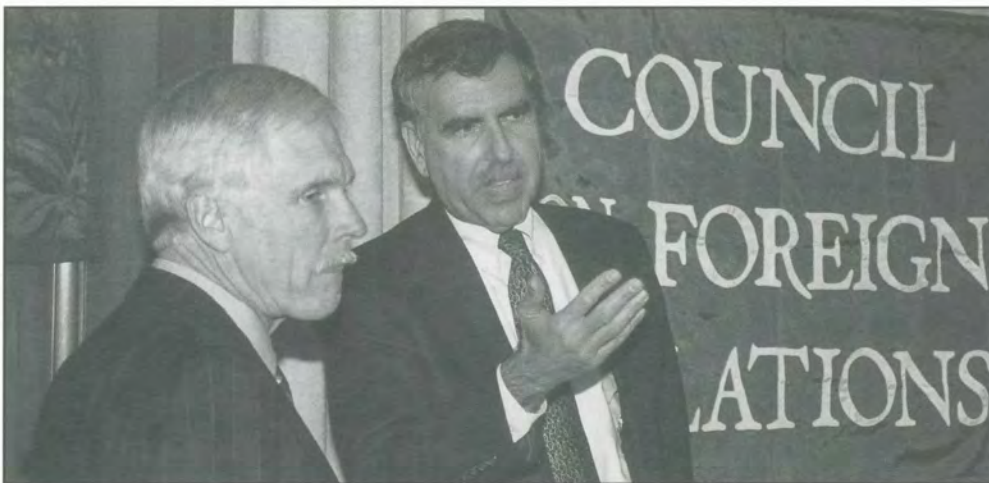
David Rockefeller
Honorary Chairman



Speaker Rita E. Hauser, Co-Chair, 75th Anniversary Dinner Committee.



Speaker Theodore C. Sorensen, Co-Chair, 75th Anniversary Dinner Committee.



1) Speaker R. E. "Ted" Turner, Vice Chairman, Time Warner Inc., and Presider Gerald M. Levin, Chairman and CEO, Time Warner Inc., at the December 13, 1996, Meeting, "CNN: The Importance and Integrity of Instant News Around the World."

1



2) Speaker Samuel R. Berger, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Presider Leslie H. Gelb, and Speaker John McCain, U.S. Senator (R-Ariz.), at the October 2, 1996, Meeting, "Foreign Policy for the Next Four Years."

2



3) Directors Robert B. Zoellick, Charlayne Hunter-Gault, Garrick Utley, and Abraham F. Lowenthal (rear) at the June 5, 1997, Meeting of the Board of Directors.

3

OUTREACH

The theme of this year's Annual Report is the Council's outreach efforts—how we strive to revitalize the debate on America's role in the world by drawing on the knowledge and insights of a wide variety of members. In short, the primary way both to educate ourselves and to provide a broader understanding of issues to the involved public is through our members. As a result, we still focus most of our energy on our membership, and through them—as well as through our direct communication—we see the results of outreach efforts among the wider and interested public.

By participating in Council events, members learn from and inform each other, and then transmit their knowledge of—and passion for—foreign policy issues to their colleagues, friends, and acquaintances. Council membership continues to grow more diverse, with increasing numbers of women, minorities, young people, and members who live and work outside the East Coast. To ensure that we involve and include this expanding and influential set of voices, the Council has developed a number of new outreach programs to heighten awareness of international issues among broader constituencies, even as our focus remains on our members.

The end of the Cold War brought an end not only to general fear about external enemies but also to the public's interest in external affairs. But even as attention to international events and issues wanes, those events and issues are becoming increasingly relevant to the daily lives of the American public. Now, more than ever before, it is essential that we reach beyond the Harold Pratt House to teach, learn from, and include in the debate concerned Americans across the country.

Just as we are reaching out to many different groups, our methods of outreach have become far more diverse as well. We are not simply listening to the speeches of foreign policy gurus, nodding gravely, and then going home. In the last few years, our small-group activity has trebled, and we have many distinguished publications and books to show for it.

In May we launched the Council's website at www.foreignrelations.org. The site contains program information, a calendar of past activities, and weekly news updates. A priority for the coming year will be to develop ways to harness the potential of the new technology, not only for communication with Council members but also as an important new publication channel for broader dissemination of intellectual products.

Here is a summary of how we have been reaching out better both to our members and to Americans interested in international affairs:

Washington Program

- New, larger, more accessible offices in the new Carnegie Building, next to the Brookings Institution, at 1779 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.;
- Significant growth in the number and size of meetings: the Washington Office held 56 percent more meetings this year than last, and average attendance rose more than 55 percent;
- Focus on *Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy* project: the Council's number one priority in the coming years will be engaging our members and staff to help establish a community of professional foreign policy experts on the Hill.

National Program

- Dinner seminars on ongoing Council Studies projects in major cities throughout the United States;
- An annual conference for members from outside New York and Washington to discuss topics of current importance;
- A significant increase in national membership in the past few years and a Board vote to further augment national membership over the next five years.
- The Council's cooperation with the Pacific Council on International Policy (PCIP) provides programming for our West Coast members.

Studies Department

- Three times the number of smaller group meetings: Council-sponsored independent task forces designed

for members to reach a consensus on important current issues; traditional study groups of members to help Council Fellows write books and articles; and roundtables to keep members abreast of issues in particular subjects or areas;

- Independent task forces—representing a vital effort to keep foreign policy debates alive at a time of declining interest in policy matters.

Diversity Program

- Expanded minority member participation in Council affairs;
- Two conferences that shaped an agenda of diversity issues;
- A task force on diversity to enhance minority participation in Council activities.

GARRICK UTLEY

Contributor to CNN

ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE



I think *Foreign Affairs* is a very good example of the Council at its best, of how it has changed, without casting out or diminishing its original foundation. Obviously, Jim Hoge and the staff at *Foreign Affairs* have made an enormous difference in the public perception of the Council.

I grew up reading *Foreign Affairs*, and I remember in the 1950s and early 1960s,

all the great men were published there, pontificating on the future of the world. And you nodded gravely at their contributions and insights. It has lost nothing in terms of its substance. In fact, it has gained a lot in the quality of the writing. It is the place where people want to be published because it's an established journal, the brand name.

People read it more readily now, they won't just get it and take it out of the envelope and maybe get around to it in two weeks. They will look at it and say, "Who has written in *Foreign Affairs* this time and what are they writing about?" Because it's much more reactive, much quicker, more topical, provocative, and gets the gray cells in the brain working. I asked some businessmen I've met on planes why they read it. They said it's good background, it goes beyond anything they're going to get from their corporate advisers or their corporate consultants. *Foreign Affairs* is a very carefully crafted, disciplined, carefully written and edited vehicle.

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To the extent that we have something occasionally on C-SPAN, which has a small but very dedicated and committed audience, it also makes an enormous difference. Just to see a Council session on C-SPAN going on for an hour means that the doors aren't closed and locked, that the drawbridge hasn't been pulled up. And, of course, what we all seek in this, and what has to be maintained, is a certain balance between the not-for-attribution nature of sessions on the one hand, and access for those who are not members on the other. Between *Foreign Affairs*, the programs, the broader definition of the Studies Program, the National Program, and even international outreach efforts, we have achieved that balance.

Corporate Program

- 200 companies with a stake in global issues;
- A CEO series, bringing corporate leaders to speak to the membership;
- Expanded efforts to increase participation of individuals from member corporations in Council affairs;
- Focus on issues relevant to corporate members and the creation of programs accordingly.

Here is a summary of how we have reached out—and continue to reach out—beyond our membership to the interested public:

Foreign Affairs Magazine

- The most respected—and, at over 100,000 circulation, the largest—publication in the field of international relations;
- Clearer, more readable, and more influential than ever before.

Televised Events

- HBO “Great Debates” series, a forum for two foreign policy experts to state squarely opposite sides on hot foreign policy topics;
- Hearings-style events where panelists question expert witnesses to establish facts and array policy choices.

The Council's Website (www.foreignrelations.org)

- An Internet site where the general public can learn about the Council's functions and programs.

America and the World

- The Council's National Public Radio show, which focused on voices of the next generation and reached listeners across the country.

International Affairs Fellowship Program

- A chance for young professionals to step back from their careers and immerse themselves in study and thought for one year.
- Conversely, the IAF Program also allows young professionals from academic settings to work in a hands-on policymaking role for one year.

International Advisory Board

- A forum for the views and recommendations of foreign policy leaders and thinkers from abroad.

Starting in this section and spread throughout this Annual Report, sidebars present the reactions of Council members to the outreach programs mentioned above. In their own words, they describe the impact of various initiatives that best represent Council efforts to extend the policy debate beyond the Harold Pratt House. From Garrick Utley's observation that *Foreign Affairs* has made an enormous difference in the public perception of the Council to Richard C. Holbrooke's assertion that the “Great Debates” Series and the broader outreach campaign have given the Council a new relevance, the members discuss the goals and methods of outreach.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Foreign Affairs, which the Council launched a year after its founding in 1921, contributes to the overall effort to enrich the public discourse by publishing insightful articles for general readers and experts alike.

Over the years, *Foreign Affairs* has developed a reputation as the premier journal of international politics and economics. Its worldwide paid circulation now stands at over 100,000. An additional 200,000 readers enjoy a Japanese version published in *Chuokoron*, a Tokyo monthly, and a Portuguese edition published in the Brazilian newspaper *Gazeta Mercantil*.

In September 1997, *Foreign Affairs* observes its 75th

anniversary with an issue featuring many of its best-known authors and an anthology of past essays entitled *The American Encounter*, published by Basic Books.

Over the past 12 months, *Foreign Affairs* articles have addressed some of the large forces reshaping the international order. Modernization and the tensions it can provoke between cultures infused essays by several renowned scholars, including Samuel Huntington, Bernard Lewis, and Masakazu Yamazaki.

Economic interdependence, one of the pronounced characteristics of modernization, also received atten-



1) Speakers John M. Deutch, Institute Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Walter Russell Mead, President's Fellow, World Policy Institute, and Paul A. Volcker, former Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, at the March 13, 1997, Policy Hearing, "21st Century Surprises and Threats."



2) Panelists Nadine Strossen, President, American Civil Liberties Union, and Professor of Law, New York Law School, Dave K. McCurdy, former U.S. Representative (D-Okla.) and Chairman, McCurdy Group L.L.C., and Kenneth L. Adelman, former Director of U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and Vice President, Institute for Contemporary Studies, at the October 11, 1996, Policy Hearing, "Combating Terrorism: What Works? What Doesn't?"



3) Panelist Josette S. Shiner, Managing Editor, Washington Times, at the February 18, 1997, Policy Hearing, "The Future of the CIA."

tion. In separate essays, political scientist Richard Rosecrance, Council Senior Fellow Jessica T. Mathews, and writer John Newhouse each analyzed the effects of interdependent economics and globalized processes on states, regions, nongovernmental organizations, and businesses.

The nature of European unity was a heatedly debated subject. International financier George Soros attacked the inflexibility of the Maastricht version of a European Union as self-defeating, and economist Rudi Dornbusch criticized the drive for a common European currency for promising more debits than benefits. Former European Union Commissioner Peter Sutherland countered that furthering European integration justified the push for a common currency. Other articles dealt with the big questions of security in Europe and the transatlantic relationship.

On the other side of the globe, China received foremost attention, with a number of articles addressing various aspects of the challenge posed by its emergence as a rising power. Whether China represents a threat to the United States was pointedly debated, with Professor Robert S. Ross arguing "not necessarily" and former foreign correspondents Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro arguing "yes." Thomas J. Christensen assessed the hard-edged, realist thinking of China's political and military elites as essentially cautious, with one exception: the Chinese would risk a major confrontation over even a nominal change in Taiwan's status. From the island, author Ian Buruma warned that increasing pressure for in-

dependence would accompany the growing political power of native Taiwanese. Journalist Frank Ching, meanwhile, predicted that China's behavior toward Hong Kong would be more status quo than radical. The same expectations of Chinese behavior toward the Korean peninsula marked essays by Nicholas Eberstadt and economist Marcus Noland.

The promotion of democracy as an aim of American policy was championed by Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, while reservations were raised in subsequent articles by scholars Thomas Carothers and John L. Harper. Former government officials Zbigniew Brzezinski, Brent Scowcroft, and Richard Murphy urged changes in U.S. policy to encourage improved relations with Iran while keeping the straitjacket on Iraq. And strategic specialist Edward Luttwak and former Defense Secretary William J. Perry put forth proposals for modernizing the military to meet the requirements of the post-Cold War era.

Finally, in recognition of a past foreign policy success, in the May/June issue *Foreign Affairs* published a special section commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Marshall Plan.

A complete listing and abstracts of articles published last year—and in previous years—is available on the *Foreign Affairs* website at www.foreignaffairs.org.

James F. Hoge, Jr.

Editor; Peter G. Peterson Chair

MEDIA

Television, radio, and the Internet have eclipsed print journalism as the dominant sources of news and information for the American public. This new reality has led the Council to buttress its traditional outreach efforts, such as *Foreign Affairs*, with forays into radio, cable channels such as C-SPAN, and the new media, including the World Wide Web.

Americans who want to learn about foreign policy face two choices in the media today: shout shows, where decibel level is favored over content, or ponderous policy discussions. Through its media outreach, the Council seeks to revive a forum that has been missing for learning about

critical issues in educational, nonpartisan, and even entertaining ways.

Karen M. Sughrue

Vice President, Programs and Media Projects

"Great Debates" Series

This year, the Council launched the "Great Debates" project funded by a grant from Home Box Office (HBO). The series will be the Council's premier forum for current issues of important policy where Americans disagree sharply on what to do. The series began with a preelection debate on foreign policy between Samuel R. Berger, President Clinton's

Deputy National Security Adviser, and Council Director Robert Zoellick, representing Senator Bob Dole's presidential campaign. NATO expansion was another debate topic, featuring a hard-hitting exchange between former Ambassador Richard C. Holbrooke and Senior Fellow Michael Mandelbaum. Other events in this series included then U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations and now Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and former U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations Jeane J. Kirkpatrick on reforming the United Nations, and financier George Soros and economist Paul Krugman on the implications of a global economy. The debates have been televised on such outlets as C-SPAN and Bloomberg News, broadcast on National Public Radio, and distributed via the Council's website at www.foreignrelations.org.

Televised Policy Hearings

As part of its effort to bring Council thinking and expertise to a broader audience and to make a contribution to current policy debates, the Council has launched a series of policy hearings. These panels have two goals—to establish the facts of an

important issue about which public understanding is murky and to illuminate the policy options. Usually televised on C-SPAN, the panels resemble the best of old-style congressional hearings, which were substantive dissections of issues presenting many points of view rather than platforms for partisanship. This year, the hearings took on issues such as U.S.–China relations (with speakers on both sides of the issue and chaired by former Senators Bill Bradley and Warren Rudman), the future of the CIA (with former CIA Directors William Webster, James R. Schlesinger, and James Woolsey), and combating terrorism (with presentations by Deputy Attorney General Jamie S. Gorelick, former Ambassador L. Paul Bremer III, and terrorism expert Brian Jenkins, among others).

"Combating Terrorism: What Works? What Doesn't?"

INTRODUCTION: LESLIE H. GELB

President, Council on Foreign Relations

PANEL MEMBERS:

DAVE K. MCCURDY

Panel Chair, former U.S. Representative (D-Okla.), and Chairman, McCurdy Group L.L.C.

RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE

Vice Chairman, Credit Suisse First Boston

ON "GREAT DEBATES"



Without a Cold War consensus, foreign policy needs a broader base of political support. That support can only come with understanding, and understanding can only come with greater public participation. Therefore, the Council had to add outreach to its existing programs, but not, I repeat, not at the expense of its traditional strengths. This is not a choice; the Council has not weakened

its traditional base by outreach. On the contrary, the Council has strengthened its traditional base by reaching out, because reaching out has improved the quality of the internal dialogue, improved the quality of its participants, made the

Council more relevant, and put us more deeply into the debate over policy. This has made the Council the most exciting organization of its sort in the United States today. And the "Great Debates" are part of that—an important part.

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NATO enlargement, the "Great Debate" I participated in, is still—despite all that has been written about it recently—an issue which probably less than 10 percent of the American public is aware of and on which very few people yet have a view. Our country isn't run by referenda and plebiscites on issues like this. Policy is made by our elected and appointed leaders and the factors that impact that, and that's where the Council makes a difference. The Council can either remain a group that restricts itself to internal dialogue among its 3,000 members, or it can become a group that creates a discussion with a larger public that gets shamefully little international news from the traditional sources.

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C-SPAN is vitally important. I think C-SPAN is fantastic, and we should be on it as much as we can because C-SPAN—with its replays in the middle of the night and so on—has really reached people who are interested in these things. I would like to see a new C-SPAN channel devoted entirely to international issues.

1) Robert S. Browne and Roger W. Wilkins at the May 15-16, 1997, Conference, "In the National Interest: Does Diversity Make a Difference?"



1

2) Co-Chairmen Mickey Edwards, Stephen J. Solarz, and Lawrence J. Korb (rear) and James Kulikowski at the October 24, 1996, Meeting of the Task Force on Resources for International Affairs.



2

3) James F. Hoge, Jr., and Peter G. Peterson at the January 21, 1997, Investiture Dinner for the Peter G. Peterson Chair.



3

KENNETH L. ADELMAN

Former Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and Vice President, Institute for Contemporary Studies

NADINE STROSSEN

President, American Civil Liberties Union, and Professor of Law, New York Law School

SESSION I: WITNESSES:

BRIAN JENKINS

Deputy Chairman, Kroll Associates

L. PAUL BREMER III

Former Ambassador-at-Large for Counter-Terrorism, and Managing Director, Kissinger Associates

SHIBLEY TELHAMI

Associate Professor, Department of Government, and Director of Near Eastern Studies, Cornell University

WOLFGANG H. REINICKE

Member, Senior Research Staff, the Brookings Institution

SESSION II: WITNESS:

JAMIE S. GORELICK

Deputy Attorney General of the United States

"The Future of the CIA"

INTRODUCTION: KAREN M. SUGHRUE

Vice President, Council on Foreign Relations

PANEL MEMBERS:

DAVID R. GERGEN

Panel Chair, Editor-at-Large, *U.S. News and World Report*

MORTON I. ABRAMOWITZ

President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

JOSETTE S. SHINER

Managing Editor, *Washington Times*

WITNESSES:

JAMES R. SCHLESINGER

Senior Adviser, Lehman Brothers; former Director, Central Intelligence

WILLIAM H. WEBSTER

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

R. JAMES WOOLSEY

Partner, Shea & Gardner; former Director, Central Intelligence

"21st Century Surprises and Threats"

JOHN M. DEUTCH

Institute Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

President's Fellow, World Policy Institute, New School for Social Research

PAUL A. VOLCKER

Former Chairman, Federal Reserve Board

PRESIDER: ELLEN V. FUTTER

President, American Museum of Natural History

Radio Broadcast *America and the World*

In 1989 the Council inaugurated its radio broadcast, *America and the World*. Hosted first by Richard C. Hottelet and then as of 1995 by journalist Kati Marton, the program reached an educated public radio audience with an interest in world affairs. *America and the World* featured a mix of the prominent policymakers and personalities who have passed through the halls of the Council—such as First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo, and Nobel Peace Prize winner José Ramos-Horta—with the voices of the next generation. Guests like 25-year-old Claire Ward, Britain's youngest woman member of Parliament, arms traffic investigator Kathi Austin, and Muslim American leader Salam Al Marayati offered the insights and ideas of younger people involved with international affairs. The broadcast was heard in such major markets as New York City, Washington, San Francisco, Minneapolis, and Miami, as well as internationally on the ASTRA satellite system and Armed Forces Radio. In light of constraints on funding for radio, and with plans to refocus its outreach efforts toward members and targeted nonmembers, the Council decided to cancel the broadcast effective at the end of August 1997.

DISTRIBUTED BY NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO

PRODUCER: ERIKA H. BURK

ASSOCIATE PRODUCER: IRINA A. FASKIANOS

HOST: KATI MARTON

KATHI AUSTIN

Consultant, Human Rights Watch Arms Project

SALIH BOOKER

Senior Fellow for Africa Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
"Zaire on the Brink"

SALI BERISHA

President, Albania

FRED ABRAHAMAS

Research Consultant, Human Rights Watch

ANDREA BARTOLI

Associate Director of the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University; Vice President of the Community of St. Egidio
"Anarchy in Albania"

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

First Lady of the United States
"A Conversation with First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton"

LAURIE GARRETT

Health and Science Writer, *Newsday*; author, *The Coming Plague: Newly Emerging Diseases in a World Out of Balance*

MARGARET HAMBURG

Commissioner, New York City Department of Health
"The Return of Age-Old Plagues"

ANNA HUSARSKA

Field Officer, International Crisis Group

LUKAS HAYNES

Senior Analyst for the former Yugoslavia, and former Regional Director, Oxfam
"Bosnia: Postcard from the Edge"

RASHID KHALIDI

Director of the Center for International Studies, University of Chicago

SALAM AL MARAYATI

Founder and Director, Muslim Public Affairs Council
"Saudi Culture and Politics"

WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

President's Fellow, World Policy Institute, New School for Social Research

ELLSWORTH CULVER

Senior Vice President, Mercy Corps International
"North Korea: The Last Frontier of the Cold War"

JOSÉ RAMOS-HORTA

Co-Winner of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize

SIDNEY R. JONES

Executive Director, Human Rights Watch/Asia
"East Timor: Struggle for Freedom"

ORVILLE H. SCHELL

Author; Dean of the School of Journalism, University of California-Berkeley

JAMYANG NORBU

Director of the Amnye Machen Institute in Dharamsala, India
"Tibet in Post-Deng China"

JOHN M. SHALIKASHVILI

Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

W. BOWMAN CUTTER

Managing Director of Warburg, Pincus

ON TASK FORCES AND STUDY GROUPS



The Council is the best source for the organized and disciplined discussion of foreign policy, including international economics, in the world.

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I increasingly think, particularly now, that the international issues are changing in nature and are changing in terms of the networks of the people who are going to solve them; they're not all traditional statecraft, and

they're not all the same states. And I think that there is a significant need for people to sit around the table to talk about these issues in a disciplined way. In my twenties I might have been quite impatient with that process. That the Council can put its imprimatur on rigorous discussion is enormously important.

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The way in which policy discussions in the government become a part of decisions is complex. Discussions help create an atmosphere and an environment for change. If there are new alternatives around, they pose them. That's very hard. Typically, agencies have very entrenched positions. It becomes extraordinarily difficult to find any running room for a new idea, and an outer force can inject those and can change the atmosphere. More rarely, more specific proposals that are actually new can have a direct effect. Finally, the Council's imprimatur. Those are the three ways the government is affected by the Council.

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For the task force I'm leading this year, I've looked at the potential participants in two ways—who ideally would I have on the task force and who's in the Council membership. It turns out that the two are totally congruent. You need people who will reflect different points of view, who are genuinely committed to working with other people. So there is a cultural component as well as a diversity of ideas component. For me, it's much more whether the set of people will be willing to think in a conceptual way, will be willing to do it, and will come to meetings.



1

1) Speakers Kim Kyung-Won, Institute for Social Sciences, Seoul, Yuan Ming, Beijing University, Presider Orville H. Schell, and Speaker Yoichi Funabashi, Asahi Shimbun, at the June 6-7, 1997, National Conference, "How Can the United States Cope with the Emerging Power of Asia?"



2

2) Speaker Lauri J. Fitz-Pegado, Assistant Secretary and Director General, the Commercial Service, U.S. Commerce Department, and Presider Albert Fishlow at the May 15-16, 1997, Conference, "In the National Interest: Does Diversity Make a Difference?"



3

3) Speakers Richard C. Holbrooke, former Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, U.S. State Department, and Michael Mandelbaum, Director of the Project on East-West Relations, Council on Foreign Relations, at the December 9, 1996, Great Debate, "Expanding NATO: Will It Weaken the Alliance?"



4

4) Mel Levine, Stephen P. Cohen, John F. Cooke, Jennifer S. Whitaker, and James Gelvin at the January 15, 1997, Regional Review Session of the Independent Task Force on U.S. Middle East Policy and the Peace Process in Los Angeles.

WILLIAM HARTUNG

Senior Fellow, World Policy Institute, New School
for Social Research

"From Immigrant to U.S. Military Commander"

CLAIRE WARD

Member of Parliament, United Kingdom

IAN WILLIAMS

U.S. Senior Editor, *Institute for War & Peace Reporting*
"A New Young Voice from the House of Commons"

ERNESTO PONCE DE LEÓN ZEDILLO

President, Mexico

ANDRES OPPENHEIMER

Foreign Correspondent, *Miami Herald*
"Mexico's State of Affairs"

News Media Briefings

The Council strives to make its policy work and analyses available to a broader and interested audience via the news media,

both print and broadcast. Over the past year, the Council organized news conferences—attended by national and international media—to unveil the findings of six independent task forces that it sponsored. These briefings help stimulate a substantive public debate through news stories and editorials in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Washington Times*; live C-SPAN coverage; numerous television and radio stories on CBS News, National Public Radio and CNN; and front-page coverage in overseas newspapers and business publications.

The Council also organized on-the-record briefings for the news media before major international events, such as a preview of the 1997 G-7 Summit featuring Council Director Robert D. Hormats, Vice Chairman of Goldman Sachs (International), Bruce Stokes, Senior Fellow and Director of Council Trade Programs, and Daniel K. Tarullo, Deputy Assistant to the President for Economic Policy of the National Economic Council. C-SPAN covered the event live; CNBC as well as major trade and business journals wrote stories using the expertise of the Council briefers.

INDEPENDENT TASK FORCES

The Council sponsors independent task forces from time to time when it believes that a current foreign policy debate of critical importance to the United States can benefit from the advice of a small group of people of divergent backgrounds and views. The goal of a task force is either to reach consensus on an issue or, if a strong and meaningful consensus cannot be reached, to state concisely the alternative positions. In furthering this process, the task force often convenes meetings with Council members in cities across the United States, fine-tuning and broadening the feedback on the task force's recommendations and conclusions. These recommendations and conclusions are then published in a report and ordinarily presented to the public at a press conference and to Council members at general meetings in both New York and Washington.

The timeliness of task force topics has generated considerable press and public attention and in the process has helped to shape the debate on key public policy issues over the past year. The task force on U.S.-Russian relations chaired by Robert D. Blackwill, for example, contributed toward the forging of a consensus on the steps that the Clinton administration

took at Helsinki. The report of the task force on international drug policy helped stimulate a national debate on the wisdom of the certification process.

Task forces have also had an impact on Capitol Hill. The U.N. task force received substantial press coverage and helped to educate Congress and the public on the need to fund the U.S. role in the world organization; its report is currently being used by an ad hoc committee seeking to persuade Congress to pay U.S. back dues. In addition, the Co-Chairs of the task force on resources for international affairs—Mickey Edwards and Stephen J. Solarz—testified before the House Committee on International Affairs on February 26, 1997, at the committee's request; on March 12, 1997, they also met with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to discuss the task force's call for a bipartisan committee for reforming foreign affairs agencies. The reports of both task forces were entered into the *Congressional Record*.

The Council plans to continue to sponsor independent and bipartisan task forces to study and advise on timely and important foreign policy issues.

Morton H. Halperin

Senior Fellow and Task Force Coordinator

"American National Interest and the United Nations"

An Independent Task Force
COSPONSORED BY THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
CHAIR: GEORGE SOROS
PROJECT DIRECTOR: RUTH WEDGWOOD

"A New U.S. Policy toward India and Pakistan"

An Independent Task Force
CHAIR: RICHARD N. HAASS
PROJECT DIRECTOR: GIDEON ROSE

"Arms Control and the U.S.-Russian Relationship"

An Independent Task Force
COSPONSORED BY THE NIXON CENTER FOR PEACE
AND FREEDOM
CHAIR: ROBERT D. BLACKWILL
PROJECT DIRECTOR: KEITH W. DAYTON

**"Differentiated Containment:
U.S. Policy toward Iran and Iraq"**

An Independent Task Force
CO-CHAIRS: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI AND
BRENT SCOWCROFT
PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD W. MURPHY

**"Financing America's Leadership: Protecting American
Interests and Promoting American Values"**

An Independent Task Force
COSPONSORED BY THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION
CO-CHAIRS: MICKEY EDWARDS AND STEPHEN J. SOLARZ
PROJECT DIRECTORS: MORTON H. HALPERIN,
LAWRENCE J. KORB, AND RICHARD M. MOOSE

"Promoting U.S. Economic Relations with Africa"

An Independent Task Force
CO-CHAIRS: PEGGY DULANY AND FRANK SAVAGE
PROJECT DIRECTOR: SALIH BOOKER

**"Rethinking International Drug Control:
New Directions for U.S. Policy"**

An Independent Task Force
CHAIR: MATHEA FALCO

"Russia, Its Neighbors, and an Enlarging NATO"

An Independent Task Force
CHAIR: RICHARD G. LUGAR
PROJECT DIRECTOR: VICTORIA NULAND

"U.S. Middle East Policy and the Peace Process"

An Independent Task Force
PROJECT COORDINATOR: HENRY SIEGMAN

All of these task force reports are available from the Brookings Institution Press. To order, call 1-800-275-1447.

NATIONAL PROGRAM

Launched a year ago, the National Program more closely connects members outside New York City and Washington, D.C., with the Council and engages their experience and expertise in the intellectual work of the organization. With the second annual National Conference, and the expanding program of Studies seminars in a number of cities, Council members outside New York and Washington are playing an increasingly important role in the Council's substantive agenda.

In extending the Studies Program to other cities, the Council relies heavily on the support of members and their local institutions. Ideas and recommendations from members in eight cities away from the East Coast enriched and diversified the work of task forces and study projects on topics ranging from global trade and wages to Asian security.

The Los Angeles-based Pacific Council on International

Policy (PCIP), which has built its membership on a base of some 300 Council members west of the Rockies, is an important component of the National Program. Beyond the joint programs listed below, Council members participated in more than 30 additional activities organized by the PCIP.

At the National Conference, on June 6 and 7, more than 130 members from all over the country came together with Council Board members and staff to discuss the topic "How Can the United States Cope with the Emerging Power of Asia?" In small breakout groups and plenaries featuring leading Asian intellectuals as well as National Security Adviser Samuel R. Berger, participants pondered how this country ought to accommodate to the swift political and economic evolution of its Pacific neighbors.

Jennifer Seymour Whitaker
Deputy Director, National Program

1) Speaker Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Professor Emeritus of the Humanities, City University of New York, Presider Garrick Utley, and Speaker Ronald Takaki, Professor of Ethnic Studies, University of California, Berkeley, at the May 15-16, 1997, Conference, "In the National Interest: Does Diversity Make a Difference?"



1

2) Frank Savage and Moshe Arens at the October 8, 1996, Meeting of the International Advisory Board.

3) Walt W. Rostow and Speaker Samuel R. Berger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, at the June 6-7, 1997, National Conference, "How Can the United States Cope with the Emerging Power of Asia?"



2



3

4) Speakers Antonia Hernandez, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and Gary C. Hufbauer, Council on Foreign Relations, Presider June V. Cross, and Speaker Richard O. Hope, Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, at the May 15-16, 1997, Conference, "In the National Interests: Does Diversity Make a Difference?"



4

Programs

Task Force on Drug Strategies Meetings: in Los Angeles, cosponsored by the Pacific Council on International Policy (PCIP); in Chicago, with the MacArthur Foundation; in Atlanta, with the Carter Center; in Miami, with the North-South Center.

Task Force on Resources for International Affairs Meetings: in Boston, cosponsored with the J.F.K. School at Harvard University; in Seattle, with the Washington Council on International Trade.

Task Force on U.S. Middle East Policy and the Peace Process Meetings: in Chicago, cosponsored with the Amoco Corporation; in Los Angeles, with the Walt Disney Company.

Study Group on the Globalization of R&D Meeting: in Minneapolis, supported with the McKnight Foundation.

Study Group on the U.S.-Japan Security Relationship Meeting: in Los Angeles, cosponsored with the Walt Disney Company.

Study Group on Commercial Diplomacy in Asia Meeting: in Minneapolis, supported by the McKnight Foundation.

Study Group on U.S. Economic Engagement in Africa Meeting: in Atlanta, cosponsored with the Carter Center.

Study Group on Global Trade and Wages Meeting: in Minneapolis, supported by the McKnight Foundation; in Los Angeles, cosponsored with the PCIP.

DIVERSITY PROGRAM

In its second and final year as a separate program, the Project for Diversity in International Affairs continued a number of initiatives to lay the basis for sustaining diversity at the Council in the years ahead. The project was supported by a two-year grant (1995-97) jointly funded by the Ford and Andrew W. Mellon Foundations. The specific goals were 1) to increase participation of the Council's minority members in all Council activities as well as raise the overall number of minority Council members; 2) to help shape the agenda of the post-Cold War foreign policy debate with attention to minority insights and concerns and explore how minority and national interests intersect; and 3) to help find and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers as part of a Council-wide initiative on the next generation.

A final report was published on last year's diversity conference, held at Howard University in Washington, D.C., entitled "Defining the National Interest: Minorities and U.S. Foreign Policy in the 21st Century." The project also compiled and disseminated new and re-focused information to institutionalize the goal of diversity. Among the products the project generated were a survey of minority members and, as an outgrowth of that survey, a 347-page member directory listing 278 members who chose to be included.

During the year, the project also assisted in the creation of a new diversity task force, a successor organi-

zation to other such efforts of Council members. The new task force, led by Co-Chairs George Dalley and Rita Di Martino, has the general purpose of developing and implementing member-driven initiatives and providing operating support toward achieving the three main goals of the diversity project.

The crowning achievement of this year was the Council's Second Diversity Conference, "In the National Interest: Does Diversity Make a Difference?" on May 15-16, which nearly 180 participants attended. A significant majority of attendees were Council members, and many were also members of racial or ethnic minority groups. Speakers included Ronald Takaki, Professor of Ethnic Studies, University of California, Berkeley; author and historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.; U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Bill Richardson; Alberto K. Fujimori, President of Peru; Eric P. Liu, author and MSNBC commentator; Barbara R. Arnwine, Executive Director, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law; Ali Mazrui, Professor in the Humanities, Institute for Global Cultural Studies, State University of New York, Binghamton; and Antonia Hernández, President and General Counsel, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

David J. Vidal

Vice President, Project for Diversity in International Affairs, and Director, Diversity Programs

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

The International Advisory Board (IAB), established by the Board of Directors in 1995 under the chairmanship of David Rockefeller, Honorary Chairman of the Council, meets annually in conjunction with the October Board meeting to offer perspectives on a broad range of matters of concern to the Council. IAB members are invited to comment on institutional programs and strategic directions, and on practical opportunities for collaboration between the Council and institutions abroad. They also provide invaluable international insights on 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, whose membership was expanded at the January 1997 meeting of the Board of Directors, includes the following distinguished individuals:

- MARICLAIRE ACOSTA URQUIDI** (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 ALI ALTURKI** (Saudi Arabia), Chairman, TRADCO
- MOSHE ARENS** (Israel), Former Deputy Chairman of the Board, Israel Corporation Ltd.; former Ambassador of Israel to the United States
- HANAN ASHRAWI** (West Bank), Member, Palestinian National Council; Founder, Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights

MARK CARTER

Director, Strategic Planning, CNN

ON THE NATIONAL PROGRAM



I think of the Council, fundamentally, as a place for people who still care deeply about foreign policy and its implications in the United States and abroad. In my experience, members are well-informed and curious about those issues, so that the Council remains a place where policy discussions occur that serve the nation and the world. All of the outreach efforts of the Council support that goal

in some way, including the National Program. With the Cold War ended, many Americans seem less interested in the world, as perceived threats have diminished. This reality, in a way, makes the Council's mission more important than ever in keeping alive concern and debate about America's proper role in the world.

Outreach is a question of the expansion of voices. While I have tremendous respect for the discussions that go on every day in New York, Washington, and Boston, and I have been a part of those discussions at various points in my career, I think that there are other interesting, informed perspectives outside that axis. In Atlanta, for instance, the success of CNN, the Carter Center, and thriving multinational corporations like Coca-Cola prove that international relations have profound importance outside the New York–Washington–Boston corridor. There are vibrant discussions about international questions in Atlanta and elsewhere around the country; expanding the Council's membership outside the "corridor" refreshes the discussions at the Council on Foreign Relations. That flow of ideas and information operates in both directions.



What I like about the National Conference is its comfortable, inclusive feel. Members seemed to be rolling up their sleeves, and a diversity of opinion was welcomed. The discussions weren't stiff or forced, and members didn't seem reserved. The discussions can be messy—and that is, I think, a good thing. By messy I mean that the talks and debates include a broader range of people and issues than more traditional Council meetings. This raises the energy level and intellectual pitch. It was good fun, and it is, most importantly, where I convinced Garrick Utley to join us at CNN!



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.; Chairman, Telegraph Group Limited

GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND (Norway), Member of Parliament; former Prime Minister of Norway

PETER A. R. CARRINGTON (Great Britain), Chancellor, University of Reading; former Secretary-General, NATO

GUSTAVO A. CISNEROS (Venezuela), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Cisneros Group of Companies

ALEJANDRO FOXLEY (Chile), President, Christian Democratic Party; former Minister of Finance 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; former Ambassador of India to the United States

SERGEI A. KARAGANOV (Russia), Deputy Director, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences; Chairman of the Board, Council on Foreign and Defence Policy

KYUNG-WON KIM (Republic of Korea), President, Institute of Social Sciences; former Ambassador of Korea to the United States

YOTARO KOBAYASHI (Japan), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd.

OTTO GRAF LAMBSDORFF (Germany), Member of the Bundestag; former Federal Minister of Economics

GRACA MACHEL (Mozambique), President, Mozambique Community Development Foundation

JUAN MARCH DELGADO (Spain), Chairman, Juan March Foundation

MARIA ROSA MARTINI (Argentina), Cofounder and President, Social Sector Forum; Vice President, Civitas; Cofounder, CONCIENCIA Argentina

BARBARA MCDOUGALL (Canada), Former Secretary of State for External Affairs; former Minister of State for Finance and Privatization

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; former Head of State of Nigeria

ANAND PANYARACHUN (Thailand), Chairman, Saha-Union Public Company Limited; former Prime Minister of Thailand

MOEEN A. QURESHI (Pakistan), Chairman, Emerging Markets Partnership; former Prime Minister of Pakistan

EDZARD REUTER (Germany), Former Chairman, Daimler-Benz AG

MICHEL ROCARD (France), President, Commission of Development, European Parliament; former Prime Minister of France

KHEHLA SHUBANE (Republic of South Africa), Research Officer, Centre for Policy Studies

PETER D. SUTHERLAND (Ireland), Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, British Petroleum Company plc; former Director-General, World Trade Organization

WASHINGTON SYCIP (Philippines), Chairman and Founder, The SGV Group

SHIRLEY V. T. BRITTAIN WILLIAMS (Great Britain), Member, British House of Lords; Public Service Professor of Electoral Politics, Harvard University

MUHAMMAD YUNUS (Bangladesh), Founder, Managing Director and Chief Executive Officer, Grameen Bank

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.

Enlarging the Studies Program and focusing on the new intellectual and policy challenges has been one of the Council's key goals during the last four years. The program has become younger, stronger, more relevant, and more productive. With the arrival in June of a new Director of Studies, noted international economist Gary Hufbauer, and the addition of several younger scholars along with more senior scholars and practitioners, the Council is building a foreign policy think tank for the post-Cold War world. The blend of experience, age, expertise, and perspective enables the Council to tackle traditional and new subjects in innovative ways.

The Studies Program places special emphasis on three overlapping areas of concentration:

- the redefinition of U.S. security in an era of profound change, including analyses of both traditional and newer threats as well as new opportunities;
- international economic policy in all geographic areas, and especially its links with national security;
- Asian studies in all dimensions, closely linked with broad economic and security issues both inside and outside the region.

At the same time, we must and do continue substantial activities in almost all geographic and policy areas,

such as Africa, Europe, Latin America, science and technology, the Middle East, and the Islamic world. The hallmark of all Council studies is, increasingly, cross-fertilization among disciplines, points of view, and professional backgrounds. Through this kind of exchange we look for new ideas that will help us to understand better today's world and to devise workable policies.

Activities organized by Studies Fellows are held at the Council's offices in New York and Washington, other cities across the United States, and abroad. The Studies Program has substantially increased its Washington staff and activities in the past year. In addition to programs directed by the Fellows based in the Council's Washington office, Fellows in New York hold an increasing number of groups that meet in both cities.

These activities draw upon the broad-ranging knowledge and insights of the Council's own professional staff, its national membership, and nonmembers experts from this country and abroad. Studies activities generally take one of four interdisciplinary forms:

- *study groups* designed to help Council authors write books and articles;
- *independent task forces* designed to reach a consensus or frame the debate on a given issue;

- *roundtable series*, designed to survey a policy issue and respond quickly to current events;
- *conferences*, held over a period of one or more days, designed to consider various aspects of a broad policy issue.

Each of these is subject to an intensive advance concept review process. Study groups and task forces examine a complicated policy problem and disseminate the facts and judgments gained in a book or report, respectively.

Highlights of the past year include seven independent task forces. Council Fellows were centrally involved in planning major Council programs, including a conference (cosponsored with *Foreign Affairs*) on the international problem of global pension funding. Roundtables in the Studies Program's three areas of emphasis enabled us to explore emerging issues with larger groups of interested members. A sampling of the study groups and conferences illustrates the range of topics covered this year: Asia and the environment; the meanings and construction of race in Brazil, South Africa, and the United States; public pluralism in Muslim societies; the utility of economic sanctions as an instrument of American foreign policy. These and the Council's other Studies activities are described in the following pages. A detailed listing of individual meetings can be found on the Council's website (www.foreignrelations.org).

The Council's growing role as a research center rests on both our Studies staff and our membership. More Council members and nonmember experts took part in more study groups, roundtables, and task forces than ever before. Our studies draw strength from the synergy between members and Fellows, which is vital to the effectiveness of the Studies Program, and on which we will place even greater emphasis in the future.

Kenneth Maxwell, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Affairs, served as Director of Studies from June through December 1996. Thanks to his leadership, the Studies Program continued to grow and thrive this year.

Janice L. Murray
Vice President and Treasurer, and
Acting Director of Studies (January–June 1997)

AFRICA

SALIH BOOKER

Senior Fellow, Africa Studies

Promoting U.S. Economic Relations with Africa

An Independent Task Force

CO-CHAIRS: PEGGY DULANY (SYNERGOS INSTITUTE),
FRANK SAVAGE (ALLIANCE CAPITAL MANAGEMENT)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: SALIH BOOKER

Members of the task force on U.S. economic relations with Africa set out to assess the strengths and weaknesses of current U.S. economic policy toward Africa, develop recommendations for changes in policy, and explore the feasibility of orienting U.S. policy toward greater support for regional economic integration in Africa. Focusing its discussions on the principal elements of U.S. economic policy with Africa (economic policy reform, development assistance, and trade and investment), the group put forward a task force statement with policy recommendations to have a timely impact on the administration's position on Africa at the June G-7 summit in Denver, and to help inform the debate in Congress on U.S. economic policy toward Africa.

Africa Roundtable Series

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: SALIH BOOKER

This ongoing roundtable provides a forum to discuss significant developments in Africa and their implications for U.S. policy. African leaders offer insights into important issues of democratization, economic growth, and conflict resolution. Guest speakers such as Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, and Sam Nujoma, President of Namibia, have enhanced dialogue between Council members and other persons engaged in work on Africa.

ASIA

JEROME A. COHEN

C. V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies, and Director

ELIZABETH ECONOMY

Fellow, China Studies, and Deputy Director for Asia Studies

Asia Roundtable Series: Focal Points for the Future

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JEROME A. COHEN

With Hong Kong's reversion to Chinese rule, heightened tensions between North and South Korea, and the reinvigoration of the Japan-U.S. Security Agreement, relations between the United States and Asia will be undergoing change. This ongoing series examines the implications of these changes within a sociopolitical, economic, and security framework. Sessions included discussions with Martin Lee, Chairman of the Democratic Party of Hong Kong; Kim Gye Gwan, Vice Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, North Korea; and Willy Wo-Lap Lam, China Editor for the *South China Morning Post*.

Asia and International Law Roundtable Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JEROME A. COHEN

International law plays an increasingly prominent role in efforts to resolve many of the serious problems that plague international politics in Asia. Incendiary territorial disputes; struggles over the resources of the sea and seabed; the status of Taiwan, North Korea, and nuclear missiles; obstacles to U.S.-China business cooperation; and conflicts over human rights all raise important questions concerning the invocation of international law by the governments of Asian countries. This ongoing series approaches many of these challenging problems from a legal perspective and discusses the U.S. role in addressing them. Sessions have included lively discussions with Cao Siyuan, President, Sitong Institute of Social Development, and Jonathan Hecht, a Research Fellow at Harvard University's East Asian Legal Institute.

Study Group on Constructive Engagement with China

CHAIR: MICHEL OKSENBERG (STANFORD UNIVERSITY)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ELIZABETH ECONOMY

This study group evaluated China's participation in a range of international regimes and assessed the implications of its behavior for U.S. policy, focusing on ten issue areas of critical importance to the United States: human rights, telecommunications, environment, energy, security, the United Nations, civil aviation, legal reform, trade and investment, and banking and finance. The study group report, *Shaping U.S.-China Relations: A Long-Term Strategy*, sheds light both on the continuity in China's overarching foreign policy goals, strategies, and tactics and on the adaptations China has made in its domestic institutions and policies in response to the demands of the international

community. The report articulates the ways in which the U.S. policy of constructive engagement has influenced Chinese behavior at the domestic and international levels. It also provides recommendations as to whether the United States and its allies should continue to pursue this policy and how it might be modified to serve U.S. interests better, or whether an alternative policy altogether would be more effective. An edited volume with all ten case studies will be published in 1998.

Asia and the Environment Roundtable Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ELIZABETH ECONOMY

The United States is confronting a growing number of global environmental threats, from ozone depletion to resource scarcity-induced conflict. Asia, with its booming economies and rapid pace of environmental degradation, is a major source of these threats and a necessary participant in the formulation of any solutions. Through a series of roundtable discussions, this project, which will continue into next year, explored the scope of the problem for Asia and the rest of the international community. Topics included "Environment, Scarcity, and Violence with a Special Look at China, India, and Indonesia" and "Combating Forest Degradation in Southeast Asia: Public and Private Sector Initiatives."

Winston Lord U.S.-China Update Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ELIZABETH ECONOMY

The monthly U.S.-China Update Series explored key issues at the center of the Sino-American relationship. It featured prominent U.S. and Chinese experts who provided updates on the developing nature of this increasingly complex and vital relationship. Speakers included Kurt M. Campbell, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense; Frank Ching, Senior Editor at the *Far Eastern Economic Review*; Jerome A. Cohen, Director and C. V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asian Studies at the Council; and Kenneth Lieberthal, Arthur Thurnau Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan. Session topics included Gallup China Poll results and U.S. security policy in the Asia-Pacific region, with special consideration given to China's People's Liberation Army. A panel session with Richard Bernstein of the *New York Times*, Thomas Friedman of the *New York Times*, Michel Oksenberg of Stanford University, and Lucian Pye of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology discussed the findings of the Council study group report *Shaping U.S.-China Relations: A Long-Term Strategy*.



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1) Presider Howard Wolpe, Mustafa Nyang'anyi, Speaker Julius Nyerere, International Mediator for the Conflict in Burundi, and Salih Booker at the September 26, 1996, Meeting of the Africa Roundtable Series.



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2) Speakers Michel Oksenberg, Stanford University, Thomas L. Friedman, New York Times, and Richard Bernstein, New York Times, at the March 18, 1996, Meeting "The China Challenge: Forging a New U.S. Strategy."



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3) Elizabeth C. Economy, Speaker Victor Fung, Prudential Asia Investments, Stephen A. Orlins, and Jerome A. Cohen at the February 6, 1997, Meeting, "Hong Kong's Economic Competitiveness and the Impact of Reversion to Chinese Rule."

From Bicycles to Beepers: The Politics and Economics of Business in China

CONFERENCE TEAM: ELIZABETH ECONOMY, JEFFREY REINKE, JACQUI SELBST-SCHNEIN, NANCY YAO

COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM

One of the most salient characteristics of China today is the transitional nature of its economy. Its operations in many areas of business relations suffer from the incomplete nature of its legal system, the vagaries of domestic politics, and the complex interrelationship between Chinese business and political entities. "From Bicycles to Beepers" explored such issues as: What are the recent changes in legal reform, banking, and securities? How is Beijing molding Shanghai to be China's financial center in 2000? How do investments differ from province to province? U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Daniel R. Glickman delivered the keynote address, and seminars and workshops were led by U.S. and Chinese business, legal, and government experts on topics including the future of U.S.-China trade relations; legal reform; joint ventures and strategic alliances; and pharmaceuticals, textiles, manufacturing, telecommunications, and aviation.

Study Group on American Commercial Diplomacy in Asia

CO-CHAIRS: JEFFREY E. GARTEN (YALE SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT), ROBERT B. ZOELLICK (FEDERAL NATIONAL MORTGAGE ASSOCIATION) PROJECT DIRECTOR: JAMES J. SHINN

Commercial diplomacy is in the political spotlight. The high beams are on export promotion to Asia, where the governments of the United States, Japan, and European countries are competing for their share of Asia's \$1 trillion in annual imports. A bipartisan study group on American commercial diplomacy in Asia tackled such questions as: Should the U.S. government engage in commercial diplomacy? What is the national-interest rationale? Does commercial diplomacy get in the way of other U.S. foreign policy goals in Asia? How much money and effort does the federal government actually spend on commercial diplomacy? What works well, and what is a waste? What are the activities of the Japanese and the Europeans on the commercial diplomacy front? A series of papers by experts was commissioned to inform the discussions. They included J. David Richardson of the Institute for International Economics, "Why Exports Are Worth Promoting"; David J. Rothkopf of Kissinger Associates, "On the Short Life and Impending Decline of Commercial Diplomacy"; and former U.S. Ambassadors Robert L. Barry, Donald P. Gregg, and John Wolf, who shared the country-level view in Asia of commercial diplomacy. The group will publish its report in summer 1997.

Capitol Hill Roundtable: Asia

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: BRUCE STOKES

Building on the success and popularity of the Capitol Hill roundtable on trade, a number of Hill staff aides felt that more discussion was needed about Asian issues—including trade, security, and human rights—because Congress has become an integral player in the formulation of U.S. policy toward that vital region. Modeled on the trade roundtable, this new discussion series, launched in spring 1997, featured Martin Lee, Chairman of the Democratic Party in Hong Kong, who spoke on that colony's return to Chinese control; a session on the U.S.-Japan security relationship; and a report by the President's Commission on U.S.-Pacific Trade and Investment Policy.

CENTER FOR PREVENTIVE ACTION

BARNETT R. RUBIN

Senior Fellow and Director

The Center for Preventive Action (CPA) was established in 1994 by the Council on Foreign Relations to study and test conflict prevention—to learn how preventive action can work by employing it. 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 has chosen four case studies 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 has sent a delegation to each region and is preparing a series of *Preventive Action Reports*, which are published by the Twentieth Century Fund under a joint imprint with the Council on Foreign Relations.

Annual Conference

CO-CHAIRS: JOHN W. VESSEY (FORMER CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF), DAVID A. HAMBURG (CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON PREVENTING DEADLY CONFLICT), RICHARD C. LEONE (TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND)

CPA held its third Annual Conference on Preventive Action on December 12, 1996. The conferences are cosponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict and the Twentieth Century Fund; they aim to assess the state of knowledge about conflict prevention, specifically

by surveying what has been learned in the previous year. The 1996 conference featured morning breakout sessions on three of CPA's case studies—the South Balkans, the Great Lakes region of Central Africa, and Nigeria—and afternoon sessions on broader themes—small weapons disarmament, religion, and sanctions. General George A. Joulwan, Supreme Allied Commander of Europe for NATO, was the keynote speaker. CPA will publish an edited volume from the conference as part of its *Preventive Action Reports*.

Project on the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa

PROJECT DIRECTOR: FABIENNE HARA

In 1994, Rwanda suffered an outbreak of ethnic conflict and genocide that ended with the military defeat of the regime that initiated the violence. After the end of the genocide, tension spread further throughout the region, especially to Rwanda's already troubled neighbors, Burundi and Zaire. Initially, the Center for Preventive Action fo-

cused on Burundi, but as the crisis engulfed the region, CPA widened the project to encompass the entire Great Lakes region of Central Africa, including Burundi, Rwanda, Zaire, Tanzania, and Uganda. Among other activities, CPA has cosponsored the Great Lakes Policy Forum with Search for Common Ground, Refugees International, and the African American Institute since 1995. The Great Lakes Policy Forum meets monthly to enable all international actors working to prevent further violence in the region to exchange information, coordinate strategies, evaluate their activities, and advocate policies to the United States and other governments. CPA and the European Centre for Common Ground have also established a European Forum on the Great Lakes in Brussels to help coordinate European and transatlantic activities in the region. On March 7, 1997, CPA, the Carter Center (Atlanta), and Synergies Africa (Geneva) convened a high-level consultation on the Great Lakes crisis with Ambassador Mohamed Sahnoun, special envoy to the Great Lakes from the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

GIDEON ROSE

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

ON INDEPENDENT TASK FORCES



In a task force, there is a collective product that the members sign on to, and it represents the consensus—or sometimes the lack of consensus—that the group has managed to achieve. So task forces are more diplomatic exercises than study groups because you have to bring the various people in the task force on board. The trick in a task force report is to walk a fine line between bland mush that

everyone can agree with and provocative views that will cause most members to dissent.

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What do the members and participants get out of these exercises? Well, one thing is high-level intellectual consideration of important policy issues. That's something that doesn't take

place in most settings these days. In Washington, the discussion of policy questions is so heavily politicized and so generally superficial that serious intellectual analysis is sorely lacking. In the academy, attention to policy matters is considered evidence of superficiality or excessive practicality, so there too you don't often get a chance to marry rigorous analysis and policy relevance. Task forces provide a way to bring several different worlds together—representatives of the political world, the academic world, the think-tank world, the business world, the NGO [nongovernmental organization] world, the armed services, the diplomatic corps—and pool all their various talents and expertise. That's not an experience you can get in many other places, and I think it's one of the best things the Council can do for its members and for society at large.

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The objective is to try to shape the discussion that takes place at the highest levels, both inside government and out. These projects can help put issues on the agenda that might not have been there before, and they can help generate potential solutions and get policymakers to consider them. At the least, they present an opportunity for policymakers to hear what a broad range of nonpartisan, independent, outside experts think, rather than simply be bombarded by the views of narrow constituencies and special interest groups.

Project on the Ferghana Valley Region of Central Asia

CHAIR: SAM NUNN (KING & SPALDING)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: NANCY LUBIN (JNA ASSOCIATES, INC.)

The Ferghana valley region of Central Asia cuts across the three newly independent states of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan; it is one of the most densely populated and volatile areas of the former Soviet Union. The site of violence in 1989 and 1990, the valley contains a mix of ethnic groups and competing clans divided by arbitrarily demarcated borders. Tensions are exacerbated by religious, environmental, and economic problems. CPAs Ferghana valley working group was formed to assess the potential for future conflict in the region and to suggest ways to move the region in the direction of economic and political reform and stability. A delegation of the working group visited the region in March 1997, met with a wide range of people, and is preparing a report based on its findings. The working group's report proposes ways to reduce the tensions in the area and create a stable environment for institution building and democratic and market reforms. The report will be released as part of CPAs *Preventive Action Reports*.

Project on Nigeria

CHAIR: PEARL T. ROBINSON (TUFTS UNIVERSITY)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: PETER M. LEWIS (AMERICAN UNIVERSITY)

Nigeria is embroiled in a national crisis. The immediate tensions arise from the aborted democratic transition of June 1993 and the subsequent authoritarian course of General Sani Abacha's regime. More generally, political instability is fueled by ethnic, religious, and regional tensions as well as economic malaise. Nigeria's dominant position in West Africa and its vast oil reserves mean that an eruption of conflict would have substantial regional and international repercussions. CPAs Nigeria project, in collaboration with the Carter Center, concentrates on the role of Nigerian civil society in preventing conflict and assisting sustainable democratic reform. CPA sent a study mission to Nigeria in early January 1997 to evaluate recent developments there and identify opportunities for partnerships between organizations in the United States and Nigeria. The delegation met with a variety of nongovernmental organizations in several regions of the country. Drawing on both the mission and subsequent meetings, the Nigeria project is producing a report as part of CPAs *Preventive Action Reports*.

Project on the South Balkans

CHAIR: SEYMOUR TOPPING (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: DAVID L. PHILLIPS (INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION PROGRAM, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)

CPA began to focus on the South Balkans as the wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia neared their end. The Dayton Accords moved this troubled corner of southeastern Europe toward peace but left many problems unresolved—including the issue of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia—that threaten to disrupt the entire region. The South Balkans working group was formed to recommend ways to prevent the conflict in the former Yugoslavia from spreading into the South Balkans and to create a more enduring framework for peace and security in the region. A delegation of the working group traveled there in December 1995, and representatives have returned several times since then. Drawing on the findings of the working group's initial mission to the region, CPA published the first in its series of *Preventive Action Reports*. Entitled *Toward Comprehensive Peace in Southeast Europe: Conflict Prevention in the South Balkans*, it recommends strategies and actions for reducing tensions in Kosovo and stabilizing Macedonia. The report has been translated into Serbian, Albanian, and Macedonian.

CULTURE

Culture and Foreign Policy Roundtable

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: MICHAEL SANDEL (HARVARD UNIVERSITY)

Some of the most important developments in world politics today are neither military nor economic but more broadly cultural. The Culture and Foreign Policy Roundtable sought to redress the balance among these imperatives by examining the way in which civic, moral, and political culture—including currents in religion, civil society, literature, the arts, and the media—shape the forces with which foreign policy contends. Highlights of the program year included discussions on modernity in the Middle East and the evolving nature of citizenship and political and social identity.

Culture and Development Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALBERTA ARTHURS

The concept of "culture and development" is surfacing today at the World Bank, the British Council, UNESCO, SIDA, and other agencies within the development community. At the

base of this concept is the recognition that cultural factors—ranging from religion to artistic expression—fortify or impede, advance or delay, movements toward democratization and modernization. This project aimed to find and examine the best definitions and ideas, to produce a conceptual framework for the subject, and to determine the best practices in the field. In 1996–97, speakers addressed the issue through the lenses of religion, anthropology, identity issues, and the arts.

ECONOMICS

ALBERT FISHLOW

Paul A. Volcker Senior Fellow for International Economics, and Director

Study Group on Global Trade and Wages

CO-CHAIRS: JESSICA P. EINHORN (WORLD BANK), JOHN P. LIPSKY (CHASE MANHATTAN CORPORATION)

PROJECT DIRECTORS: ALBERT FISHLOW, KAREN PARKER

Since 1973, average real wages in the United States have stagnated while earnings inequality has increased. Real wages and employment of unskilled workers in manufacturing have also declined sharply. Real wages have continued to rise in Europe, where labor markets are less flexible, but unemployment has increased and become more persistent, especially among the less skilled. This study sought to enrich the policy debate on international trade and wage levels by focusing on four areas: (a) evaluation of changing income distribution across countries; (b) investigation of the impact of trade on wages and employment within countries; (c) evaluation of the role of nontrade factors (e.g., the surge in foreign direct investment flows, the global diffusion of technology, and immigration from developing countries); and (d) consideration of remedies for workers who face retrenchment, job insecurity, and stagnant incomes. Speakers at this group included, Richard Freeman, distinguished labor economist, and Lisa Lynch, former Chief Economist at the U.S. Labor Department.

C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALBERT FISHLOW

COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM

In the 1990s, international economic issues have become paramount for U.S. policymakers, a trend reinforced by rapidly increasing international capital flows and trade in-

terdependence. The Council's Economics Program oversees an ongoing series of monthly lunches to discuss specific aspects of international economics and how they affect (and are affected by) U.S. policy. The roundtable brings noted U.S. and foreign international economists to speak before a selected audience of academics, government officials, and business people on a wide variety of questions in a timely and accessible fashion. Guest speakers at this series included Robert Lawrence, Alice Amsden, Kenneth Rogoff, and George Borjas.

Walter Hoeschild Roundtable on International Economic Relations

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALBERT FISHLOW

In an increasingly integrated global economy, macro and microeconomic developments in one country may have important repercussions for other countries' economies. This roundtable addresses a variety of economic issues that affect international economic relations and whose management may call for a concerted multilateral approach. Topics have included central banks' independence and international coordination as well as Brazil's economic prospects and role in the integration process in the Western Hemisphere.

First Annual Economics Conference on the International Problem of Pension Funds

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALBERT FISHLOW

COSPONSORED WITH FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Foreign Affairs and the Economic Studies Program have inaugurated an annual series of conferences on international economic trends. The conferences focus on future developments that will affect the global economy in the mid to long term, with special emphasis on the intersection of markets and public policy. The conferences deal comparatively with each topic in the context of different countries and regions of the world. The inaugural conference addressed perhaps the world's most important—and intractable—economic challenge: the impact of the aging world population on worldwide economic growth and international capital flow, specifically, the explosion of public pension systems. The conference attracted a first-rate group of domestic and international speakers from the private and public sectors, among them Laura D'Andrea Tyson, then Chair of the National Economic Council; Martin Feldstein, President of the National Bureau of Economic Research; Robert D. Hormats, Vice Chairman of Goldman Sachs International; Norbert Walter, Chief Economist at Deutsche Bank; and Lawrence Summers, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury.

1) Co-Chairmen Barnett R. Rubin and Hassan Bâ, Speaker Mohamed Sahnoun, U.N./OAU Special Envoy to the Great Lakes, and Co-Chairman Harry G. Barnes at the March 6-7, 1997, Conference "Special Consultation on the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa with Ambassador Mohamed Sahnoun."



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2) Dennis J. Hejlik, Craig D. Hackett, Michael P. Peters, Speaker George A. Joulwan, Supreme Allied Commander, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Leslie H. Gelb, Chairman John W. Vessey, and Ronald A. Route at the December 12, 1996, "Third Annual Conference on Preventive Action."



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3) Speaker Shirley V. T. Brittain Williams, Harvard University and House of Lords, United Kingdom, Presider Michael J. Sandel, and Speaker Charles Taylor, McGill University, at the December 5, 1996, Culture and Foreign Policy Roundtable, "Disintegrating Democracy: New Models of Citizenship, Civil Society, and Political Identity."



3

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

CHAIR: HARALD B. MALMGREN (MALMGREN GROUP)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BRUCE STOKES

With the December 1996 Singapore Trade Ministerial of the World Trade Organization, WTO members have begun to face issues left over from the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations, such as agriculture and services, and to lay out an agenda of a new generation of trade issues, such as competition policy, investment, labor, and the environment. This ongoing study group brings together experts from the trade field to clarify these trade issues and the policies and politics that affect them. This year the group looked at the issues surrounding China's accession to the WTO, the prospects and problems of European Monetary Union, and the liberalization of Japan's marketplace.

Regional Conferences on the Transatlantic Economic Agenda

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BRUCE STOKES

The transatlantic alliance is the cornerstone of American security and part of the foundation of U.S. economic well-being. In the years ahead, Washington and Brussels must find a new mission for the alliance that will eliminate periodic tensions and focus the two partners' attention on broader economic enterprise. Over the past year, a series of conferences was held in Dublin, Brussels, Paris, Vienna, and Washington, D.C., in which experts presented papers and discussed prospects for creating a true transatlantic marketplace and for broader U.S.-European cooperation in liberalizing world trade. These conferences laid the groundwork for a broad research network on both sides of the Atlantic to assess the implications of deepening and widening the transatlantic economic relationship.

Capitol Hill Roundtable—Trade

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: BRUCE STOKES

Over the past few years, the battles on Capitol Hill over the passage of trade deals, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, and fast-track negotiating authority have served notice that the days when Congress rubber-stamped executive-branch initiatives on international economic policy are a thing of the past. This two-year-old roundtable discussion series, which includes experts in the field and key Hill staff, explores current issues vital to U.S. foreign economic policy. This past year the roundtable examined a variety of controversial subjects, includ-

ing trade with Asia and export financing. The roundtable meetings are a forum for a regular, informal, bipartisan exchange of views.

Study Group on Economic Strategy and Foreign Policy

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: PATRICK J. DESOUZA (NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL)

This ongoing study group, primarily composed of term members, explores the changing approaches to international economic issues for the 21st century and seeks to understand better the increasing role of economic factors in driving foreign policy. The sessions focus on forward-looking strategies, cooperation/coordination in finance and trade, and concepts of security. Specific issues include globalization, the new mercantilism, exchange-rate volatility, and the roles of the World Trade Organization and regional actors such as China, Mercosur, and the European Union. The first session's speaker was Daniel K. Tarullo, Assistant to the President for International Economic Policy.

EUROPE

CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

Senior Fellow, Europe Studies

Bertelsmann Project on Transatlantic Relations

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

In its fourth and final year, the Bertelsmann Project focused on civic society in the Atlantic community. Among the questions addressed by prominent Americans and Europeans were: Do Americans and Europeans share similar notions of civic engagement? Does civic activity take different forms on each side of the Atlantic? Does civic engagement exist at the transnational level—either within Europe or across the Atlantic? The final product, an edited volume, will be published in 1997.

W. Averell Harriman Study Group on Transatlantic Relations

CHAIR: ROGER ALTMAN (EVERCORE PARTNERS, LLC)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

This group gathered scholars from both sides of the Atlantic to think more broadly about the future of U.S.-European relations. Questions addressed included: What is

the likely trajectory of trade and monetary relations between the United States and Europe? How are migration pressures and labor market organizations likely to affect transatlantic economic relations? How have U.S.–European security relations changed in terms of both international structure and domestic politics? How do American and European views of America's future role in Europe differ? How are the European Union's ongoing and planned institutional transformations likely to affect political and economic relations inside Europe? Are changes in identity among Europeans keeping pace with the evolution of the EU? The study group plans to produce three volumes, edited by Barry Eichengreen (trade and finance), Charles A. Kupchan (security), and Andrew Moravcsik (European Union). Charles A. Kupchan and Roger Altman also coauthored an article examining the effects of Asia's ascendance on Atlantic relations.

BRUCE STOKES

Senior Fellow and Director of Trade Programs,
Council on Foreign Relations

ON THE STUDIES PROGRAM



The Council is a place where the foreign policy debate can be honed and shaped, where issues can initially be addressed, and we can then take those policy recommendations to policymakers and opinion molders who, in turn, can relate them to the average voter and tax payer. We should understand our own role in the process because it's a terribly important one—often it's the first step in beginning to

formulate or articulate why a certain foreign policy issue is of importance to the American public and what impact it's going to have on all of us as Americans.



The transformation of the domestic economy and the great internationalization of the economy now ties together a variety of different issues: security policy, foreign policy con-

Russia, Its Neighbors, and an Enlarging NATO

An Independent Task Force

CHAIR: RICHARD LUGAR (U.S. SENATE, R-IND.)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: VICTORIA NULAND

Just as the North Atlantic Alliance's investments during the Cold War led to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, investments now in Europe's future will make a dramatic difference to our own security. NATO's decision to enlarge is a key element of that investment. Western investment in Russia's transition has been no less important, yet Russian leaders see the enlargement of NATO as a threat to their security. This task force brought together experts on Europe and the former Soviet Union from government, think tanks, universities, and the business community to examine this dilemma and discuss the appropriate relationship between the Alliance and such countries as Russia, the Baltic states, and Ukraine as NATO prepares to accept new members. Sessions included presentations by such speakers as Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott.

cerns, all tied to the growing international connection—the connection between the domestic economy and the international arena. So, it seems to me only natural that the Council would be increasingly interested in the interplay of these issues—driven by the economics of it all. It makes a lot of sense that Gary Hufbauer has come to be the Studies Director because this place has never been known as a center of economics research, and yet it seems to me that you cannot be credible in the foreign policy realm in the future unless you have a strong base in economics in terms of understanding the global economy, and Gary brings that to the job.



The value we bring to the policy game is our membership, which has a vast range of experience and a variety of points of view about any issue. We also bring the ability to step back from the policy process and look at the medium-to-long term to try to reconceptualize how we think about particular policy problems and the role of America in the world, and to bring the experience and points of view of our membership together with an emerging new conceptual framework and have that input help shape national foreign and economic policy. But we also use the emerging new framework to help educate our members who can then—in all of the various roles in their lives, in their business, in their communities, on Capitol Hill, or in their teaching—spread that new conceptualization that they themselves have actually helped form.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND LAW

RUTH WEDGWOOD

Senior Fellow, International Organizations and Law

International Organizations and Law Roundtable

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: RUTH WEDGWOOD

This ongoing series presents current topics in international law and organizations. Speakers included Jamie S. Gorelick, Deputy Attorney General of the United States, who addressed methods of fighting international terrorism, and Yuri Orlov, physicist and longtime dissident critic of Russian politics.

Conference: A Year after Dayton—Has the Peace Process Worked?

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: RUTH WEDGWOOD

COSPONSORED WITH YALE LAW SCHOOL AND THE SCHELL CENTER

The effectiveness of the new NATO and American-European security architecture has been tested by the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. The progress of the peace agreement in Bosnia, a year after NATO's intervention and the Dayton-Paris agreement, was assessed in a frank two-day conference involving key players from the area, as well as Washington and European policymakers, political scientists, and historians. Participants looked at the problems of economic reconstruction, refugee return, police reform, war crimes prosecutions, conducting elections, and building representative state institutions that do not cement the gains of ethnic cleansing. The new Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, was the keynote speaker; among the other distinguished speakers were Antonio Cassese, President of the International Tribunal for War Crimes in the former Yugoslavia, and Robert Frowick, head of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe mission in Bosnia. The proceedings will be published.

Conference: Security Flashpoints—Oil, Islands, Sea Access, and Military Confrontations

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RUTH WEDGWOOD

COSPONSORED WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

The new law of the sea regime has exposed conflicting territorial claims—designed to take advantage of oil, gas, and

fishery resources—that have provoked military confrontation. Methods of resolving these disputes and progress made in their negotiation, including disputes over islands in the Persian Gulf and the Aegean Sea and the Spratly Islands, were discussed at a two-day conference that attracted many senior members of the diplomatic missions to the United Nations. The problems of sea access in the former Yugoslavia were also addressed. Speakers included Professor John Norton Moore of the University of Virginia; Mar rack Goulding, U.N. Undersecretary-General for Political Affairs; Alvaro de Soto, U.N. Assistant Secretary-General; Davis Robinson, former legal adviser for the U.S. State Department; Robert Turner of the University of Virginia; Myron Nordquist of the U.S. Air Force Academy; Paul Szasz, Acting Deputy Director of the U.N. Office of Legal Affairs; and Ruth Wedgwood, Council on Foreign Relations and Yale University.

LATIN AMERICA

KENNETH MAXWELL

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

Latin America Breakfast Seminar Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH MAXWELL

From the debate over certification for Colombia's and Mexico's efforts against drug traffickers to in-depth briefings on the Mexican economic and political situation, the Latin America Breakfast Seminars provide prompt, thoughtful analysis of breaking economic and political events in the region. Speakers at the sessions included Alfonso Valdivieso, Prosecutor General of Colombia; L. Ronald Scheman, U.S. Executive Director, Inter-American Development Bank; and José Ángel Gurriá-Treviño and Guillermo Ortíz Martínez, Secretaries of Foreign Affairs and of Finance and Public Credit, respectively, of Mexico.

Roundtable on U.S.-Mexico Relations

PROJECT DIRECTORS: KENNETH MAXWELL, RIORDAN ROETT
(THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF ADVANCED
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES)

Across a range of vital issues, from trade and investment to drugs and migration, the U.S. bilateral relationship with Mexico is among its most important. Roundtable topics in-

cluded: the post-peso devaluation stabilization program and direct and portfolio investment in Mexico; the uncertainty surrounding the electoral process and the first direct election for "mayor" of Mexico City; the increase in the responsibility and size of the Mexican military; the emergence of guerrilla groups in different regions of Mexico; the dramatic increase in drug transfers and money laundering along the border; the future of Mexican immigration to the United States in light of 1996 U.S. legislation on welfare reform and immigration; and the outlook for political and economic stability in Mexico. Speakers included Richard Feinberg, Dean of the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (University of California at San Diego); Federico Reyes Heróles, Director of *Este País*, and Rogelio Ramírez de la O, Director of Ecanal, S.A. de C.V.

The Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Series

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH MAXWELL

The Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Series is an annual, in-depth examination of the prospects and most important issues facing Inter-American relations in the year ahead. The speakers examining hemispheric prospects for 1997 were Mario L. Baeza, TCW/Latin America Partners; John H. Coatsworth, Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University; Sylvia Maxfield, Yale University; and Andrés Velasco, New York University.

Reinventing North America

PROJECT DIRECTORS: JOHN WIRTH (STANFORD UNIVERSITY), KENNETH MAXWELL

Reinventing North America, held in collaboration with the North American Institute (NAMI) of Santa Fe, New Mexico, is a four-year series examining North America's changing character and the resulting implications for U.S. foreign policy. The series examines the building of new constituencies among emerging economic and cultural communities at a regional level; how this process affects government at a local and national level; and broader issues of nationality, ethnicity, and identity. In addition to participants from Canada, Mexico, and the United States, the roundtable incorporates members of the unique border community of Mexico and the United States by holding the discussion in the border states.

Rethinking International Drug Control: New Directions for U.S. Policy

An Independent Task Force

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: MATHEA FALCO (DRUG STRATEGIES)

Despite the growing severity of the drug abuse problem in the United States and evidence that supply-control programs are ineffective, the supply-side approach to drug control has endured. This task force examined interdiction and source country programs in terms of their impact on the domestic availability of the targeted illicit drugs. The group's report, *Rethinking International Drug Control*, urged policymakers to reassess the effectiveness of interdiction and the certification process and to consider adopting a strategy that focuses on strengthening democratic institutions at home and abroad, developing multilateral drug-control efforts, and reducing domestic demand.

Working Group on Cuba's Future: Prospects and Dangers (An Examination of U.S. Policy Options)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH MAXWELL

The Cuban shoot-down of a civilian aircraft over international waters and the passage of the Helms-Burton law by Congress have again put Cuba on the foreign policy agenda. This ongoing working group is examining U.S. policy toward Cuba in several areas, including security, immigration, domestic political considerations, investment, and the impact of trade sanctions. The group has paid particular attention to the implications of various competing domestic pressures as well as international dimensions in the development of a coherent Cuba policy. Having previously hosted Fidel Castro, recent sessions included a spirited discussion with Jorge Mas Canosa, Chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation.

Study Group on the City and the World

CHAIR: MARGARET E. CRAHAN (HUNTER COLLEGE)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALBERTO VOURVOULIAS-BUSH

The global migration of money, people, and ideas is reshaping the link between local governance and foreign policy. New York City, in particular, as a world financial, cultural, and communication center, acts as a microcosm in which international processes are simultaneously issues of local governance. The study group examined the effects of economic restructuring, the economic importance and political challenges raised by vast financial flows, the demands and opportunities presented by immigration and demographic



1) Co-Chairmen Richard L. Armitage and Harold Brown, with Robert Manning, at the February 3, 1997, Meeting of the Study Group on U.S.-Japan Security.

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2) Speakers Norbert Walter, Deutsche Bank, and Thomas Jones, TIAA-CREF, at the November 15-16, 1996, Conference, "The Coming Global Pension Crisis."

2



3) Chairman Harald B. Malmgren and Speaker Timos Christodoulou, Member of the European Parliament, at the February 27, 1997, Meeting of the Post-Uruguay Round Trade Study Group.

3



4) Charles B. Rangel, Charles S. Robb, Chairman Vin Weber, and Speaker Renato Ruggiero, Director General of the World Trade Organization, at the April 29, 1997, Meeting of the Capitol Hill Discussion Series, "The World Trade Organization and the International Trading System."

4

change, the rise of transnational communities and identities, the internationalization of crime, and the challenge to cultural consensus building and institutional adaptation. The study group brought a diverse group of New Yorkers together with experts such as Saskia Sassen of Columbia University, Carol O'Cleireacain of the Brookings Institution, and Rae Rosen of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and produced the forthcoming volume *The City and the World: New York's Global Future*, edited by Margaret E. Crahan and Alberto Vourvoulias-Bush.

Study Group on Reforming Education in Latin America

CHAIR: CASSANDRA A. PYLE

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALLISON L. C. DE CERREÑO

To consolidate the reforms underway in the economic and political sectors in Latin America, a second wave of reform is needed in the social sector. This study group concentrated on one area of central importance: educational reform. The group's purpose was to highlight the need for improving educational systems throughout the Americas, to move up educational goals on the agendas of policymakers, and to explore the links between the educational systems of Latin America and potential U.S. policies to encourage more systematic, nuanced, and informed thinking in this area. The group produced the report co-authored by Allison L. C. de Cerreño and Cassandra Pyle, *Educational Reform in Latin America*, the first of the Studies Department's Occasional Paper Series.

Symposium on the Meanings and Construction of Race in Brazil, South Africa, and the United States

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH MAXWELL

COSPONSORED WITH COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Race has different meanings in different places. Race as we know it in the United States focuses largely on the choices and strategies of being "black" or "white." Yet many immigrants from Latin America and elsewhere do not see themselves in this manner, and in Brazil and South Africa the definitions and meanings of race are particularly subtle. Focusing on the United States, Brazil, and South Africa, this symposium examined the varied meanings of race. Issues such as socioeconomic mobility, gender, and the elimination of racial boundaries were explored by, among others, Khehla Shubane of the Center for Policy Studies, South Africa; Manning Marable of Columbia University; Elliott Skinner of Columbia University; Lynn Walker Huntley of the Southern Education Foundation; and Anthony Marx of Columbia University.

Symposium on the Cardoso Administration at Midterm

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH MAXWELL

COSPONSORED WITH THE ECONOMICS AND CORPORATE PROGRAMS, THE WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS, AND INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE

In an assessment of the first half of the term of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil, leading Brazilian and U.S. experts looked at the economic policies and performance of the Cardoso administration; social issues including poverty, health, and education; political reform and the consolidation of democracy; and Brazil's emerging regional and global role. Speakers included Marcelo de Paiva Abreu, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro; Albert Fishlow, Council on Foreign Relations; Simón Schwartzman, Fundação Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Brazil; Bolívar Lamounier, Instituto de Estudos Econômicos, Sociais e Políticos de São Paulo; and Monica Hirst, Fundación Central de Estudios Brasileños, Argentina. The symposium was held in both Washington, D.C., and New York.

MIDDLE EAST

RICHARD W. MURPHY

Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East

HENRY SIEGMAN

Senior Fellow and Director of the U.S./Middle East Project

Differentiated Containment: U.S. Policy toward Iran and Iraq

An Independent Task Force

CO-CHAIRS: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI (CSIS), BRENT SCOWCROFT (SCOWCROFT GROUP)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD W. MURPHY

Taking as its point of departure an earlier study group that examined the domestic challenges facing the Gulf Cooperation Council member states, such as population pressures, unemployment, energy, and political participation, the task force called for a reevaluation of U.S. policy toward Iran and Iraq. After four meetings and a trip to the Gulf, the statement of the task force was published as the article "Differentiated Containment" in the May issue of *Foreign Affairs*. The Council also published a volume in July that incorporated the findings of these two groups together with relevant background documents.

Middle East Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD W. MURPHY

This year's series brought speakers from the Middle East to offer insights on recent political events in their respective countries. The first session evaluated the latest Kurdish crisis. The second session examined the impact on Turkish foreign and domestic policy of Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan and the Islamist Refah Party. The last session afforded participants an insider's perspective on an emerging Iranian civil society and its activities in the wake of the Iranian elections.

U.S. Middle East Policy and the Peace Process

An Independent Task Force

PROJECT COORDINATOR: HENRY SIEGMAN

Political and economic transformation in the Middle East poses new opportunities and challenges for the United States, which has been the dominant outside power in the area and the catalyst for many of these changes. The U.S./Middle East Project, working through a specially selected task force of leading specialists in the region and in U.S. foreign policy, undertook an overall review of developments and will issue its recommendations to the Clinton administration. Sessions have included participation by Lawrence S. Eagleburger and Brent Scowcroft. Until his nomination as Secretary of Defense, Senator William S. Cohen (R-Me.) chaired all the meetings of the task force.

Middle East Economic Strategy Group

CHAIR: PAUL A. VOLCKER

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

Much of the concern about the Middle East revolves around political issues of war and peace. Yet there is growing acceptance of the notion that economic issues are critical to the countries of the region. Launched in 1995 and chaired by Paul Volcker, the Middle East Economic Strategy Group (MEESG) comprises experts in international finance, trade, and development. In 1996, MEESG commissioned regional economists to prepare papers on trade liberalization in the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) and on the Palestinian economy. MEESG discussed the studies with the regional experts and prepared a set of recommendations presented at the Cairo Economic Summit in November 1996. The group is preparing a similar study on the Gulf economies for the Doha Economic Summit in 1997.

Conference: Middle East/North Africa Summit in Cairo

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

At the request of the Egyptian government and the U.S. State Department, the U.S./Middle East Project assumed responsibility for a number of program sessions at the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) Economic Summit in Cairo. The project offered the recommendations of the Middle East Economic Strategy Group on trade liberalization in the region, presented a session on the Palestinian economy, organized a panel on privatization in the region, and organized a second Regional Infrastructure Project Presentation.

Pre-Middle East/North Africa (MENA) Summit Conference on Investing in the Middle East

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN

CHIEF CONFERENCE COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM

In preparation for the November 1997 Doha Economic Summit, the U.S./Middle East Project and the Corporate Program organized an international pre-summit conference at the Council on June 9–10, 1997, at which over 140 business and government leaders from the United States and the region discussed investment prospects in the Middle East and North Africa.

Conference: The Middle East in Crisis—Again

PROJECT DIRECTORS: HENRY SIEGMAN, JONATHAN S. PARIS

COSPONSORED WITH THE DAYAN CENTER

This event was a daylong seminar at the Council in conjunction with the Dayan Center of Tel Aviv University. The peace process and the wider political, economic, and security issues in the Middle East were discussed from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. Former Israeli Ambassador Itamar Rabinovich delivered an address on Syrian-Israeli negotiations.

Conference on Mediterranean Development in Marrakech

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

COSPONSORED WITH THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE
OF THE WORLD BANK

This conference consisted of a series of seminars on a broad range of economic development topics that attracted the development community of the southern Mediterranean region. Workshops brought together development think tanks, private-sector business leaders, and public officials

from across the region. The project presented two panels: an evaluation of the Middle East/North Africa Economic Summits, and a discussion of the Gulf economies.

MUSLIM POLITICS

JAMES PISCATORI

Adjunct Senior Fellow

Study Group on Public Pluralism in Muslim Societies

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: CLIFFORD CHANIN
(ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION)

Around the world, new technologies and political openings pit traditional societies against the force of global ideas and the pressures they bring for change. Many of these societies are majority Muslim. This study group explored some Muslim responses to these new conditions by looking at the public activities of individuals and institutions within their own societies. It probed the links between their development options and Western models of modernization, examining particularly various perceptions of the U.S. role in these global transformations. The sessions dealt with the election of Islam, the transformation of associational life, contemporary Muslim thinkers, and the impact of the new media and the flow of ideas. Among the speakers were Khalil Shikaki, Director of the Center for Palestine Research and Studies in Nablus; Yilmaz Esmer, Professor of Political Science at Bogazici University in Istanbul; Paul Salem, Director of the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies in Beirut; Orhan Silier, Director of the Turkish History Foundation in Istanbul; Homa Hoodfar, Professor of Anthropology at Concordia University in Montreal; Muhammad Shahrour, Professor at the University of Damascus; and Aziz Esmail, Dean of the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London.

NATIONAL SECURITY

RICHARD K. BETTS

Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies

GIDEON ROSE

Olin Fellow and Deputy Director, National Security Studies

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

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD K. BETTS

Consensus has remained elusive on defining the most serious threats to post-Cold War U.S. security and deciding what should be done about them. The roundtable meets monthly in separate groups in New York and Washington to survey important topics, discover which of their aspects require more focused attention, and provide an opportunity for Council members and other selected experts to debate strategy and priorities. In the past year topics included new concepts of strategic defense, political intervention through human rights policies and covert action, military strategy in Southeast Asia and the Taiwan Straits, economic aspects of national security, biological weapons, and information warfare.

Study Group on the Utility of Economic Sanctions as an Instrument of American Foreign Policy

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD N. HAASS
(BROOKINGS INSTITUTION)

Economic sanctions are an increasingly important and frequently used tool of statecraft. Confronted with intractable situations abroad, policymakers and the public alike often view sanctions as an attractive middle option between doing nothing or intervening directly. This popularity, however, runs counter to a widespread sense in the foreign policy community that sanctions rarely accomplish much while inflicting substantial hidden costs on various constituencies. Economic globalization, technological development, and the information revolution, moreover, may be altering the degree to which, and circumstances under which, sanctions can be effective. This study group is exploring the utility of sanctions in the post-Cold War world and providing guidelines for their use by the United States. The project looks at the major post-Cold War experiences of sanctions, using comparative analysis to derive lessons from recent history for current and future policy.

Roundtable on Terrorism

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: GIDEON ROSE

Terrorism is one of the most serious and pressing foreign policy and security challenges for the United States in the post-Cold War world, but it is also one of the least well understood. State-sponsored terrorism has declined, but there has been a rise in new forms of terrorism, including freelance terror networks, religious radicals, political extremists,



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1) Patrick J. DeSouza, Presider Robert D. Hormats, and Speaker Daniel K. Tarullo, Assistant to the President for International Economic Policy, at the June 3, 1997, Meeting of the Study Group on Economic Strategy and Foreign Policy.



2

2) Kenneth Maxwell and Speaker Jorge Mas Canosa, Cuban American National Foundation, at the November 25, 1996, Seminar, "Cuba: A New Agenda for Democracy."



3

3) Speaker Gullermo Ortiz, Minister of Finance, Mexico, at the December 9, 1996, Meeting, "Update on the Mexican Economy."



4

4) Mario Baeza, Presider John Brademas, and Speaker Felipe Gonzalez, former Prime Minister of Spain, at the September 12, 1996, Roundtable, "A Conversation with Felipe Gonzalez."

and millenarian cults. Combined with the increasing availability of weapons of mass destruction, these trends are deeply worrisome. To generate debate and stimulate fresh thinking on this crucial topic, the Council's terrorism roundtable presented cutting-edge research-in-progress on various aspects of terrorism and counterterrorism policy from specialists in the academy, think tanks, and the government.

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

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ANN MARKUSEN

Conversion and rationalization of arms production capacity and the successful transition to lower armament levels have emerged as central determinants of international security. This ongoing study group focuses on an international comparative analysis of "supply-side resistance" to successful downsizing and searches for national and multilateral strategies for countering such resistance. Session topics have included national security, arms proliferation, industrial-base management and economic prosperity. An edited volume based on the last two years of work is expected in fall 1997.

Henry A. Kissinger Study Group on the U.S.-Japan Security Alliance

CO-CHAIRS: HAROLD BROWN (CSIS), RICHARD ARMITAGE (ARMITAGE ASSOCIATES)

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BRUCE STOKES

Recent events such as the rape incident in Okinawa and subsequent demands for a reduction in the U.S. military presence in Japan have called into question the long-term stability of the security alliance between the two nations. This study group examined what combination of external threats and internal politics could result in major changes in the security relationship. The group, composed of U.S. and Japanese specialists, studied a set of papers on regional threats to the alliance—including problems on the Korean peninsula or in the Taiwan Straits and problems internal to the United States and Japan, such as congressional demands for greater Japanese burden sharing and shifts in political power in Japan—to assess their impact on the security relationship. In addition to the four formal study group meetings, a dinner meeting was held with Masahide Ota, Governor of Okinawa, to discuss the future of U.S. bases on that island, and a special meeting of the study group was held in Los Angeles to include West Coast Council members with a Pacific orientation.

Nuclear Policy Review Project

PROJECT DIRECTOR: MORTON H. HALPERIN

The purpose of this ongoing project is to persuade the Clinton administration to conduct a thorough interagency review of U.S. nuclear policy. Only by conducting such an interagency review that would lead to a report describing all available options—and then subjecting it to full debate among senior officials, members of Congress, and the American public—will it be possible to take the critical steps necessary to reduce the risks of nuclear war and proliferation. The Nuclear Policy Review Project's first set of documents, which include the terms of reference for such a study, have been widely distributed and are currently available on the Internet. Dr. Halperin continues to promote the objectives of the project through meetings with administration officials and speaking engagements on nuclear issues, as well as active participation in similar endeavors and coalitions.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Study Group on the Globalization of Industrial R&D

CHAIR: RODNEY NICHOLS (NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCE)

PROJECT DIRECTORS: BÉNÉDICTE CALLAN, KENNETH H. KELLER

In an era marked by the globalization of production and concern about employment, the advanced industrialized nations have taken solace in their command of knowledge-intensive industries. But now a growing number of corporations are moving R&D abroad and outsourcing research to foreign firms. The study group focuses on the dynamics and limits of this globalization of R&D and investigates its consequences for the U.S. economy. Presentations focused on five technology-based industries: biomedical products, software, semiconductors, industrial chemicals, and pharmaceuticals. A report summarizing the conclusions and policy recommendations of the group will be available in summer 1997.

OTHER

Financing America's Leadership: Protecting American Interests and Promoting American Values

An Independent Task Force

CO-CHAIRS: MICKEY EDWARDS (HARVARD UNIVERSITY),
STEPHEN J. SOLARZ (SOLARZ ASSOCIATES)

PROJECT DIRECTORS: MORTON H. HALPERIN, LAWRENCE J. KORB
(BROOKINGS INSTITUTION), AND RICHARD M. MOOSE
(CNA CORPORATION)

COSPONSORED WITH THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

Relative to the average of the 1980s, U.S. government spending on international affairs has fallen nearly 20 percent in real terms. An independent task force sponsored by the Brookings Institution and the Council on Foreign Relations assessed the consequences of this trend. In its statement released before the finalization of the administration's budget, the task force concluded that the cuts adversely affect the ability of the United States to protect and promote its economic, diplomatic, and strategic agendas abroad. The statement of the task force, which was endorsed by several distinguished members of previous administrations as well as other prominent Americans, was published with a background study and other relevant materials.

Foreign Policy Roundtable

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: NICHOLAS X. RIZOPOULOS

The Foreign Policy Roundtable is a series of monthly seminars, each with a different author presenting a discussion paper drawn from a recent article or other work in progress on an issue of concern to U.S. foreign policy. The seminar consists primarily of journalists, editors, and a sprinkling of academics and Council staff. The roundtable has been meeting regularly under this format since late 1988. During the past year, author/presenters included Leon Sigal, Tozun Bahcheli, Robert Hutchings, and Vojtech Mastny.

Shepardson Fellowship Roundtable

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: NICHOLAS X. RIZOPOULOS

The roundtable consists of a series of four to six seminar meetings with the current year's Shepardson Fellow as guest author and presenter of discussion papers/chapters drawn from a book or manuscript in progress. This year's Fellow was John Newhouse, who completed his new book *Europe Adrift*—a study of the "New Europe" that will emerge by the end of the century. The "core group" for the Shepardson Roundtable normally consists of experts drawn from within and outside the Council membership.

Term Member Roundtable

CHAIR/PROJECT DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

Members of this ongoing roundtable are selected from each of four sectors: academia, government, media, and the private sector. Each meeting concentrates on a timely foreign policy issue. A reading circulated to members beforehand focuses the discussion. The gatherings enable Council term members to exchange ideas on timely issues and build new networks among the next generation of foreign policy leaders. Roundtable speakers included Jim Hoagland, David Remnick, Roger Altman, and Charles A. Kupchan.

Project on East-West Relations

PROJECT DIRECTOR: MICHAEL MANDELBAUM

The ongoing Project on East-West Relations takes an in-depth look at areas and issues of central importance to the United States and from which large-scale conflict could arise. Since its inception in 1987, the project has published 11 books. The most recent is *The Social Safety Net in Post-communist Europe*. Edited by Ethan B. Kapstein and Michael Mandelbaum, it includes essays by Mark Kramer, Anders Åslund, Walter Connor, and Scott Thomas and will be available in fall 1997. An authors' conference for a forthcoming book on the new Russian foreign policy was held in May, with participants discussing the domestic basis of Russia's new foreign policy as well as Russia's relationships with its neighbors and the world.

Director of Studies Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH MAXWELL
COSPONSORED WITH THE LATIN AMERICA PROGRAM

The ongoing Director of Studies Roundtable series provides a forum to introduce Studies Fellows to staff and members and to sponsor meetings with a variety of special guests. Highlights from the 1996–97 program year included Felipe González, former Prime Minister of Spain, addressing Spain's place in Europe and the world; Richard K. Betts, Director of National Security Studies at the Council, discussing the future role of "experts" in national security strategy; and Charles Maier, Professor at Harvard University, outlining the causes and effects of the East German revolution and unification with the Federal Republic in 1989–90.

Global Kids Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALLISON L. C. DE CERREÑO

The younger generation of Americans is growing up in an international environment in which development, globalization, and transnational issues have overtaken the strategic and ideological imperatives of the Cold War. Part of a Council outreach initiative, the Global Kids Roundtable Series is a cooperative project with Global Kids, Inc., to expose New York City students to these new foreign policy and international relations issues. Session topics have included the role of the media in influencing our perception of international events, the prevention and resolution of conflict, and the explosion of "megacities" in the developing world.

COUNCIL FELLOWS AND HOLDERS OF ENDOWED CHAIRS

GARY C. HUFBAUER

MAURICE R. GREENBERG CHAIR, VICE PRESIDENT
AND DIRECTOR OF STUDIES

Gary Hufbauer, a noted international economist, came to the Council from the Institute for International Economics, where he was the Reginald Jones Senior Fellow. Formerly he was the Marcus Wallenberg Professor of International Financial Diplomacy at Georgetown University. At the Treasury Department, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary from 1977 to 1980, during which time he was responsible for trade and investment during the Tokyo Round, and as Director of the International Tax Staff. In addition to a magna cum laude A.B. from Harvard and a Ph.D. in economics from Kings College at Cambridge University, Dr. Hufbauer also holds a J.D. from Georgetown, where he helped run the International Law Institute at G.U. Law Center. He is a respected author whose publications include *Flying High: Liberalizing Civil Aviation in the Asia Pacific* (co-editor, 1996), *Fundamental Tax Reform and Border Tax Adjustments* (1996), *Western Hemisphere Economic Integration* (co-author, 1994), *Reviving the European Union* (co-editor, 1994), *NAFTA: An Assessment* (co-author, 1994), and *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered* (co-author, 2nd ed., 1990).

ALLISON L. C. DE CERREÑO

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF STUDIES

Allison L. C. de Cerreño completed her doctorate in politi-

cial science at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York while working as a Program Associate in the Latin America Program at the Council on Foreign Relations. She has been an Adjunct Lecturer in Political Science at Hunter College and Adjunct Assistant Professor in Political Science at City College. Her research interests include democratization and educational reform in Latin America, as well as prospects and issues related to nuclear proliferation and the nonproliferation regime. She received a B.A. from Hunter College and an M.A., M.Phil., and Ph.D. from the CUNY Graduate Center.

ALBERTA ARTHURS

DIRECTOR, ROUNDTABLE ON CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

Alberta Arthurs is also the Director of the Roundtable on Culture and Development at the Council on Foreign Relations for the academic year 1996–97. She is also a University Fellow at the New School for Social Research. Dr. Arthurs was the Director for Arts and Humanities at the Rockefeller Foundation, where she oversaw national and international programming in culture and scholarship for more than a decade. Her background includes five years as President and Professor of English at Chatham College, and teaching and administrative positions at Harvard, Rutgers, and Tufts Universities. She has served on a number of corporate and not-for-profit boards and advisory committees, including—at the current time—Technoserve, the Kenan Institute for the Arts, National Video Resources, and the Salzburg Seminar. A prolific lecturer on the arts, higher education, and contemporary values, Dr. Arthurs has published essays in *American Art*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and *Prairie Schooner*, among others.

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 and present member of the Military Advisory Panel of the Director of Central Intelligence, Richard Betts is Professor of Political Science, Director of the International Security Program in the School of International and Public Affairs, 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 an adjunct lecturer at the Johns Hopkins University's Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. His books include *Military Readiness: Concepts, Choices and Consequences* (1995), *Soldiers, Statesmen and Cold War Crises* (1991), *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance* (1987), and *Surprise Attack: Lessons for Defense Planning* (1982). He is ed-

itor of *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace* (1994) and co-author and editor of *Cruise Missiles: Technology, Strategy, Politics* (1981); *Nonproliferation and U.S. Foreign Policy* (1980); and *The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked* (1979). He received a B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. in government from Harvard University.

ROBERT D. BLACKWILL

ADJUNCT SENIOR FELLOW

Robert Blackwill teaches foreign and defense policy, political and organizational analysis, and public management at the Kennedy School of Government, where he is faculty chairman of the school's Executive Programs for Members of the Russian State Duma and for Russian General Officers, and for Senior Chinese Military Officers. A career diplomat since 1967, he served as Director of West European Affairs on the National Security Council staff, Principal Deputy Secretary of State for European Affairs, and U.S. Ambassador and Chief Negotiator at the negotiations with the Warsaw Pact on conventional arms forces in Europe. He was Special Assistant to George Bush for European and Soviet Affairs. His most recent publications are *Engaging Russia, Arms Control and the U.S. Russian Relationship* and *Allies Divided: Transatlantic Policies for the Greater Middle East*.

SALIH BOOKER

SENIOR FELLOW, AFRICA STUDIES

Salih Booker has worked in Africa and the United States as a consultant for numerous international donor institutions and African NGOs (1992–95), including the UNDP, Ford Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, Bernard van Leer Foundation, African Development Foundation, and Africare. He twice served as a Professional Staff Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the U.S. Congress (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 the Southern Africa Office of Catholic Relief Services (1991) and a Legislative Assistant for TransAfrica (1980–83). He was educated at Wesleyan University, the University of Ghana (Legon), and the London School of Economics and Political Science. Mr. Booker was the author of the UNDP's first two Development Cooperation Reports on South Africa (1992, 1993) and has published articles in *TransAfrica Forum Journal*, *Africa Report*, and *Southern Africa Political Economy Monthly* and opinion pieces for various U.S. and international newspapers. He is a member of the African Studies Association and a Board Member of the Africa Fund, the Association of Concerned

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BÉNÉDICTE CALLAN

FELLOW, INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

Bénédicte Callan completed her Ph.D. at the University of California, Berkeley, where she was a research associate at the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy, working on industrial competitiveness issues in biotechnology. In Japan, she has been a visiting fellow at both Saitama and Tokyo Universities. Her research interests include the significance of science and technology for economic growth, the domestic determinants of national competitiveness, and the political implications of growing international trade. She received a B.A. from Yale University and an M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley.

JEROME A. COHEN

C. V. STARR SENIOR FELLOW FOR ASIA STUDIES, AND DIRECTOR

Jerome Cohen divides his time between the Council, where he directs its program on Asia, 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 NYU School of Law that examine the legal problems of doing business in the Far East. At the Council, he leads a roundtable series on Asia and the rule of law, as well as a study group on North Korea and international 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), and *Taiwan and American Policy* (1971). He received an A.B. and a J.D. from Yale University.

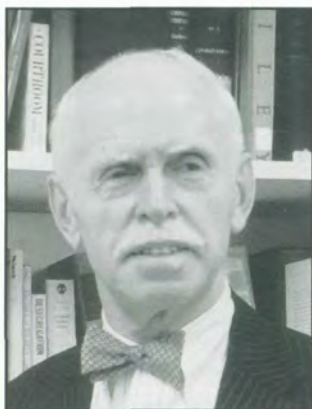
PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY

WASHINGTON DIRECTOR/GEORGE F. KENNAN SENIOR FELLOW
FOR RUSSIAN AND EURASIAN STUDIES

Before coming to the Council, Paula Dobriansky was Senior International Affairs and Trade Advisor 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. She was also co-host of the foreign affairs program *WorldWide* on National Empowerment Television and served as Foreign Policy Coordinator

Holders of Endowed Chairs

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



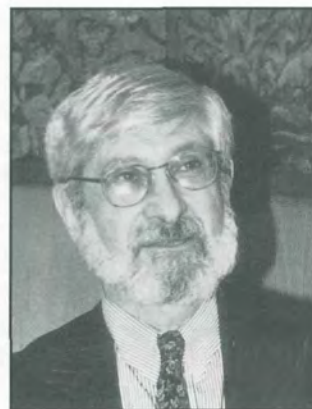
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2. Paula J. Dobriansky, *George F.
Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian
and Eurasian Studies*



2

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



3

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



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5. Gary C. Hulbauer, *Maurice R.
Greenberg Chair, Director of
Studies*



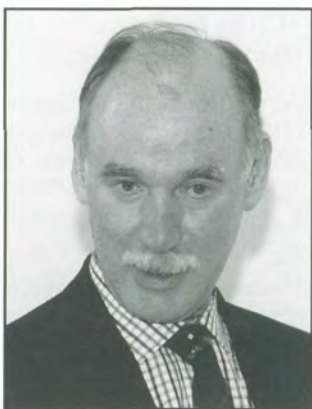
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6. Jessica T. Mathews, *Philip D.
Reed Senior Fellow for Science and
Technology*



6

7. Kenneth Maxwell, *Nelson and
David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for
Inter-American Studies*



7

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



8

on Bob Dole's 1996 presidential campaign. Previously she was Associate Director for Policy and Programs (a presidential/Senate-confirmed appointment) 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 (CSCE), Advisor 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 National Security Council. She has written journal articles, op-ed pieces, and several book chapters on a wide range of foreign affairs-related topics. She holds a B.S.F.S. summa cum laude from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and a M.A./Ph.D. from Harvard University. 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. Dr. Dobriansky also serves as Vice Chairman of the National Endowment for Democracy.

ELIZABETH ECONOMY

FELLOW, CHINA STUDIES, AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR
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During her tenure at the Council, Elizabeth Economy has conducted task forces and study groups on U.S.-PRC-Taiwan relations, China and the environment, and constructive engagement with China. Her Council publications include *Shaping U.S.-China Relations: A Long-Term Strategy*, with Michel Oksenberg (1997); *The Internationalization of Environmental Politics*, with Miranda Schrevers (Cambridge University Press, 1997); and one American Academy of Arts and Sciences occasional paper, *Reforms and Resources: The Implications of State Capacity in the People's Republic of China* (May 1997). Dr. Economy currently teaches a course on China and Global Issues at the Johns Hopkins University's Nitze School of Advanced International Studies and serves on the Executive Committee of the Program for International Studies in Asia at George Washington University. She previously taught Chinese foreign policy and international environmental politics at the University of Washington. She also was a research fellow at Princeton University's Center for Energy and Environmental Studies, Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, and the United Nations. She received a B.A. from Swarthmore College, an M.A. from Stanford University, and a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan.

ALBERT FISHLOW

PAUL A. VOLCKER SENIOR FELLOW IN INTERNATIONAL
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Albert Fishlow was Professor of Economics at the University of California at Berkeley until 1994 and was the first Dean of International and Area Studies from 1990 to 1993. He joined the Berkeley faculty in 1961 on completion of Ph.D. studies at Harvard. During 1978-83 he was Professor of Economics and Director of the Center for International and Area Studies at Yale University. He returned to Berkeley as Professor in 1983 and became Chair of the Economics Department in 1985. He served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs in 1975-76 and has been a member of many public task forces related to Latin American affairs. He is on the Board of the Social Science Research Council and serves as Chair of its Executive Committee. His research has addressed issues in economic history, Brazilian and Latin American development strategy, economic relations between industrialized and developing countries, and the problem of foreign debt. Among his recent publications are "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?" World Bank, *Annual Conference on Development Economics*, 1995; and "Future Sustainable Latin American Growth: A Need for Savings," *Review of Black Political Economy*, Summer 1995.

ALTON FRYE

SENIOR FELLOW AND SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT

Formerly a staff member at RAND, Alton Frye directed a U.S. Senate staff and taught at Harvard and UCLA, among other universities. He has published widely on national security and foreign policy and is a frequent consultant to the legislative and executive branches of the U.S. government. Among his works is *A Responsible Congress: The Politics of National Security*. He received a B.S. from St. Louis University and a Ph.D. from Yale University.

HENRY GRUNWALD

SENIOR FELLOW

Henry Grunwald is a journalist and former ambassador whose recent autobiography is entitled *One Man's America: A Journalist's Search for the Heart of His Country*. He served as Managing Editor of *Time* magazine from 1968 to 1977, as Editor-in-Chief of Time Inc.'s publications from 1979 to

STUDIES PROGRAM

1987, and as U.S. Ambassador to Austria, his native country, from 1988 to 1990. He has written frequently on foreign affairs for *Time* and other periodicals. He received a B.A. from NYU, on whose Board of Trustees he serves. He is a Vice Chairman of the World Press Freedom Committee and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts and Manufactures.

MORTON H. HALPERIN

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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). Previously he was a Senior Associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1992-94) and a Senior Fellow of the Brookings Institution (1969-73). From 1975 to 1992, he worked for the American Civil Liberties 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 Universities, and has received many awards, including a MacArthur Fellowship. He is the author of numerous books and articles on foreign policy, including *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (1974) and *Self-Determination in the New World Order* (co-author, 1992). He received a B.A. from Columbia College and a Ph.D. from Yale University. He is based at the Council's Washington, D.C., office.

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OLIN FELLOW, NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

John Hillen came to the Council's Washington, D.C., office from the Heritage Foundation, where he was a Fellow and Defense Policy Analyst. From 1988 to 1992, he served as a U.S. Army officer in Europe, the Pacific, and Southwest Asia and was awarded the Bronze Star medal for his actions in combat during the Persian Gulf War. An Army paratrooper, he is still a reserve officer in the U.S. Special Operations Command. A former Fulbright Scholar, he was educated at Duke University, King's College London, and the University of Oxford, where he received his doctorate in International Relations. He is the author of *Blue Helmets: The Strategy of U.N. Military Operations* (1997) and numerous articles on international security.

KENNETH H. KELLER

SENIOR FELLOW

Kenneth Keller was formerly President of the University of Minnesota, where he also was a faculty member in chemical engineering for more than 20 years, during which he conducted research in biomedical engineering. His current research interests include the impact of science and technology on U.S. foreign policy, higher education in the United States, and the social and economic impacts of high-technology medicine. He received a B.A. and a B.S. from Columbia University and an M.S.E. and Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University.

JUDITH KIPPER

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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 and to RAND. She is the co-editor of *The Middle East in Global Perspective* and is a frequent commentator on regional issues. A graduate of the University of California at Los Angeles, she previously focused on European-American relations as well as on the former Soviet Union.

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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) and her other publications include *Western European Adjustment to Structural Economic Problems* (co-author, 1986) and *Canada HAS a Future* (1978). The Executive Director of the Hudson Institute of Canada in Montréal from 1973 to 1994, she is a member of the Board and Senior Fellow of the Hudson Institute (Indianapolis).

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Charles Kupchan is also an Associate Professor of International Relations at Georgetown University. He served as Director for European Affairs on the National Security Council staff from 1993 to 1994. Prior to joining the NSC, 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),

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Michael Mandelbaum is also the Christian A. Herter Professor of American Foreign Policy at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of 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 the editor of several volumes published by the Council on Foreign Relations, including *The Social Safety Net in Postcommunist Europe* (forthcoming), *Postcommunism: Four Perspectives* (1996), *The Strategic Quadrangle: Russia, China, and the United States in East Asia* (1995), and *Central Asia and the World* (1994). He received a B.A. from Yale University; an M.A. from King's College, Cambridge University; and a Ph.D. from Harvard University.

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Ann Markusen is also State of New Jersey Professor at the Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy and Director of the Project on Regional and Industrial Economics at Rutgers University. She previously taught at Northwestern, Berkeley, and Colorado and served as a Brookings Economic Policy Fellow and a Fulbright lecturer. She has written extensively on military conversion, trade, and technology policy. Her recent books include *Trading Industries, Trading Regions* (1993), *Dismantling the Cold War Economy* (1992), and *The Rise of the Gunbelt* (1991). She received a B.S. from Georgetown University and an M.A. and a Ph.D. in economics from Michigan State University.

JESSICA T. MATHEWS

PHILIP D. REED SENIOR FELLOW FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Jessica Mathews has worked on issues related to energy, environment, technology, and foreign policy in the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government and as a journalist and researcher. Her weekly column in the *Washington Post* appears throughout the United States and internationally. She served as Director of the Office of Global Issues on the National Security Council staff and as Deputy to the Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs. She co-founded the World Resources Institute and directed its re-

search program as Vice President for ten years. She received an A.B. from Radcliffe College and a Ph.D. from the California Institute of Technology. During the 1996-97 program year, Dr. Mathews was the Acting Director of the Washington Program. In May she left the Council to become President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

KENNETH MAXWELL

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

Kenneth Maxwell came to the Council on Foreign Relations after teaching at Yale, Princeton, and Columbia Universities and serving six years as Program Director of the Tinker Foundation. His recent books include *The Making of Portuguese Democracy* (1995), *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment* (1995), and *The New Spain: From Isolation to Influence* (co-author, 1994). He is the Western Hemisphere book review editor for *Foreign Affairs* magazine, a member of the Executive Committee for the Board of Trustees of the Latin American Scholarship programs at American Universities (LASPAU), a member of the Consultative Council of the Luso-American Development Foundation, and is on the Advisory Council of the Latin American Program at Princeton University and of Americas Watch. He is the founder of the Camões Center for the Study of the Portuguese Speaking World at Columbia University and has served as a Consultant to the U.S. State Department, the Institute for Defense Analysis, and the Ford and Hewlett Foundations and is an Honorary Fellow of the Romance Institute of the University of London and of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. He received his B.A. and M.A. from St. John's College, Cambridge, and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Princeton University. Kenneth Maxwell was awarded the Grã Cruz of the Ordem Nacional de Mérito Científico, Brazil's highest honor, in fall 1996 and the Order of Rio Branco in 1997.

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 (U.S.), Chairman of the Middle East Institute, and Trustee of the American University of Beirut. He received a B.A. from

1) James Shinn, Jeffrey Garten, and Robert Zoellick at the March 6, 1997, Meeting of the American Commercial Diplomacy in Asia Study Group.



1

2) Presider Richard K. Betts at the December 2, 1996, Roundtable, "Strategic Defenses: Getting beyond Cold War Conceptions."



2

3) Raghida Dergham and Speaker Itmar Rabinovitch, former Ambassador of Israel to the United States, at the November 20, 1996, Conference, "The Middle East In Crisis Again."



3

4) Presider Robert K. Lifton, Speaker Amre Moussa, Foreign Minister of Egypt, and Henry Siegman at the March 4, 1997, Roundtable, "Update on the U.S. Middle East Peace Process and U.S.-Egypt Relations."



4

Harvard University and an A.B. from Emmanuel College, Cambridge University.

JONATHAN S. PARIS

FELLOW, U.S./MIDDLE EAST PROJECT

Jonathan Paris is Associate Director of the Council's U.S./Middle East Project and its Middle East Economic Strategy Group. He was a Visiting Fellow at the International Security Studies Program at Yale University, where he is teaching seminars on the Middle East. He published "When to Worry in the Middle East" in *Orbis* (Fall 1993) and "Indonesia and Israel" in *Israel Affairs* (Winter 1996-97). He has also organized meetings at the Council on Indonesia's political succession. He earlier practiced law in the Singapore office of Coudert Brothers and then worked as an investment banker for Salomon Brothers and European Investors, Inc. He received a B.A., magna cum laude, from Yale University and a J.D. from Stanford Law School.

KAREN ELIZABETH PARKER

ASSOCIATE FELLOW, ECONOMICS

Karen Parker received an A.B., summa cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa, in Latin American and African studies from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Stanford University, where she studied international trade and finance, agricultural policy and production economics. She has been an economist in the Central Asia Department of the International Monetary Fund since 1991 and has contributed to several IMF reports and publications on Nepal, India, and private market financing for developing countries.

JAMES PISCATORI

ADJUNCT SENIOR FELLOW, MUSLIM POLITICS

James Piscatori is also Fellow in Muslim Politics at Oxford University. A former Fulbright Scholar and an International Affairs Fellow of the Council, he has also taught at the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University, the Australian National University, and the University of Virginia. His publications include *Muslim Politics* (co-author, 1996), *Islamic Fundamentalisms and the Gulf Crisis* (editor, 1991), and *Islam in a World of Nation-States* (1986). He received a B.A. from Stonehill College and an M.A. and a Ph.D. from the University of Virginia.

NICHOLAS X. RIZOPOULOS

SENIOR STUDIES EDITOR

Nicholas Rizopoulos is also a Visiting Professor of International Politics and Diplomacy at Adelphi University and Senior Consulting Editor of the *Encyclopedia of U.S. Foreign Relations* (4 vols., Oxford University Press, 1997). He was Director of Studies at the Council from 1989 to 1994 and was Executive Director of the Lehrman Institute from 1972 to 1987. He previously taught Diplomatic History at Yale University, from which he received a B.A., summa cum laude, M.A., and Ph.D.

GIDEON ROSE

OLIN FELLOW AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR, NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

Gideon Rose served as Associate Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs on the National Security Council staff from 1994 to 1995. From 1992 to 1994 he was a National Security Fellow at the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University. From 1986 to 1987 he was Assistant Editor at the *National Interest*, and from 1985 to 1986 he held the same position at the *Public Interest*. He has written widely on U.S. foreign and security policy, taught American foreign policy in the Department of Politics at Princeton University, and is currently completing a manuscript on war termination in the twentieth century. He received 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 U.S. Institute of Peace. He studied under a Fulbright Fellowship at the École des hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. Dr. Rubin has written extensively on human rights, state formation, and conflict prevention. He is the author and editor of several books including *Toward Comprehensive Peace in Southeast Europe: Conflict Prevention in the South Balkans* (1996), *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan* (1995), and *The Search for Peace in Afghanistan* (1995). He received a B.A. from Yale University and an M.A. and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

JAMES J. SHINN

ADJUNCT SENIOR FELLOW, COMMERCIAL DIPLOMACY

James Shinn served as the C. V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia from 1994 to 1996 and as Senior Fellow for Commercial Diplomacy from 1996 to 1997. He managed the Council's multiyear Asia Project, whose conclusions were summarized in the Council's report *Redressing the Balance: American Engagement with Asia*. Another result of the Asia Project was his book *Weaving the Net: Conditional Engagement with China*, published by the CFR Press in 1996. Mr. Shinn served in the East Asian Bureau of the State Department in Washington, D.C., working on trade and economic matters. He left government to spend 15 years in Silicon Valley, beginning with Advanced Micro Devices, a manufacturer of integrated circuits, and then cofounded Dialogic Corporation, a publicly held engineering firm in call processing and Internet telephony technology. He received a B.A. from Princeton and an M.B.A. from Harvard.

HENRY SIEGMAN

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

Henry Siegman directs the Council's U.S./Middle East Project, which 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. He was a Resident Scholar at the Rockefeller Study Center in Bellagio, Italy (1992), and received a B.A. from the New School for Social Research.

DAVID BERNSTEIN

Guest Scholar, Wilson Center for International Scholars, the Smithsonian Institution

ON THE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM



As a government employee working in the foreign policy establishment, being an International Affairs Fellow is a chance to actually think about what you're doing and to listen to other people who have been thinking about what you're doing.

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From the State Department perspective, the IAF Program is an opportunity to step back and think longer term and broader without just being swamped

by work. It is a one-year opportunity away from the daily hassles and work to read, think, and write about what you're doing in a broader sense. In practical terms, I have

been able to read a large stack of reports and studies that I could not read before because I didn't have time during the day to get to it. And what that provides then is context for your work, a sense of what is going on around your work. When you come back, you can get a better strategic sense of what you are doing. For the State Department, the goal is that we will come back a better employee, better able to do our jobs.

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The IAF program is a unique opportunity; there are not a lot of recognized training opportunities for the State Department. There are almost none for civil service employees like myself. Government workers in the IAF Program are able to do research and write, and by providing this opportunity the Council becomes an important place for them, even beyond the time of their fellowship. People move around to different jobs—people my age and level can have two or three different jobs in the government. I think International Affairs Fellows hold the Council in high regard. That relationship continues because there's this wonderful synergy between the Council and former Fellows' work.

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It just kind of happens. The Council is a laboratory where you can get newer ideas and different ideas, and I think the Council gets credit for that.

BRUCE STOKES

SENIOR FELLOW, ECONOMIC STUDIES: TRADE

Bruce Stokes directs the Council's programs on international trade. He is currently leading a study group to assess the future of the multilateral trading system. In addition, he directs a project on the transatlantic economic agenda for the 21st century. The study group on the future of U.S.-Japan security relations that he chaired published its report in June 1997. Formerly he was the international economics correspondent for the *National Journal*. His publications include *Open for Business: Creating a Transatlantic Marketplace* (1996), *The Inevitability of Managed Trade* (1990), and *Japanese Investment in the United States: Its Causes and Consequences* (1989). From April 1996 to April 1997, 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 School of Advanced International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University, and he attended Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism.

RUTH WEDGWOOD

SENIOR FELLOW, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND LAW

Ruth Wedgwood is also Professor of Law at Yale Law School and a faculty member of Yale's U.N. Studies Program. She is a former Law Clerk to Judge Henry Friendly of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit and Justice Harry Blackmun of the U.S. Supreme Court. She serves on the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on International Law. She holds an A.B., magna cum laude, from Harvard University, held a Harvard Prize Fellowship at the London School of Economics, and earned her J.D. at Yale Law School.

JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER

SENIOR FELLOW AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PROGRAM

Jennifer Whitaker is also Deputy National Director of the Council. She 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 books 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.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

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 the emerging leaders of the two nations.

The Council organizes monthly roundtable meetings in Washington, D.C., for the Fellows, including current and former Military, State Department, 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 Lewis

Director, Membership and Fellowship Affairs

Council Fellows Roundtable Series

GORDON ADAMS (IAF, 1974-75)

Associate Director for National Security and International Affairs, Office of Management and Budget

MICHAEL E. O'HANLON

Research Associate, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution
"The Quadrennial Defense Review—More Bang for the Buck"

PRESIDER: VICE ADMIRAL DONALD L. PILLING, USN

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

U.S. Representative, Ninth District of Indiana

"Foreign Policy Challenges for the 105th Congress"

PRESIDER: JESSICA P. EINHORN

1) Odeh Aburdene, Richard W. Murphy, and Zayed al-Nahayan, President of the United Arab Emirates at the March 6, 1997, Meeting in the Gulf with the President of the United Arab Emirates.



1

2) Speaker Paul Walker, Global Green USA, and Presider Richard Ravitch at the January 24, 1997, Meeting of the Study Group on Defense Industry Globalization, Convention, and the Arms Trade.



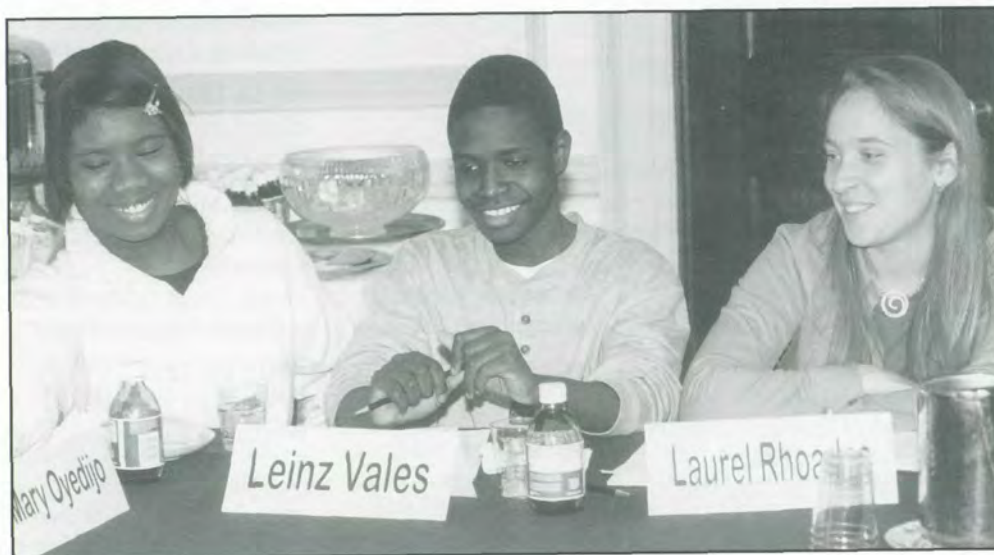
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3) Speakers Bruce Jentleson, Washington Center, University of California, Davis, Thomas Pater-son, University of Connecticut, and Nicholas X. Rizopoulos, Council on Foreign Relations, at the March 12, 1997, Reception on the Occasion of the Publication of the Encyclopedia of U.S. Foreign Relations.

4) Mary Oyedijo, Leinz Vales, and Laurel Rhoades at the March 10, 1997, Global Kids Round-table, "Conflict: What Causes It and How Can We Prevent It?"



4

RICHARD H. SOLOMON

President, U.S. Institute of Peace
"U.S.-China Relations 25 Years after the Shanghai Communiqué"
PRESIDER: TERRY DEIBEL (IAF, 1978-79)

JAMES B. STEINBERG

Deputy National Security Adviser to President Clinton,
National Security Council
"U.S.-Russia Relations on the Eve of Helsinki"
PRESIDER: EUGENE B. RUMER (IAF, 1993-94)

VAHAN ZANOYAN

President & CEO, Petroleum Finance Company
"Geopolitics and Oil: The Changing Dynamics"
PRESIDER: DOUGLAS B. McNARY (IAF, 1996-97)

International Affairs Fellows

NEW FELLOWS (CLASS OF 1997-98)

FELLOW

Home Institution
Field of Study
FELLOWSHIP BASE

DAVID ALTSHULER

Mutual Analytics Corporation
"National Security in a World of Strong Encryption"

KENNETH L. CAIN

"The United Nations, the United States, Human Rights,
and Implementation Confusion: Case Studies from the
Frontlines of U.N. Attempts to Implement Human Rights
Mandates in Peacekeeping Operations and the Implications
for U.S. Policy (Cambodia, Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti,
and Liberia)"
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

PAUL R. DUBINSKY

Schell Center for International Human Rights,
Yale Law School
"In Remembrance of Things Past: The Current Generation
of Extraterritorial U.S. Statutes and Their Impact on U.S.
Foreign Policy"

VINCENT C. DUPONT

"The Impact of Russia's Budgetary Crisis
on Russian Foreign Policy"
HARRIMAN INSTITUTE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

LAWRENCE W. DWIGHT*

U.S. Department of the Treasury
"Japanese Investment in the Asia-Pacific and Its Impact
on Regional Trade Flows and U.S. Interests"
JAPAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL MONETARY AFFAIRS

LISA FERRELL*

Arkansas General Assembly
"Worker Training and Its Effects on Global Economic
Competitiveness"
JAPAN INSTITUTE OF LABOUR

CAROL LEE GRAHAM

Brookings Institution
"Does Enhancing Equity Sustain Market Reforms?"
INTERAMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

REBECCA K. C. HERSMAN

Office of the Secretary of Defense
"Overcoming Executive-Legislative Impediments
to a Coherent Post-Cold War Foreign Policy"

G. JOHN IKENBERRY*

University of Pennsylvania
"Strategic Interdependence: Foreign Investment
and Japanese Foreign Policy"

C. S. ELIOT KANG*

Northern Illinois University
"Problems and Prospects of U.S.-Japan-Republic
of Korea Security Cooperation"
JAPAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PETER R. LAVOY

Naval Postgraduate School
"Reducing the Nuclear Danger in South Asia"

PETER LIBERMAN

Tulane University
"Post-Cold War Alliances and Peace"

WILLIAM J. LONG*

Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute
of Technology
"Japan's Use of Official Development Assistance
for Nonproliferation Purposes"

JAMIE METZL

Harvard Law School
"Foreign Policy Responses to Mass Human Rights Abuses"

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

JONATHAN SPALTER

Office of the Vice President

"The Global Information Infrastructure: Finding Private Sector Solutions to Public Policy Challenges"

SPECIAL FELLOWSHIPS

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 1996 Shepardson Fellowship was held by John Newhouse, formerly of the Brookings Institution, who is writing a book entitled *Europe Adrift*.

The 1997 Shepardson Fellow is Tony Smith.

The Studies Program administers the Shepardson Fellowship.

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 Fellow for 1996-97 was Anne Garrels, formerly the Moscow Bureau Chief for National Public Radio. Adam Schwarz, previously the Hanoi Bureau Chief for the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, will join the Council staff as the 1997-98 Murrow Fellow.

Military Fellowships

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 circumstances, 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 1996 by former Defense Secretary Harold Brown and in 1997 by former Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, chose the following Military Fellows:

For 1996-97, Army Col. Craig D. Hackett, Marine Corps Col. Dennis J. Hejlik, and Navy Rear Adm. Ronald A. Route; for 1997-98, Air Force Col. Frank G. Klotz and Marine Corps Col. George J. Flynn.

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 1996-97 Fellowship was Victoria Nuland, who was Chief of Staff to Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott.

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

PUBLICATIONS

A principal objective of the Studies Program is the dissemination of its work to a broad audience, within the membership and beyond. This past year, the Council on Foreign Relations Press published six independent task force reports, five books, and a report of a study group. All books and task force reports are distributed through the Brookings Institution Press (1-800-275-1447), and may also be ordered on the Council's website (www.foreignrelations.org).

The work of the Studies staff was also widely published via other channels, including *Foreign Affairs*, which ran articles by Richard W. Murphy, Michael Mandelbaum, Jessica T. Mathews, Alton Frye, and Richard N. Haass. Kenneth Maxwell continued as the magazine's reviewer of books on Latin America.

Michael Mandelbaum's book *The Dawn of Peace in Europe* was published by the Twentieth Century Fund. Oxford University Press published *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* by John Lewis Gaddis, who was the 1994-95 Whitney H. Shepardson Fellow. In the fall, Pantheon will publish *Europe Adrift* by John Newhouse, the 1996-97 Shepardson Fellow.

An ambitious undertaking was the four-volume *Encyclopedia of U.S. Foreign Relations*, published by Oxford University Press and prepared under the auspices of the Council. Five years in the making, the work was edited by Bruce W. Jentleson and Thomas G. Paterson, and Nicholas X. Rizopoulos, the Council's Senior Studies Editor, served as Senior Consulting Editor.

David Kellogg

Vice President, Communications and Corporate Affairs

Publications 1996-97

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS PRESS BOOKS

The City and the World: New York's Global Future, edited by Margaret E. Crahan and Alberto Vourvoulias-Bush (1997). Paperback, \$17.95.

Continuing the Inquiry: The Council on Foreign Relations from 1921 to 1996, by Peter Grose (1996). Paperback, \$12.95.

India, Pakistan, and the United States: Breaking with the Past, by Shirin R. Tahir-Kheli (1997). Paperback, \$17.95.

Refugees into Citizens: Palestinians and the End of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, by Donna E. Arzt (1997). Paperback, \$18.95.

The Reluctant Sheriff: The United States after the Cold War, by Richard N. Haass (1997). Hardcover, \$24.95.

The Social Safety Net in Postcommunist Europe, edited by Ethan B. Kapstein and Michael Mandelbaum (forthcoming). Paperback, \$17.95.

The World and Yugoslavia's Wars, edited by Richard H. Ullman (1996). Paperback, \$18.95.

INDEPENDENT TASK FORCE REPORTS

(see pp. 23-24)

STUDY GROUP REPORTS AND OCCASIONAL PAPERS

Algeria's Struggle for Democracy, Occasional Paper Studies Series No.3, by Mona Yacoubian (1997).

Debating Religion and Politics in Iran: The Political Thought of Abdolkarim Soroush, Occasional Paper Series No. 2, by Valla Vakili (1996).

Educational Reform in Latin America, Occasional Paper Series No. 1, by Allison L. C. de Cerreño and Cassandra Pyle (1996).

Pirates on the Seas: Why We Care about Global Intellectual Property Rights and What We Can Do about Them, A Council on Foreign Relations Working Report, by Bénédicte Callan (forthcoming).

Shaping U.S.-China Relations: A Long-Term Strategy. A Council on Foreign Relations Study Group Report, by Michel Ok- senberg and Elizabeth Economy (1997).

Other Publications by

Council on Foreign Relations Fellows and Staff

The American Encounter: The United States and the Making of the Modern World, Essays from 75 Years of Foreign Affairs, edited by James F. Hoge, Jr., and Fareed Zakaria, Basic Books (1997).

Arming the Future: A Defense Industry for the 21st Century, edited by Ann Markusen and Sean Costigan, Columbia University Press (forthcoming).

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

Civic Society in the Atlantic Community, edited by Charles A. Kupchan, Bertelsmann Stiftung (forthcoming).

The Dawn of Peace in Europe, by Michael Mandelbaum, Twentieth Century Fund (1997).

Encyclopedia of U.S. Foreign Relations, edited by Bruce W. Jentleson and Thomas G. Paterson; Nicholas X. Rizopoulos and Gaddis Smith, Senior Consulting Editors, Oxford University Press (1997).

Europe Adrift: Its Cultural, Social, Political and Economic Confusion after the Cold War, by John Newhouse, Pantheon Books (forthcoming).

One Man's America: A Journalist's Search for the Heart of His Country, by Henry Grunwald, Doubleday (1997).

Toward Comprehensive Peace in Southeast Europe: Conflict Prevention in the South Balkans, edited by Barnett R. Rubin, Council on Foreign Relations and the Twentieth Century Fund (1996).

Transnational Religion and Fading States, edited by Susanne Hoeber Rudolph and James Piscatori, Westview Press (1997).

We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History, by John Lewis Gaddis, Oxford University Press (1997).

MEETINGS PROGRAM

The Meetings Program seeks to achieve a mix of speakers and issues that responds to the interests of a diverse Council membership and constantly adjusts to the new issues shaping American foreign policy. This means a panoply of speakers from all regions of the world; the widest possible range of issues spanning security, economics, and politics; and a broad spectrum of viewpoints.

Through the Meetings Program, the Council provides a forum in which the leaders of yesterday, today, and tomorrow contribute to the understanding of an increasingly complex world. Numerous general meetings, debates, roundtable discussions, and conferences have been host to the new ideas of new faces, as well as to the wisdom of their predecessors and the arguments of their opponents. Increasingly, we are meeting with and hearing from leaders and experts who have come to power and influence in uncertain times, in a world where threats are harder to define and traditional alliances are under question.

This next generation of leaders is typified by such speakers as Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto of Japan, who spoke to the Council about a more robust international role for Japan, and Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo, who characterized himself to the Council group as the vanguard for political reform in Mexico. Leaders such as Inder Kumar Gujral of India, Ali Alatas of Malaysia, and Abdullah Gul of Turkey made it clear that Western concepts of democracy, free markets, and personal freedom would not dictate the priorities of their societies.

We heard from the heads of major international institutions trying to redefine their missions: the new Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan,

setting his priority as *human* development, and James Wolfensohn struggling to change the culture of the World Bank.

Some of the most compelling words heard at the Council this year were spoken by women, in particular on the issue of human rights. Regarding Bosnia, Louise Arbour, the new Chief Prosecutor at the War Crimes Tribunal, questioned the commitment of the international community to bring the guilty to justice. Then there was the memorable evening during which two Bosnian women, featured in a documentary film screened here, confronted an American official over the U.S. role in the war in the former Yugoslavia. Finally, we remember the stirring rhetoric from Mozambique's Graca Machel on the issue of children's rights in war-torn societies.

Council members witnessed the maiden voyage of Aleksandr I. Lebed to the United States in November of last year and met an unvarnished Russian general turned political phenomenon, a man of few words and limited international exposure who came here to "be educated," as he put it.

The Meetings Program has strived to anticipate world events, such as the reversion of Hong Kong to Chinese control, with speakers like British Governor Chris Patten, democracy activist Martin Lee, and businessman Victor Fung. The program is more responsive

to world events, such as the breakdown of the Middle East peace process, where Council members have heard from all the "players," including Palestinian President Yasser Arafat, the Likud Party's Dan Meridor, Israeli cabinet member and former Soviet dissident Natan Sharan-sky, Egypt's Amre Moussa, former Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, and U.S. mediator Dennis Ross.

The Meetings Program has placed a new and heavier emphasis on international economics and finance, particularly on the issue of globalization. Council members hungry for topics such as the impact of global trade, strategies for dealing with emerging markets, or the debate over the "euro" can find choices from the technical to the theoretical.

The Meetings Program is also committed to being on the cutting edge in its presentations. We tackled the issue of the changing nature of terrorism with experts who called it a looming, misunderstood threat and tied it to the proliferation of chemical-biological and nuclear

weapons. We reported to members on the results of several independent task forces sponsored by the Council. These task forces, representing the views of both members and nonmembers who participated in them, focused on such issues as the international drug war, U.S. resources for international affairs, and U.N. reform.

The impact of cultural differences on relations between countries was also a topic of several speakers, including Harvard Professor Samuel P. Huntington and Nobel Prize winner Wole Soyinka of Nigeria. We launched a series on the global information revolution, with Ted Turner, Jessica T. Mathews, and Nicholas Negroponte among the participants.

The 1996-97 program year included three special lectureships: the Russell C. Leffingwell Lecture, the Sorensen Distinguished Lecture, and the David A. Morse Lecture. (See the end of the Meetings section for details on these lectures.)

The Council also cosponsored several high-profile

JOHN DEUTCH

Institute Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and former Director, Central Intelligence Agency

ON TELEVISED POLICY HEARINGS



The most important thing about the Council is that it is an assembly point for committed people in the United States about foreign affairs writ large, a wider range of society than people who are pursuing policy. And it provides a place for both government officials from the United States and, just as importantly, officials from other countries, to come and make a public/private statement of their

views on issues. I call it public/private because it's public in the sense that it's being spoken to nongovernment officials, but I think it's private in the sense that it doesn't end up in the newspapers, which is most important. Under the last three Council presidents—Winston Lord, Peter Tarnoff, and Les Gelb—there has been a real movement to make the

Council more interesting to its members and more important to policymakers.

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There is one part of your national outreach that I think is extremely important and very useful—holding forums on particular subjects that are televised. A discussion which is carried throughout the country is important because it allows a much larger audience to see this intellectual brawl: a Council-sponsored frank discussion by knowledgeable committed individuals about a foreign policy issue.

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I think it is important to let the people see the issues that are involved in foreign policy. The State Department is under a lot of pressure in Congress. Foreign aid is very unpopular. So, it's important to show the American people what some of the issues are—informing the citizenry is an important mission of the Council.

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At Les's suggestion, we instituted a visit for Council members to the CIA. I thought that the sessions at the CIA and at the Defense Department with the Joint Chiefs of Staff were very good. We significantly informed the members who came from the Council. But also, discussion with the members stimulated us, which happens all too infrequently. Les's suggestion was great because it gave our senior leadership time to explain our policies, but they were also stimulated by the Council members.

1) Presider Peter G. Peterson, Interpreter, and Speaker Qian Qichen, Vice Premier and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, at the April 29, 1997, Meeting, "Lunch with Foreign Minister, Qian Qichen."

2) Speaker Martin C. M. Lee, Democratic Party of Hong Kong, at the April 16, 1997, Meeting, "Hong Kong and China: A Delicate Balance."



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3) Ronald A. Route, Craig D. Hackett, and Speaker John M. Shalikashvili, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Department of Defense, at the November 7, 1996, Meeting, "The U.S. Armed Forces: A Prospectus."



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4) Ellen Laipson, Raghida Dergham, and Speaker Shimon Peres, Leader of the Labor Party and former Prime Minister of Israel, at the May 8, 1997, David A. Morse Lecture, "The Future of Israel and the Peace Process: An Opposition View."



4



1) Maurice R. Greenberg, Carla A. Hills, Co-President Michael I. Sovern, Speaker Ryutaro Hashimoto, Prime Minister of Japan, and Co-President Peter G. Peterson, at the September 24, 1996, Meeting, "Japan's Future and the Role of Japan and the United States in a Global Context."

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2) Theodore C. Sorensen, President Maurice Tempelsman, and Speaker Sam Nujoma, President of Namibia, at the May 22, 1997, Meeting, "National Reconciliation, Democracy, and Economic Growth in Southern Africa."

2



3) Speaker Richard G. Lugar, U.S. Senator (R-Ind.), President Leslie H. Gelb, Peter G. Peterson, and Claiborne Pell at the May 19, 1997, Meeting, "Managing NATO Expansion: Report of a Council Task Force."

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MEETINGS PROGRAM

events with other organizations in both New York and Washington, including one marking the 50th anniversary of the Shanghai Communiqué that was moderated by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and featured remarks by two other former secretaries and the Chinese ambassador to the United States.

In few places outside the Council on Foreign Relations can you find a menu as varied as this and have a close-up look at some of the people shaping world events. As one member said recently, "Nobody watches television anymore. Movie tickets are going up. When I have a free night, I'd rather spend it at the Council." While we cannot match the drama of the opera or the thrills of a Spielberg film, we are pleased with the feedback from those of you who find the Meetings Program offerings more varied, lively, and provocative. We sense that, with more members than ever choosing to spend time at the Council, we must be doing something right, and we welcome your input.

Karen M. Sughrue

Vice President, Programs and Media Projects

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

ALI ALATAS

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia

"Security in East Asia"*†

PRESIDER: MAYNARD PARKER

KOFI ANNAN

Secretary-General of the United Nations

"The United Nations: New Priorities, New Directions"

PRESIDER: DONALD F. MCHENRY

YASSER ARAFAT

President, Palestinian National Authority

"The Peace Process after Hebron: A Palestinian Perspective"*†

PRESIDER: ROBERT D. HORMATS

LOUISE ARBOUR

Prosecutor, International War Crimes Tribunals

for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, The Hague;

Justice, Court of Appeal for Ontario, Canada

"How Effective is the International War Crimes Tribunal?"

PRESIDER: BARRINGTON D. PARKER, JR.

JAMES A. BAKER III

Senior Partner, Baker & Botts; former U.S. Secretary of State
"America's Global Approach for the Third Millennium"†

PRESIDER: LOUIS V. GERSTNER, JR.

MICHEL CAMDESSUS

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

"The IMF's Role in Assisting Countries in Financial Need"*†

PRESIDER: WILLIAM J. McDONOUGH

VIKTOR CHERNOMYRDIN

Prime Minister, Russian Federation

"Russia and the United States: The Evolving Relationship"*†

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

WARREN CHRISTOPHER

Former U.S. Secretary of State

"A Farewell Dinner"

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

LYNN E. DAVIS

Under Secretary for Arms Control and International
Security Affairs, U.S. State Department

"Future Proliferation Challenges: China, Iran and Beyond"†

PRESIDER: ROBERT L. GALLUCCI

VICTOR K. FUNG

Chairman, Hong Kong Trade Development Council

"Hong Kong's Economic Competitiveness and the Impact
of Reversion to Chinese Rule"*

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

JAMIE S. GORELICK

Deputy Attorney General, U.S. Justice Department

"The Growing International Terror and Crime Threat:
Law Enforcement and Intelligence Responses"

PRESIDER: LLOYD N. CUTLER

MAURICE R. GREENBERG

Chairman and CEO, American International Group and
Vice Chairman, Council on Foreign Relations

"India and Pakistan: Reflections on a Council Trip"*†

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

INDER KUMAR GUJRAL

Minister of External Affairs, India

"India's New Government and Its Concerns"*†

PRESIDER: REBECCA P. MARK

* A cosponsored event.

† Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.



1) John P. Lipsky and Henry Kaufman at the January 8, 1997, Meeting, "The Changing Global Economy and the Role of the World Bank."

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2) Presider Louis V. Gerstner, Jr., Speaker James A. Baker III, former U.S. Secretary of State, and Peter G. Peterson at the April 16, 1997, Meeting, "America's Global Approach for the Third Millennium."

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3) Karen M. Sughrue and Speaker Warren Christopher, former U.S. Secretary of State, at the January 27, 1997, Meeting, "A Farewell Dinner."

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MEETINGS PROGRAM

ABDULLAH GUL

Minister of State, Turkey

"The Refah (Welfare) Party and Turkish Foreign Policy"*†

PRESIDER: MATTHEW NIMETZ

RYUTARO HASHIMOTO

Prime Minister, Japan

"Japan's Future and the Role of Japan and the United States in a Global Context"*†

PRESIDERS: PETER G. PETERSON, MICHAEL I. SOVERN

LAILA HELMS

Afghan-American Activist

BARNETT R. RUBIN

Senior Fellow and Director, Center for Preventive Action,
Council on Foreign Relations

RAYMOND E. C. SOMMEREYNS

Director, Division for Preventive Diplomacy and Peacemaking
in West Asia, Department of Political Affairs, United Nations

"What's Next for Afghanistan and Central Asia?"*

PRESIDER: MARILYN BERGER

RICHARD HU

Minister of Finance, Singapore

"The United States and Singapore: Partnership for Growth
in the Asia Pacific"*†

PRESIDER: ALICE YOUNG

SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON

Director, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies,
Harvard University

"Cultural Clash, Political Ideology, and World Order"

PRESIDER: THEODORE C. SORENSEN

ALVARO ARZÚ IRIGOYEN

President, Guatemala

"Guatemala: The Challenge of Peace"*†

PRESIDER: ARYEH NEIER

RAZALI ISMAIL

President, 51st U.N. General Assembly; Permanent
Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations

"Prospects for Reform of the United Nations
and the Security Council"*†

PRESIDER: CORA WEISS

ALIJA IZETBEGOVIĆ

President, Chair of the Presidency of Bosnia
and Herzegovina

"Progress in Implementing the Dayton Accords"*†

PRESIDER: GEORGE J. MITCHELL

SOREN JESSEN-PETERSEN

Director, United Nations High Commission for Refugees
Liaison Office

"From Crisis to Crisis: The Search for Solutions"*

PRESIDER: ROBERT P. DEVECCHI

KIM DAE JUNG

President, National Congress for New Politics, South Korea;
Chairman, Kim Dae Jung Peace Foundation for the Asian-
Pacific Region

"Democracy, Security, and Prospects for Peace between
the Koreas"*

PRESIDER: FAREED ZAKARIA

HENRY A. KISSINGER

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

PETER TARNOFF

Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, U.S. State
Department

LI DAOYU

Ambassador of China to the United States

ALEXANDER M. HAIG

Former U.S. Secretary of State

CYRUS VANCE

Former U.S. Secretary of State

"Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the Shanghai
Communiqué"*

PRESIDERS: BARBER B. CONABLE, PETER G. PETERSON, PAUL FORD

HENRY A. KISSINGER

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

"America and the World"*†

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON

ANNUAL DAUGHTERS AND SONS EVENT

LUIZ FELIPE LAMPREIA

Minister of External Relations, Brazil

"Brazil: Current Trends and Their Impact
on Foreign Policy"*†

PRESIDER: JAMES B. SITRICK

ALEKSANDR I. LEBED

Former Secretary, Security Council of the Russian Federation
"Russia's Future"*

PRESIDER: HENRY A. KISSINGER

* A cosponsored event.

† Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

MEETINGS PROGRAM

MARTIN C. M. LEE

Chairman of the Democratic Party, Hong Kong
"Hong Kong and China: A Delicate Balance"*†
PRESIDER: MARK WHITAKER

BERNARD LEWIS

Cleveland E. Dodge Professor of Near East Studies,
Emeritus, Princeton University
"How Western is Modernity in the Middle East?"*
PRESIDER: FOUAD AJAMI

KENNETH LIEBERTHAL

Professor of Political Science and Business Administration,
University of Michigan

ANDREW NATHAN

Professor of Political Science, Columbia University

ALICE YOUNG

Chair, Asia Pacific Practice, Kaye, Scholer, Fierman,
Hays & Handler
"Human Rights and Hong Kong: What Will
Reversion Bring?"
PRESIDER: STEPHEN FRIEDMAN

EMMANUEL FRITZ LONGCHAMP

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Haiti
"The Democratization Process in Haiti and the U.S. Role"†
PRESIDER: MARTA B. VARELA

RICHARD G. LUGAR

Member, U.S. Senate (R-Ind.)
"Managing NATO Expansion: Report of a Council
Task Force"†
PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

GRAÇA MACHEL

Expert of the U.N. Secretary-General, U.N. Study
on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children
"Children's Rights in War and Conflict"*†
PRESIDER: SALIH BOOKER

VERAN MATIC

Founder and Editor-in-Chief, Radio B92
"The Future of Serbia and Slobodan Milosevic"
PRESIDER: GEORGE SOROS

BARRY R. MCCAFFREY

Director, Office of the National Drug Control Policy;
General, U.S. Army (Ret.)
Discussant: Mathea Falco, President, Drug Strategies

"National Drug Control Strategy: International
Implications"†
PRESIDER: ZOE BAIRD

GAY MCDUGALL

Executive Director, International Human Rights Law Group

KENNETH ROTH

Executive Director, Human Rights Watch

WILLIAM F. SCHULTZ

Executive Director, Amnesty International, U.S.A.
"Finding a New Constituency: Human Rights after
the Cold War"
PRESIDER: KATI MARTON

SAM NUJOMA

President, Namibia
"National Reconciliation, Democracy, and Economic
Growth in Southern Africa"†
PRESIDER: MAURICE TEMPELSMAN

ICHIRO OZAWA

Leader of the New Frontier Party, Japan
"Japan's Economic and Security Strategies:
An Opposition Perspective"*†
PRESIDER: JOAN E. SPERO

SHIMON PERES

Leader, Labor Party; former Prime Minister, Israel
"The Future of Israel and the Peace Process:
An Opposition View"
PRESIDER: DAVID ROCKEFELLER
THE DAVID A. MORSE LECTURE

YEVGENY M. PRIMAKOV

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Russian Federation
"Russia and the United States in a Multipolar World"†
PRESIDER: ROBERT S. STRAUSS

MALCOLM RIFKIND

Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,
United Kingdom
"Expansion of NATO and the European Union:
A British Perspective"
PRESIDER: RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE
THE RUSSELL C. LEFFINGWELL LECTURE

JEFFREY SACHS

Director, Harvard Institute for International Development
Discussant: Anupam Basu, Deputy Director for Department
of Africa to the IMF

* A cosponsored event.

† Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

1) Jadranka Cigelj, Julia Ormond, and Nusereta Sivic at the February 4, 1997, Special HBO Film Screening and Discussion, "Calling the Ghosts: A Story About Rape, War, and Women."



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2) Speaker Malcolm Rifkind, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, United Kingdom, at the September 27, 1996, Russell C. Leffingwell Lecture, "Expansion of NATO and the European Union: A British Perspective."



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3) Speakers Cyrus Vance, former U.S. Secretary of State, Alexander M. Haig, former U.S. Secretary of State, and Li Daoyu, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the United States, at the February 20, 1997, Special Event Commemorating "The 25th Anniversary of the Shanghai Communiqué."

4) Presider Zoe Baird, Speaker Barry R. McCaffrey, U.S. Army (Ret.), and Discussant Mathea Falco at the February 6, 1997, Meeting, "National Drug Control Strategy: International Implications."



4



1) Speaker Aleksandr I. Lebed, former Secretary, Security Council of the Russian Federation, Inna Lebed, and President Henry A. Kissinger at the November 18, 1996, Meeting, "Russia's Future."

1



2) President Robert D. Hormats, Speaker Yasser Arafat, President, Palestinian National Authority, and Nabil Shaath at the March 5, 1997, Meeting, "The Peace Process after Hebron: A Palestinian Perspective."

2



3) Speaker Ernesto Ponce De León Zedillo, President of Mexico, and President Carla A. Hills at the December 9, 1996, Meeting, "Economic and Political Issues of Mutual Concern to Mexico and the United States."

3

MEETINGS PROGRAM

"A New Strategy for African Economic Development"

PRESIDER: VINCENT MAI

MICHAEL J. SANDEL

Professor of Government, Harvard University

Discussant: Francis Fukuyama, Senior Researcher, RAND Corporation

"Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy"

PRESIDER: RICHARD C. LEONE

IVAN SEIDENBERG

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, NYNEX Corporation

"Geopolitics and the Information Revolution:

A Really New World Order?"*

PRESIDER: MICHAEL OVITZ

JOHN M. SHALIKASHVILI

General, U.S. Army; Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, U.S. Defense Department

"The U.S. Armed Forces: A Prospectus"†

PRESIDER: WILLIAM H. DONALDSON

NATAN SHARANSKY

Minister of Trade and Industry, Israel

"The Politics of Peace"†

PRESIDER: MALCOLM HOENLEIN

JOHN J. SHEEHAN

General, U.S. Marine Corps; Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic; Commander in Chief, U.S. Atlantic Command

"Restructuring Security Strategies: The Effects of Information Technology on Modern Warfare"†

PRESIDER: ANNE GARRELS

WOLE SOYINKA

Author; Visiting Professor of African American Studies, Emory University

"Nigeria in Crisis: The State of the Nation"*

PRESIDER: HENRY LOUIS GATES, JR.

THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER LECTURE ON AFRICA

JEAN-CLAUDE TRICHET

Governor, Bank of France

"EMU: A Continental Perspective"†

PRESIDER: YVES-ANDRÉ ISEL

R. E. TED TURNER

Vice Chairman, Time Warner, Inc.

"CNN: The Importance and Integrity of Instant News around the World"

PRESIDER: GERALD M. LEVIN

JOHN P. WHITE

Deputy Secretary of Defense, U.S. Defense Department

"The Quadrennial Defense Review: What Does It Mean for the United States?"†

PRESIDER: PAUL TAGLIABUE

SHIRLEY V. T. BRITAIN WILLIAMS

Public Service Professor of Electoral Politics, Harvard University; Member, British House of Lords

CHARLES TAYLOR

Author and Professor of Philosophy, McGill University

MICHAEL J. SANDEL

Professor of Government, Harvard University; Senior Fellow and Director, Culture and Foreign Policy Project, Council on Foreign Relations

"Disintegrating Democracy: New Models of Citizenship, Civil Society, and Political Identity"†

PRESIDER: MICHAEL SANDEL

JAMES D. WOLFENSOHN

President, World Bank

"The Changing Global Economy and the Role of the World Bank"†

PRESIDER: FELIX G. ROHATYN

ERNESTO PONCE DE LEÓN ZEDILLO

President, Mexico

"Economic and Political Issues of Mutual Concern to Mexico and the United States"†

PRESIDER: CARLA A. HILLS

GENNADY ZYUGANOV

Chairman, Communist Party, Russian Federation

"Russia and the World"†

PRESIDER: JOHN P. BIRKELUND

LECTURESHIPS

The Russell C. Leffingwell Lecture

The Russell C. Leffingwell Lectures, inaugurated in 1969, were 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.

The Russell C. Leffingwell Lecture invites a distinguished foreign official to address Council members on a topic of major international significance. Among noteworthy Leffingwell lecturers in the past have been Yoweri

* A cosponsored event.

† Meeting endowed by the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

Kaguta Museveni, President of Uganda; Denis Healy, one-time Chancellor of the Exchequer in the United Kingdom; and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, former President of France.

This year the Leffingwell Lecturer was Malcolm Rifkind, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, United Kingdom.

The Sorensen Distinguished Lecture on the United Nations

This annual lecture and dinner was established in 1996 and underwritten by Theodore C. Sorensen to honor his wife, Gillian Martin Sorensen, and to commemorate her years of service to the United Nations. This lecture specifically invites speakers intimately involved with the workings and issues of the United Nations. Last year the lecture featured the U.N. Ambassadors from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia.

U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan gave the Sorensen Distinguished Lecture this year.

The David A. Morse Lecture

The Morse program 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 30 years, a lawyer, a public servant, and an internationalist. The first Morse lecturer was former Secretary of State George Shultz, who spoke in May 1994.

Former Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres delivered the Morse Lecture this year. His theme was the continuing search for common ground in the the Middle East.

The David Rockefeller Lecture

This lecture was endowed by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1985 for an annual African lecturer. It can be an African from the governmental or nongovernmental sectors. Previous speakers included Wilson Ndolo Ayah, Kenya Foreign Minister, and Babcar N'Diye, President of African Development Bank. This year's lecturer was Wole Soyinka, author and playwright.

CORPORATE PROGRAM

The Corporate Program offers the opportunity for U.S. and foreign corporations, financial institutions, law firms, and other organizations to benefit from and participate in Council activities. The program gives executives of member companies the chance to exchange views on a wide variety of international issues with their peers in the private and public sectors. Member firms are encouraged to designate executives who are most closely involved with the specific topic under discussion to participate in events, as well as to extend invitations to other executives to broaden their exposure to international developments.

This year Corporate Program members participated in over 70 events featuring heads of state, finance ministers and other senior-level government officials from the United States and abroad, CEOs, opinion leaders, economists, and regional experts.

The Corporate Program continued its cosponsorship of the C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics, hosting a leading economist each month to discuss subjects of current interest to the international business community.

The Corporate Program also convened two major conferences this year. In April it joined with the Council's Chinese Studies Program to host senior representatives from the United States and Asia for the conference "From Bicycles to Beepers: The Politics and Economics of Business in China." In June the Corporate Program sponsored its third annual conference on business in the Middle East as a follow-up to the 1996 Middle East/North Africa Economic Development Conference in Cairo and in preparation for the November 1997 conference in Doha.

Below are highlights of the program year's rich and varied schedule of events. A comprehensive listing appears on the Council's website at www.foreignrelations.org.

David Kellogg

Vice President, Communications and Corporate Affairs

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

ALI ALATAS

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia

"Security in East Asia"*

PRESIDER: MAYNARD PARKER

PAUL A. ALLAIRE

Chairman and CEO, Xerox Corporation

"Diversity and the Multinational Corporation: A View from the Executive Suite"*

PRESIDER: BRUCE S. GELB

*A cosponsored event.

NORMAN R. AUGUSTINE

Chairman and CEO, Lockheed Martin Corporation
"Foreign Policy and America's Defense Industry:
Navigating the Changing Global Economy"*
PRESIDER: FRANK CARLUCCI III • WASHINGTON, D.C.

MARIO L. BAEZA

Chairman and CEO, TCW/Latin America Partners, LLC

JOHN H. COATSWORTH

Monroe Gutman Professor of Latin American Affairs,
Harvard University

SYLVIA MAXFIELD

Professor of Political Science and Management,
Yale University

ANDRÉS VELASCO

Professor of Economics, New York University
"Outlook for Latin America in 1997"*
PRESIDER: KENNETH MAXWELL

ALAN S. BLINDER

Co-Director, Center for Economic Policy Studies,
Princeton University; former Vice Chairman,
Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System
"Central Banks and Public Pressure: How Independent
Can Banks Be?"*
PRESIDER: PAUL A. VOLCKER

PETER BONFIELD

Chief Executive, British Telecommunications plc
"Building the Communications Future"*
PRESIDER: JOSEPH DUFFEY • WASHINGTON, D.C.

MICHEL CAMDESSUS

Managing Director and Chairman of the Executive Board,
International Monetary Fund
"The IMF's Role in Assisting Countries in Financial Need"*
PRESIDER: WILLIAM J. McDONOUGH

JOHN F. COOKE

Executive Vice President, Corporate Affairs,
the Walt Disney Company

ON THE CORPORATE PROGRAM



I think the Corporate Program is an important outreach for the Council. In Los Angeles, for example, we have had marvelous meetings with Council on Foreign Relations Fellows and West Coast individuals—business people, experts in foreign policy at universities in California, and a variety of people who have a strong interest in foreign policy. Recently, we had a meeting about Japan-

ese security issues, and it ended with a wonderful discussion about East Asia, American foreign policy, Japanese policy, and Chinese policy. Sitting around the table were executives who have concerns about Asia and who want to talk about these things. I think if you interviewed the Fellows who came, they would say that they got a lot out of it. Certainly the corporate executives did.



The dialogue is critical and very important to the Council because it receives input on its projects, and the corporate attendees get a remarkable perspective from attending these meetings.



I come from a company that is engaged in a substantial amount of business and commerce worldwide. Our product, whether it's films, various consumer products, or even theme parks, touches every part of the world. Our products are of global interest, purchased by people around the world. So my company has a strong interest in matters of worldwide trade and governmental activity. As a consequence, it would be of interest to the Council, the other members, and, for that matter, the experts on foreign policy to have a company represented that has global interests, global communications, and global contact with governments around the world.



Both the corporate members and the other members benefit from looking at regions, economics, or security issues and thinking about what this means in terms of business decisions and what it means in terms of personal or political decisions. Most business people now really want to engage and feel they need to engage. They have to make good business decisions globally and internationally. We are all international in our thinking.

STEPHEN M. CASE

Chairman and CEO, America Online, Inc.

"Online in the Global Marketplace"*

PRESIDER: RICHARD W. FISHER • WASHINGTON, D.C.

PALANIAPPAN CHIDAMBARAM

Finance Minister, India

"Economic Policy under Deve Gowda: Changes and Continuities"

PRESIDER: MAURICE R. GREENBERG

WLODZIMIERZ CIMOSZEWICZ

Prime Minister, Poland

"Poland and the Security of Europe"*

PRESIDER: MAX M. KAMPELMAN • WASHINGTON, D.C.

KENNETH CLARKE

Former Chancellor of the Exchequer, United Kingdom

"Britain in Europe"*

PRESIDER: NICHOLAS F. BRADY • WASHINGTON, D.C.

JEROME A. COHEN

Director, Asia Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

"Business Law, Human Rights, and China's Foreign Policy"*

PRESIDER: STEPHEN A. ORLINS

CHRISTOPHER M. COLLINS

Managing Director, Marsh & McLennan

ARTHUR M. MITCHELL III

Head of Pacific Practice Group, Chadbourne & Parke LLP

"Big Bang or Little Whimper: Prospects for Deregulation of Japan's Financial Services Market"

PRESIDER: WILLIAM HAWLEY

CARLO DE BENEDETTI

Chairman, Cir; Honorary Chairman, Olivetti

"Monetary Union and the Future of Europe: The Private Sector's Perspective"

PRESIDER: FRANK SAVAGE

VICTOR K. K. FUNG

Chairman, Hong Kong Trade Development Council

"Hong Kong's Economic Competitiveness and the Impact of Reversion to Chinese Rule"*

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

YEGOR TIMUROVICH GAIDAR

Former Prime Minister, Russian Federation

"Capitalism and Democracy in Russia"*

PRESIDER: S. FREDERICK STARR • WASHINGTON, D.C.

EDDIE GEORGE

Governor, Bank of England

"EMU: The British View"*

PRESIDER: ANTHONY M. SOLOMON

ALAN GREENSPAN

Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System

"Global Finance"*

PRESIDER: FRANKLIN D. RAINES • WASHINGTON, D.C.

INDER KUMAR GUJRAL

Minister of External Affairs, India

"India's New Government and Its Concerns"*

PRESIDER: REBECCA P. MARK

JOSÉ ANGEL GURRÍA-TREVIÑO

Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mexico

"Mexico: Challenges at Home and Abroad"*

PRESIDER: JOHN D. NEGROPONTE • WASHINGTON, D.C.

RICHARD HU

Minister of Finance, Singapore

"The United States and Singapore: Partnership for Growth in the Asia Pacific"*

PRESIDER: ALICE YOUNG

KENNETH LIEBERTHAL

Arthur Thurnau Professor of Political Science and William Davidson Professor of Business Administration, University of Michigan

"China's Current Balance Sheet: Prospects for U.S. Business"*

PRESIDER: MICHEL OKSENBERG

WINSTON LORD

Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. State Department

"Building a Pacific Community: Taking Stock of U.S. Policy"*

PRESIDER: MICHAEL H. ARMACOST • WASHINGTON, D.C.

HRISHIKESH A. MAFATLAL

Vice Chairman and Chief Executive, Arvind Mafatlal Group of Companies

KARAN TREHAN

President and CEO, Alliance Capital Management International

"Investment in India: Views from the U.S. and Indian Private Sectors"

PRESIDER: JOHN B. HURFORD

PEDRO SAMPAIO MALAN

Minister of Finance, Brazil

"The Brazilian Economy and Its Prospects"*

PRESIDER: E. GERALD CORRIGAN

*A cosponsored event.

1) Speaker Daniel P. Glickman, U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, at the April 2-3, 1997, Conference, "From Bicycles to Beepers: The Politics and Economics of Business in China."



1

2) Speaker Palaniappan Chidambaram, Finance Minister, India, and Presider Maurice R. Greenberg at the October 4, 1996, Meeting, "Economic Policy under Deve Gowda: Changes and Continuities."



2

3) Stephen Chesebro, Speaker Sheik Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani, Enzo Viscusi, Robert K. Lifton, Leslie H. Gelb, and Henry Siegman at the June 9-10, 1997, Conference, "Beyond the Peace Process: Continuing Investment and Development in the Middle East and North Africa."



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4) Speaker Ali Alatas, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia, and Michael P. Peters, Senior Vice President and Chief Operating Officer, Council on Foreign Relations, at the December 20, 1996, Meeting, "Security in East Asia."



4

CORPORATE PROGRAM

ERNEST S. MICEK

Chairman, CEO, and President, Cargill, Inc.

"Free Trade: Are We Getting a Fair Deal?"*

PRESIDER: JUDITH HIPPLER BELLO • WASHINGTON, D.C.

AMRE MAHMOUD MOUSSA

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt

"Perspectives on the Middle East Peace Process"*

PRESIDER: HENRY SIEGMAN

NORMAN ORNSTEIN

Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute
for Public Policy Research

"The Morning Before: The 1996 U.S. Elections and
the Politics of 1997"

PRESIDER: J. TOMILSON HILL

GUILLERMO ORTIZ

Secretary of Finance and Public Credit, Mexico

"Update on the Mexican Economy"*

PRESIDER: E. GERALD CORRIGAN

ICHIRO OZAWA

Leader of the New Frontier Party, Japan

"Japan's Economic and Security Strategies:
An Opposition Perspective"*

PRESIDER: JOAN E. SPERO

DENNIS B. ROSS

Special Middle East Coordinator, U.S. State Department

"Promoting the Middle East Peace Process"*

PRESIDER: ESTHER NEWBERG

L. RONALD SCHEMAN

U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American
Development Bank

"U.S. Interests in Latin America and Emerging Trends"*

PRESIDER: KENNETH MAXWELL

IVAN SEIDENBERG

Chairman and CEO, NYNEX Corporation

"Geopolitics and the Information Revolution: A Really
New World Order?"*

PRESIDER: MICHAEL OVITZ

GORDON S. SMITH

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Canada

"Issues in the G-7 Summit: A Canadian Perspective"*

PRESIDER: KAREN N. HORN

ALFRED STEPAN

Gladstone Professor of Government and Fellow of All Souls
College, Oxford University

"Update on Brazil"*

PRESIDER: KENNETH MAXWELL

CONRAD B. STRAUSS

President, South Africa Foundation; Chairman, Standard
Bank Investment Corporation

"Update on South Africa: Perspectives of
a South African Delegation"

PRESIDER: WILLIAM HARMAN

JEAN-CLAUDE TRICHET

Governor, Bank of France

"EMU: A Continental Perspective"*

PRESIDER: YVES-ANDRÉ ISTELE

HUMBERTO ROQUE VILLANUEVA

President, Partido Revolucionario Institucional, Mexico

"The PRI and the Upcoming Elections"*

PRESIDER: CLINT E. SMITH

JAMES D. WOLFENSOHN

President, World Bank

"The Changing Global Economy and the Role
of the World Bank"*

PRESIDER: FELIX G. ROHATYN

GENNADY ZYUGANOV

Chairman, Communist Party, Russian Federation

"Russia and the World"*

PRESIDER: JOHN P. BIRKELUND

*A cosponsored event.

CORPORATE PROGRAM MEMBERS

ABC, Inc.	Brown & Wood LLP	French-American Chamber of Commerce
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AGIP USA, Inc.	Cahill Gordon & Reindel	Gavin Anderson & Company
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Alliance Capital Management	Caxton Corporation	General Mills
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American Council on Germany	Chancellor LGT Asset Management	Guardsmark
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American International Group	The Chatterjee Group	Hitachi Ltd.
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Apple Core Hotels	Clayton Dubilier & Rice	Industrial Bank of Japan
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Banco Santander	Dillon, Read & Co., Inc.	Lagardere/Matra Hachette
Bank Audi (USA)	Directorship	Lazard Frères & Co. LLC
Bank of America	The Walt Disney Company	Lehman Brothers
The Bank of New York	Donaldson Lufkin & Jenrette	Lockheed Martin
Bankers Trust Company	Dow Jones & Company, Inc.	Loral Space & Communications
Banque Indosuez	Eli Lilly & Co.	MacAndrews & Forbes Holdings, Inc.
Barst & Mukamal	Enron Corp.	Mark Partners
Bates Worldwide	Ernst & Young	Marks & Murase L.L.P.
BDO Seidman	Estee Lauder Companies	Marks & Spencer, Inc.
BEA Associates	EXOR America	Marsh & McLennan Companies
Bear, Stearns & Co.	The Export-Import Bank of Japan	Marubeni America Corporation
The Blackstone Group	Exxon Corporation	Marvin & Palmer Associates, Inc.
Bloomberg Financial Markets	Federal Express	MasterCard International
Booz, Allen & Hamilton	Fiat USA	Mayer, Brown & Platt
BP Group	Fischer Francis Trees & Watts	McKinsey & Company, Inc.
Bristol-Myers Squibb Company	Ford Motor Company	
British-American Chamber of Commerce	The Freedom Forum	

CORPORATE PROGRAM

Mercedes-Benz of North America
Merrill Lynch International
Metropolitan Life Insurance Company
Mine Safety Appliances Company
Mobil Corporation
Morgan Stanley & Company
Multilateral Funding International
Mutual Life Insurance Company
of New York
NatWest Markets
Newsweek
Nippon Steel USA, Inc.
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NTT America, Inc.
NYNEX Corporation
Occidental Petroleum
Oxford Analytica
Paribas
Pennzoil Company
PepsiCo
Pfizer
Philip Morris Companies, Inc.
Pohang Steel America Corporation
Price Waterhouse LLP
The Prudential Insurance Company
of America

Ray & Berndtson
Reader's Digest Association
The Royce Funds
RWS Energy Services
Salomon Brothers Inc.
The Sanwa Bank Limited
Sara Lee Corporation
SBC Warburg, Inc.
Scarbroughs
Schlumberger Limited
Scudder, Stevens & Clark, Inc.
Joseph E. Seagram & Sons
Shearman & Sterling
Shell Oil Company
Simpson Thacher & Bartlett
Smith Barney Inc.
Sony Corporation of America
Soros Fund Management
Southern California Edison
Company
Standard & Poor's Ratings Group
Standard Chartered Bank
State Street Bank and Trust
Company
Stroock & Stroock & Lavan
Sullivan & Cromwell

Summit International Associates
Tempel Steel Company
Texaco, Inc.
Time Warner
Times Mirror
Titan Industrial Corporation
Toyota Motor Corporate Services
of North America, Inc.
TRW
Turner Steiner International
United Technologies
U.S. Reduction, Inc.
Violy, Byorum & Partners LLC
Volkswagen AG
E.M. Warburg, Pincus & Co.
Wasserstein Perella Group, Inc.
Watson Wyatt Worldwide
Weil, Gotshal & Manges
Weyerhaeuser
White & Case
Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering
Wyoming Investment Corporation
Xerox Corporation
Young & Rubicam Inc.
Zeneca Inc.
Zephyr Management L.P.

WASHINGTON PROGRAM

The Council's second national center is Washington, D.C., where Council membership and an extensive program have developed steadily over the past two decades. More than 1,000 members now reside in the capital area, and the range of activities there parallels that of events at the Harold Pratt House. A growing number of the Council's Studies staff are based in Washington (among them Senior Fellows Salih Booker, Morton H. Halperin, Michael Mandelbaum, and Bruce Stokes, and Fellow John Hillen), where they are generating an impressive volume of studies, seminars, and public commentaries. In addition, many New York-based Senior Fellows are holding meetings in Washington, which has also been the principal venue for outreach programs such as Policy Hearings. A notable feature of the program is the Middle East Forum, directed by Judith Kipper.

This year was a time of great growth and change in the Washington Program. The number of meetings increased dramatically, and the meetings were highlighted on a new, separate page of the monthly calendar. Members responded enthusiastically to these new offerings: monthly attendance was nearly 60 percent higher than the previous year. A preelection debate featuring Deputy National Security Adviser Samuel R. Berger and Senator John McCain; a panel discussion on how America is viewed from abroad with Jacques Attali, Ronnie Chan, and Cesar Gaviria; dinners with Alan Greenspan and Aleksandr I. Lebed; meetings with Yegor Gaidar, Yuri Luzhkov, and key policymakers from China, Israel, and Mexico; and debates on NATO expansion and the chemical weapons treaty illustrate the range and variety of the Washington Meetings Program. Bridging the policy and business communities was the popular CEO meetings series, which headlined such figures as Norman R. Augustine of Lockheed Martin and Rebecca P. Mark of Enron International.

The year closed with two exciting transitions. New Vice President and Washington Director Paula J. Dobriansky took over from Acting Director Jessica T. Mathews, who left to become President of the Carnegie Endow-

ment for International Peace. Senior Vice President Alton Frye launched a major outreach initiative on Capitol Hill. Dr. Dobriansky, former Director for European and Soviet Affairs at the National Security Council, arrived just in time to oversee the move to Washington's large, new office—with room for more than 20 staff—in the Carnegie Endowment's new building at 1779 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., at Dupont Circle.

Jessica T. Mathews

Senior Fellow, Acting Washington Director (1996–97)

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

HANAN D. ASHRAWI

Member, Palestinian National Council
“A Palestinian Perspective: Implementing the Oslo Accords”
PRESIDER: JUDITH KIPPER

JACQUES ATTALI

President, A & A, Paris; former Special Adviser to French President François Mitterrand

RONNIE C. CHAN

Chairman, Hang Lung Development Group; Founder, Director, Morningside/Springfield Group, Hong Kong

1) Presider Carla A. Hills, Judith Kipper, Speaker Dan Meridor, Minister of Finance of Israel, and Stephen J. Solarz at the October 3, 1996, Middle East Forum Meeting, "Political and Economic Trends in Israel."



1

2) Presider Nicholas F. Brady and Speaker Kenneth Clarke, Chancellor of the Exchequer, United Kingdom, at the October 1, 1996, Meeting, "Britain in Europe."



2

3) Presider Richard W. Fisher and Speaker Stephen M. Case, Chairman and CEO, America Online, Inc., at the November 12, 1996, Meeting, "Online in the Global Marketplace."



3

4) Charles M. Hertzfeld, Lionel H. Olmer, and Speaker Norman R. Augustine, Chairman and CEO, Lockheed Martin Corporation, at the May 21, 1997, Meeting, "Foreign Policy and America's Defense Industry: Navigating the Changing Global Economy."



4



1) Jessica T. Mathews, Speaker Alan Greenspan, Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, and President Franklin D. Raines at the September 17, 1996, Meeting, "Global Finance."

1



2) Robert B. Oakley, Thomas L. Hughes, and Donald F. McHenry at the February 26, 1997, Meeting, "The United States and the United Nations: Repairing the Relationship."

2



3) President Jessica P. Einhorn and Speakers J. Robert Kerrey, U.S. Senate (D-Nebr.), and Arthur B. Culvahouse, Jr., Managing Partner, Washington Office, O'Melveny & Myers, at the April 23, 1997, Meeting, "Senate Confirmation and American Foreign Policy: Advice and Consent or Harass and Deny?"

3

WASHINGTON PROGRAM

CÉSAR GAVIRIA

Secretary-General, Organization of American States;
former President, Colombia
"America Viewed from Abroad"
PRESIDER: ROBERT M. KIMMITT

NORMAN R. AUGUSTINE

Chairman and CEO, Lockheed Martin Corporation
"Foreign Policy and America's Defense Industry:
Navigating the Changing Global Economy"
PRESIDER: FRANK C. CARLUCCI III

SAMUEL R. BERGER

Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security
Affairs

JOHN MCCAIN

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

"Foreign Policy for the Next Four Years"

PRESIDER: LESLIE H. GELB

SIR PETER BONFIELD

Chief Executive, British Telecommunications plc
"Building the Communications Future" *
PRESIDER: JOSEPH DUFFEY

GEORGE LEE BUTLER

General, USAF (Ret.); President, Kiewit Energy Group
"The Case for Eliminating Nuclear Weapons:
A Personal View"
PRESIDER: LARRY D. WELCH

STEPHEN M. CASE

Chairman and CEO, America Online, Inc.
"Online in the Global Marketplace"
PRESIDER: RICHARD W. FISHER

* A cosponsored event.

CHARLES G. BOYD

General, U.S. Air Force (Ret.)

ON THE WASHINGTON PROGRAM



Outreach is an attempt to take the intellectual property of the Council and apply it in areas the Council is not currently affecting—in short, to expand the influence of the Council. The Council has changed just since I became a member in 1991. There is a vibrancy now that was not present when I joined, but if that is to be useful, it has to be felt by others outside the Council.

How do we help people understand how foreign policy affects their lives? They are unlikely to support that which they see as irrelevant to their own spheres. One place to begin is with congressional staffers. You could bring them in as witnesses, to come and offer their views as we develop a task force report. It isn't that they would necessarily bring much expertise to the table, but the very experience of coming and expressing their views would introduce them to a wider range of thought than they would otherwise have.

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Anything you can do to entice these guys to become more involved in the things the Council is doing would be useful. We need to get them comfortable talking to the Council; get them comfortable taking phone calls, initiating phone calls. There is a generation of people within the government who routinely talk to their friends at the Council. These are people who would not move on important issues before they checked with people they know who are members of the Council, because they know they will get a perspective, a certain wisdom that they are unlikely to get anywhere else. Now what you're trying to do with the Council's new Congress and U.S. foreign policy project is to get younger people in government to place that same sense of value on the Council, get them familiar with people in the Council, privately, discreetly, in a way that won't end up on the front page of the *New York Times*.

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I think that when we focus our task forces in Washington, we have access to people we don't have access to in New York. The likelihood of getting people to participate and to present their views to a Washington-based task force is higher. Perhaps also, the task forces that we are conducting here might be a little more attuned to the particular ambiance and nuances of Washington, allowing them to deal with problems that are going to have the most impact on the government. That's a gentle way of getting around to saying that the people here may be just a little closer to what's happening in Washington and understand better how their recommendations will influence Washington.

WLODZIMIERZ CIMOSZEWICZ

Prime Minister, Poland

"Poland and the Security of Europe"*

PRESIDER: MAX M. KAMPELMAN

KENNETH CLARKE

Chancellor of the Exchequer, United Kingdom

"Britain in Europe"

PRESIDER: NICHOLAS F. BRADY

YEGOR TIMUROVICH GAIDAR

Former Prime Minister, Russian Federation

"Capitalism and Democracy in Russia"

PRESIDER: S. FREDERICK STARR

ALAN GREENSPAN

Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System

"Global Finance"

PRESIDER: FRANKLIN D. RAINES

JOSÉ ANGEL GURRÍA-TREVIÑO

Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mexico

"Mexico: Challenges at Home and Abroad"

PRESIDER: JOHN D. NEGROPONTE

J. ROBERT KERREY

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

ARTHUR B. CULVAHOUSE, JR.

Managing Partner, Washington Office, O'Melveny & Myers

"Senate Confirmation and American Foreign Policy: Advice and Consent or Harass and Deny?"

PRESIDER: JESSICA P. EINHORN

* A cosponsored event.

ESTHER BRIMMER

Senior Associate, Carnegie Commission
on Preventing Deadly Conflict

ON THE WASHINGTON PROGRAM

When I think of the Council, the first thing that comes to mind is the members and that they are such a wide group of people. I can go there and learn from other people. Even if they are people I might see professionally, I wouldn't have the opportunity to sit down and talk about an issue that isn't directly related to our immediate goal. The other thing is the Studies Program, which gives me the

opportunity to seek out in-depth, serious, cutting-edge thinking on interesting issues. Again, some things are areas I am familiar with, and some are areas I think I should know about or be aware of that I wouldn't get a chance to do every day.

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We all try to look for the best ideas, and even though some fellow members might criticize your idea, it's not because

they think that the United States shouldn't be engaged in international affairs or because they're not interested in the subject or are only out for a short-term headline.

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The main difference between the Washington Program and the New York one is probably the interests and the composition of the people who go to the meetings. In Washington, there will be a political interest; there is always an aspect of "how is this playing in the current policy debate today, this week?" There will be a congressional aspect to it: "how does this play within the milieu of Congress?" There'll be somewhat less of a business aspect.

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People choose the Council's meetings over others for a couple of reasons. The fact that it's a membership organization means that people have to make some effort to become part of it. The other thing is the quality of the people—getting the absolute right person on that subject. On any given issue, there are probably 10 or 12 people who could give an interesting lecture on it, but you could say, "We have the person who is the decision maker on that subject." Sometimes, that is a big name person. Sometimes, it's not. Sometimes it's the key aide whom you really want to hear. Or it's the person who's leading the privatization effort in a country. Figuring out who is the most important person on that subject and having that person speak draws a lot of attention.

WASHINGTON PROGRAM

JAMES LEACH

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

RAZALI ISMAIL

Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations;
President, 51st General Assembly of the United Nations

BRIAN URQUHART

Former Undersecretary of the United Nations
for Special Political Affairs
"The United States and the United Nations:
Repairing the Relationship"

ALEKSANDR I. LEBED

General, Russian Army; former Secretary, Security Council
of the Russian Federation
"Russia's Future"

PRESIDER: DIMITRI K. SIMES

**COSPONSORED WITH THE NIXON CENTER FOR PEACE
AND FREEDOM**

YURI MIKHAILOVICH LUZHKOV

Mayor and Head of City Council, Moscow
"Making Russia Work" *

PRESIDER: GEORGE CRILE III

DAN MERIDOR

Minister of Finance, Israel
"Political and Economic Trends in Israel"
PRESIDER: CARLA A. HILLS

THOMAS R. PICKERING

Former U. S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation
"A Report on Russia"

PRESIDER: ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

QIAN QICHEN

Vice Premier and Foreign Minister, People's Republic of
China

PRESIDERS: CARLA A. HILLS, PETER G. PETERSON,
DONALD L. STAHELI

**COSPONSORED WITH THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON U.S.-CHINA
RELATIONS AND THE UNITED STATES-CHINA BUSINESS COUNCIL**

PAUL K. VAN RIPER

Lt. General, USMC; Commanding General, Marine Combat
Development Command
"Operating Amid Chaos: The U.S. Military Prepares for the
21st Century"

PRESIDER: CHARLES O. ROSSOTTI

MUHAMMAD YUNUS

Managing Director, Grameen Bank
"Investing in Human Potential: Changing the World
from the Grass Roots Up"
PRESIDER: KERRY KENNEDY CUOMO

*A cosponsored event.

TERM MEMBER ACTIVITIES

One of the Council's principal goals is to identify and engage the future 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 and provide 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 program activities for this past year included several roundtable discussion meetings, informal reading and discussion groups called Council Seminars, and receptions for term members hosted by other Council members. (Meetings were held in New York City unless otherwise indicated.) In addition, the term members produced a *Term Member Directory* that provides biographical information. This year's annual event, "A Day on the Hill: Congress's Role in Foreign Policy," examined several key legislators' views on American foreign policy and the issues that inform their decision making. The speakers included Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives (R-Ga.); Richard Lugar, Senator (R-Ind.); Joseph I. Lieberman, Senator (D-Conn.); Charles B. Rangel, Representative (D-N.Y.); Benjamin Gilman, Representative (R-N.Y.); Nancy Pelosi, Representative (D-Calif.); Norman J. Ornstein, Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute; Patrick L. Clawson, Senior Research Professor, National Defense University; Thomas J. Duesterberg, Director, Hudson Institute Washington Office; Angela Stent, Professor of Government, Georgetown University; and Harry Harding, Dean of the Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University.

Elise Lewis

Director, Membership and Fellowship Affairs

Term Members Roundtable Series

STUART E. EIZENSTAT

Under Secretary for International Trade,
U.S. Commerce Department

"Unilateral vs. Multilateral Sanctions: The Helms-Burton Case"

PRESIDER: CHARLOTTE KEA • WASHINGTON, D.C.

JEFFREY SACHS

Director, Harvard Institute for International Development, and
Galen Stone Professor of International Trade, Harvard University
"The Trials and Tribulations of Global Capitalism"

PRESIDER: DAVID ALTSHULER • BOSTON

FRANK SESNO

CNN Senior Vice President and Washington Bureau Chief,
and Host of CNN's Sunday Interview Program,
Late Edition with Frank Sesno

"Reporting Washington News to a Global Audience"

PRESIDER: SAMUEL H. FEIST • WASHINGTON, D.C.

LAWRENCE H. SUMMERS

Deputy Secretary, U.S. Treasury Department

"Lessons Learned from Mexico and the Importance
of the International Financial Institutions
to U.S. International Economic Policy"

PRESIDER: J. BENJAMIN NYE • WASHINGTON, D.C.

TERM MEMBER ACTIVITIES

Council Seminars

ANDREW APOSTOLOU

Editor of Custom Publishing, Economist Intelligence Unit

SODYQ SAFAEV

Ambassador of Uzbekistan to the United States and the United Nations

"Uzbekistan—The Model for Continued Growth and Stability Among the Newly Independent States"

PRESIDER: JULIETTE M. PASSER-MUSLIN

WILLIAM P. CROWELL

Deputy Director, National Security Agency

JOCK GILL

Principal, Penfield Gill, Inc.

ROBERT T. MARSH

Chairman, Presidential Commission on Protecting Critical Infrastructure (General, U.S. Air Force, Ret.)

BRUCE MOULTON

Vice President, Information Security Services, Fidelity Investments

JOSEPH S. NYE, JR.

Dean, John F. Kennedy School of Government

JAMES TERRY SCOTT

Director, National Security Program, John F. Kennedy School of Government (Lieutenant General, U.S. Army, Ret.)
"Security Implications of the Information Revolution"

PRESIDERS: GREGORY J. RATTRAY, ALISON SANDER • BOSTON

PEGGY DULANY

President and Founder, Synergos Institute

MICHAEL B. HEISLER

Director of Programs, Task Force for Child Survival and Development, and Director, MECTIZAN Donation Program

PAUL M. OSTERGARD

President, Citicorp Foundation

"Public-Private Partnerships in Developing Nations: How Corporations Can Promote Community Development"

PRESIDERS: JORDANA FRIEDMAN, JORDAN S. KASSALOW

MICHAEL FIX

Director of Immigration Policy Program, Urban Institute

GEORGES VERNEZ

Director of Research on Immigration Policy, RAND Corporation

"Immigration Policy—Its Historical Context and the Current Environment"

PRESIDER: GORDON P. BELL

CRAIG D. HACKETT

U.S. Army Military Fellow (Colonel, Promotable), Council on Foreign Relations

MICHAEL E. O'HANLON

Research Associate, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution

MARK REDLINGER

U.S. Defense Department (Lieutenant Colonel, Promotable)

"The Quadrennial Defense Review—What Role Will Our Military Play in Addressing Our Country's National Security Objectives?"

PRESIDER: TODD C. HART

SUSAN B. LEVINE

Emerging Markets Partnership

"Investing in Emerging Markets: China as a Case Study"

PRESIDER: NANCY GOODMAN • WASHINGTON, D.C.

Special Receptions and Events

TERM MEMBERS SPECIAL BREAKFAST IN HONOR OF THE COUNCIL'S 75TH ANNIVERSARY WITH WILLIAM DIEBOLD, JR.

"The Council's Evolution: A Personal Perspective"

PRESIDER: FAREED ZAKARIA

RECEPTION AT THE GELBS

Leslie H. and Judy Gelb

TERM MEMBER DINNER WITH JEFFREY E. GARTEN

Dean, School of Management, Yale University

"Emerging Markets: Economic, Strategic, and Ethical Dilemmas for U.S. Policymakers"

TERM MEMBER RECEPTION WITH LESLIE GELB AND THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

TERM MEMBER ADVISORY COMMITTEES

New York Committee

Deborah K. Burand
Co-Chair
Lehmann Li
Co-Chair
Kenneth D. Balick
Gordon P. Bell
Martin J. Bollinger
Kristina Perkin Davison
Justin Doebele
Stephen E. Flynn

Jordana Friedman
Joachim Gfoeller, Jr.
Paul D. Golob
John P. Hall
Jon M. Huntsman, Jr.
Hanya Marie Kim
Kirk Kraeutler
Michael E. Lind
L. Camille Massey
Brian Pierre Mathis
Dan T. Motulsky

Elise O'Shaughnessy
Holly Peterson
Mitchell B. Reiss
Anthony H. Richter
Elliot J. Schrage
Paula Sinclair
David M. Snyder
Joshua L. Steiner
Maureen T. Upton
Donna A. Zaccaro

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Co-Chair
Susan K. Ellingwood
Co-Chair
John B. Bellinger III
Andrew Bennett
Barbara Bicksler
Eric Biel
Daniel E. Bob

Jack C. Chow
Walter L. Christman
Susan Lesley Clark
Steven C. Clemons
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Nancy F. Goodman
Laura Hume Hills
Charlotte G. Kea

Mark P. Lagon
Louise Lief
J. Benjamin Nye
Crystal Nix
Scott D. Pearson
Susan E. Rice
Christopher M. Schroeder
Frances J. Seymour
Serena Lynn Wilson

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Co-Chair

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Mark D. W. Edington
Gregory J. Rattray
Anne Stetson

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.

Accomplishment, 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.

This year the Board of Directors approved an increase of 1,000 in the total ceiling on stated membership, to be implemented over a five-year period. As of June 30, 1997, the Council had 3,371 members, an increase of 42 (1 percent) over last year.

The Membership and Fellowship Affairs Department also administers the International Affairs Fellowship, International Affairs Fellowship in Japan, Military Fellowship, Edward R. Murrow Fellowship, and U.S. State Department Fellowship. Full descriptions of these fellowships appear at the end of the Studies Program section.

Elise Lewis

Director, Membership and Fellowship Affairs

MEMBERSHIP SELECTION PROCEDURES

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 up to ten other Council members. All serve terms of four years. To be considered by the Committee on Membership, candidates must be nominated for membership by Council members. See the end of the Annual Report for a roster of members.

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

Profile of the Membership

	Number of Members	Percentage of Membership
LOCATION		
Resident (New York)	1,083	32
Washington, D.C.	1,041	31
Nonresident (including overseas)	1,247	37
Total	3,371	100
PROFESSION		
Business Executives (including banking)	870	26
Academic Scholars and Administrators	725	21
Nonprofit Institution Scholars and Administrators	633	19
U.S. Government Officials	485	14
Journalists, Correspondents, and Communication Executives	363	11
Lawyers	279	8
Other	16	1
Total	3,371	100

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 more than 25 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

Every candidate for regular membership must 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 would be welcomed

but is not technically required. Currently, an average candidacy includes four to five letters of support. The nominator or candidate should submit a *curriculum vitae*, biographical statement, or a reference in Who's Who that 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, candidates must submit a list of the names of at most 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 the 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, or writing supporting letters on any candidate's behalf.
- A member who is a spouse, close relative (such as parent, sibling, cousin, etc.), or relation of a candidate may not formally nominate 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:

- 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, the 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 the Committee requests candidates' 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 when completed.

REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

The deadlines for receipt of all materials for the two yearly meetings of the Committee to consider regular members are *March 1* and *September 30*.

TERM MEMBERSHIP

For prospective term members, the deadline for receipt of information for the annual Term Membership Committee meeting is *January 31*.

Notification of Candidates

Candidates recommended by the Membership Committee and elected by the Board are so notified, as are their nominators and seconders. Candidates who are unsuccessful at any meeting are not notified, since 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 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@email.cfr.org

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. Nineteen ninety-six marked the 75th anniversary of the Council's founding. Members celebrated the occasion in September and demonstrated their support for the Council through their response to a special appeal during the anniversary year. The Board and staff gratefully thank those donors and volunteers who added so much to the financial strength of the organization.

 On September 30, the Council celebrated its 75th anniversary with a gala dinner at the Waldorf=Astoria Hotel that was attended by 1,100 members and guests. Special thanks are due to Dinner Co-Chairs Rita E. Hauser and Theodore C. Sorensen; Dinner Director Maurice Sonnenberg; the 75th Anniversary Dinner Committee; and Anne Cox Chambers, who provided the dinner invitations. A special video for the occasion, *The Council at 75: A Partnership with History*, produced by Karen M. Sughrue and narrated by Diane Sawyer, was made possible by a grant from NYNEX Corporation. The evening was capped by the announcement of the completion of the \$2 million Next Generation Fund, dedicated to finding and nurturing tomorrow's foreign policy leaders, and of two endowed chairs: the Peter G. Peterson Editorship of *Foreign Affairs* and the Maurice R. Greenberg Director of Studies Chair.

To commemorate the Council's 75th anniversary, a copy of Peter Grose's history of the Council, *Continuing the Inquiry*, was sent to all members. This book was generously underwritten by a gift from Council member William A. Hewitt.

Janice L. Murray
Vice President and Treasurer

The Future

On January 21, 1997, the Board approved a plan to transform the recently purchased building at 50 East 68th Street into a facility to house our Studies Department. The new Studies Center will carry the Council into the next century. This new complex will provide offices for Senior Fellows and Associates and a state-of-the-art auditorium that will accommodate 250 members, thus almost doubling our current capacity. There will also be a video conferencing system, which will allow us to link our membership and others around the world to Council activities in New York. Thanks to the generosity of Chairman Peter G. Peterson, who has pledged \$5 million toward the project, the Council started construction in June 1997.

75th Anniversary Capital Campaign

The year also saw the culmination of the 75th Anniversary Capital Campaign. With an original goal of \$25 million, this campaign, now at the \$36 million mark, has provided nine endowed chairs and a number of fellowships. Peter G. Peterson, Maurice R. Greenberg, Leslie H. Gelb, and the Board of Directors convey their heartfelt thanks to all the many donors who contributed to the campaign.

In January 1997 two investiture dinners were held for two endowed chairs: to honor Peter G. Peterson and celebrate the appointment of James F. Hoge, Jr., to the Peter G. Peterson Chair, *Foreign Affairs*; and to honor Paul A. Volcker and celebrate the appointment of Albert Fishlow to the Paul A. Volcker Chair in International Economics.

The Annual Fund

Last fall, Peter G. Peterson and Leslie H. Gelb cosigned the first Annual Giving appeal of the year. In the spring, a special appeal went to Washington-area members from Board members Thomas R. Donahue and Robert B. Zoellick. Brian P. Mathis and Paula Sinclair also sent a special appeal to term members. A final appeal to donors was undertaken by Board members Paul A. Allaire, Joshua Lederberg, George J. Mitchell, and Garrick Utley.

These efforts resulted in a record-breaking year, with overall contributions of \$1,462,900 from 1,424 donors (44 percent of the membership) and 41 corporate and foundation matching grant programs. Term member giving doubled over last year, and gifts from Washington-area members increased by forty percent. Donors are listed on pages 95–101.

Harold Pratt Associates (Annual Giving donors of \$10,000 and above) stand at 35. The Board extends special thanks to those generous donors, who are listed on page 96 and whose names also appear on a special plaque at the Council to recognize the importance of their support.

Term Grants, Bequests, and Other Nonrecurring Gifts

Term grants and other special contributions continue to support much of the Council's vital endeavors, including Studies activities, publications, fellowships, and special projects. Large, multiyear grants underwrite several major Council-wide programs, and gifts from foundations, corporations, and individual donors provide support for specific programs and activities.

The Council received a bequest from longtime member Ralph I. Straus and a generous pledge from Helena

Franklin for the International Affairs Fellowship Program to honor the memory of her late husband, George S. Franklin.

The Council extends its gratitude to the donors listed below for their generosity.

Anonymous	W. Alton Jones Foundation
Action International, Inc.	Robert K. Lifton
Merv & Thea Adelson	The John D. and Catherine T.
Philanthropic Fund	MacArthur Foundation
AGIP Petroleum Co. Inc.	Yosef A. Maiman
Fouad M. T. Alghanim	Fouad Makzhoumi
Kutayba Alghanim	George C. Marshall Foundation
Hamza Al-Kholi	Mayer, Brown & Platt
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Bertelsmann Stiftung	Cecil J. Olmstead
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Carnegie Corporation	Pennzoil Exploration
of New York	and Production Company
Ronnie C. Chan	Louis Perlmutter
Chevron Overseas Petroleum	The Pew Charitable Trusts
Council on Foundations	Ploughshares Fund
Arie and Ida Crown Memorial	Clyde E. Rankin III
Diana Lady Dougan	Stephen Robert
Ahmed Ezz	Rockefeller Brothers Fund
The Ford Foundation	The Rockefeller Foundation
Helena Franklin	Robert Rosen
Stephen & Barbara Friedman	Arthur Ross Foundation
Foundation	John C. Sites, Jr.
Victor K. K. Fung	Alfred P. Sloan Foundation
Goldman, Sachs & Co.	Theodore C. Sorensen
Audrey & Arthur N. Greenberg	<i>Bequest of</i> Ralph I. Straus
Philanthropic Fund	Stroock & Stroock & Lavan
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Hitachi, Ltd.	The Tinker Foundation
Home Box Office	Incorporated
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ANNUAL GIVING DONORS

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Associates
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Katherine Marshall	Paul Moore, Jr.	Henry Owen	Jack Raymond	Kurt L. Schmoke
Leo S. Martinuzzi, Jr.	Theodore H. Moran	William A. Owens	Lee R. Raymond	Christopher M.
Brian P. Mathis	Milton D. Morris	Robert B. Oxnam	Charles B. Reed	Schroeder
William B. Matteson	Lloyd N. Morrisett	George C. Paine II	William S. Reese	G. Edward Schuh
Gale A. Mattox	Kenneth P. Morse	Abraham Pais	William M. Reichert	Jill Schuker
Ernest R. May	Alfred H. Moses	Mark Palmer	Mitchell B. Reiss	Susan C. Schwab
Claudette Mayer	Michael Mosettig	Alexandra Parent	Charles B. Renfrew	William W. Schwarzer
Gerald M. Mayer, Jr.	Michael H. Moskow	Maynard Parker	Renate Rennie	Stephen M. Schwebel
Jeffrey L. McCaddon	Ambler H. Moss, Jr.	Hugh T. Patrick	William R. Rhodes	Brent Scowcroft

DEVELOPMENT

Norman P. Seagrave	Anne G. K. Solomon	Theodore Tannenwald, Jr.	Raymond Vernon	Earle C. Williams
Robert C. Seamans, Jr.	Anthony M. Solomon	Peter Tarnoff	Toni Grant Verstandig	Eddie Nathan Williams
Sheldon J. Segal	Joshua N. Solomon	William Taubman	Elizabeth G. Verville	H. Roy Williams
Frederick Seitz	Tara Sonenshine	Nancy H. Teeters	Richard Noyes Viets	Harold M. Williams
Eugene A. Sekulow	Christian R. Sonne	Leonard B. Tennyson	Adis Maria Vila	Edwin D. Williamson
Frank Sesno	Debora L. Spar	Barbara S. Thomas	George J. Vojta	Mason Willrich
Donna E. Shalala	James Gustave Speth	Chang-Lin Tien	Rod von Lipsey	Donald M. Wilson
Eleanor Bernert Sheldon	Ronald I. Spiers	Paul E. Tierney, Jr.	Carmen Delgado Votaw	Jacques D.
Sally Swing Shelley	John M. Spratt, Jr.	Sarah L. Timpson	Carl E. Vuono	Wimpfheimer
Joanna Reed Shelton	Howard M. Squadron	Terence A. Todman	Charls E. Walker	Thomas Winship
George L. Sherry	John Stacks	Alexander C. Tomlinson	John L. Walker	Philip S. Winterer
Jerome J. Shestack	Stephen Stamas	Stephen Joel	Anthony J. Walton	Anne A. Witkowsky
Josette Shiner	Eugene S. Staples	Trachtenberg	Katherine T. Ward	Michael Witunski
Donald W. Shriver, Jr.	Paul E. Steiger	Russell E. Train	Paul C. Warnke	Richard H. Wohl
Gary G. Sick	Mark B. Stein	Eugene P. Trani	Gerald L. Warren	Charles Wolf, Jr.
Daniel B. Silver	Daniel Steiner	Thomas J. Trebat	Abbott M. Washburn	Neal S. Wolin
Robert B. Silvers	John D. Stempel	Philip H. Trezise	Dennis Weatherstone	Ward W. Woods
Adele Smith Simmons	Angela E. Stent	Peter D. Trooboff	Ruth Wedgwood	Harry Woolf
William E. Simon	Alfred C. Stepan	Alexander B. Trowbridge	Leroy S. Wehrle	R. James Woolsey
Joseph J. Sisco	Paula Stern	Edwin M. Truman	George B. Weiksner, Jr.	W. Howard Wriggins
Elliott P. Skinner	Anne Stetson	H. Anton Tucher	Sidney Weintraub	Mona Yacoubian
Eugene B. Skolnikoff	Ruth Ann Stewart	John Turkevich	Cora Weiss	Linda T. Yang
Joseph E. Slater	Jeremy J. Stone	J. Michael Turner	Edith Brown Weiss	Adam Yarmolinsky
Anne-Marie Slaughter	Roger D. Stone	Richard H. Ullman	Thomas G. Weiss	John N. Yochelson
Ann Brownell Sloane	Simon D. Strauss	Sanford J. Ungar	Herman B. Wells	David B. Yoffie
Leon Sloss	Rose Styron	Maureen T. Upton	Allan Wendt	Alice Young
Lawrence M. Small	William H. Sullivan	Robert M. Uriu	Richard J. Whalen	Edgar B. Young
S. Bruce Smart, Jr.	Leo A. Suslow	Sara Vagliano	C. S. Whitaker	M. Crawford Young
Gaddis Smith	James S. Sutterlin	Arturo Valenzuela	Jennifer Seymour	Frederick T. C. Yu
Hedrick L. Smith	Francis X. Sutton	Brian VanDeMark	Whitaker	Donald S. Zagoria
David M. Snyder	John Temple Swing	Ted Van Dyk	Charles S. Whitehouse	Dov S. Zakheim
Stephen J. Solarz	William H. Taft IV	James A. Van Fleet	Christine T. Whitman	Marvin Zonis
Peter O.A. Solbert	Phillips Talbot	Marta B. Varela	William E. Whyman	Barry Zorthian
Andrew W. Solomon	George K. Tanham	Nicholas A. Veliotos	Richard A. Wiley	Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.



1) Peggy Dulaney and David Rockefeller at the December 9, 1996, Meeting, "Economic and Political Issues of Mutual Concern to Mexico and the United States."

1



2) Alton Frye and George Soros at the October 8, 1996, Meeting of the Board of Directors.

2



3) Kenneth W. Dam, William J. McDonough, and Lee Cullum at the June 5, 1997, Meeting of the Board of Directors.

3

1997 BOARD ELECTION

Following careful deliberations by the By-Law Review Committee (consisting of Kenneth W. Dam, Chair, Keith Highet, and James B. Sitrick) and by the Board of Directors, Council members were notified in December 1996 of several proposals to strengthen Board election structures and procedures: (a) to permit an incumbent Director to run for election to a second term; (b) to permit a person appointed to fill a vacancy on the Board to complete the term; and (c) if the directorship vacated had been held by a Director elected to it by the membership at large, to permit the appointee to that directorship to stand in the next election as the sole candidate to complete the balance of the unexpired term. At its January 1997 meeting, the Board enacted By-Law changes to implement these proposals, which went into force with the 1997 election of Directors.

The Board is composed of 30 Directors (plus the President, ex officio), divided into five classes of six Directors each and serving staggered five-year terms. In each class, three Directors are elected by the membership and three are appointed by the Board. Directors with terms expiring on August 31, 1997, were Paul A. Allaire, John E. Bryson, Kenneth W. Dam, Rita E. Hauser, Charlayne

Hunter-Gault, and Frank Savage. A total of six vacancies were to be filled in the Class of 2002.

On January 31, 1997, the Nominating Committee solicited Council members for possible candidates. The Nominating Committee met on March 19 to consider names suggested for the three elective vacancies and, following its mandate to consider "the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation and professional background," developed the following slate of nominees: John F. Cooke, Kenneth W. Dam, Jeffrey E. Garten, Rita E. Hauser, Charlayne Hunter-Gault, and Laura D'Andrea Tyson. On March 27, Council members were notified of the slate, which also contained the names of Vincent A. Mai and Warren B. Rudman, standing for election to complete the unexpired terms to which they were earlier appointed.

At the Annual Meeting for the Election of Directors on May 22, 1,334 members participated in person or by proxy, representing more than 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 1998 election by the write-in procedure outlined in the By-Laws. The fol-

1997 BOARD ELECTION

lowing nominees were elected and allocated five-year terms beginning September 1, 1997: Kenneth W. Dam, Charlayne Hunter-Gault, and Laura D'Andrea Tyson. The Directors previously appointed and now elected to complete terms in the Classes of 1998 (Vincent A. Mai) and in 2000 (Warren B. Rudman) continue in office with terms ending August 31 in the year designated. Edward F. Cox, Ned B. Stiles, and Nancy Young served as election overseers.

According to its procedures and acting on the recommendation of the Nominating Committee, at its June 5 meeting the Board appointed the following persons to serve five-year terms through August 31, 2002: Paul A. Allaire, John E. Bryson, and Frank Savage.

Michael P. Peters

Senior Vice President and Chief Operating Officer

BUDGET AND FINANCE

The Council ended the fiscal year with a total operating surplus of \$847,900. The combination of annual fund-raising, special grants, and cost containment enabled the Council to keep its operating budget in the black, while long-term fund-raising and a continuing strong stock market strengthened the overall financial base, as reflected in the accompanying financial statements.

The financial report reflects the new financial accounting standards, which were required for all not-for-profit institutions in 1996. The 1996 total in the Statement of

Activities reflects the effect of the required restatement of the Council's net assets. The Council has in fact maintained a surplus for the past four years, including a substantial surplus in its unrestricted net assets in both 1996 and 1997.

As the bottom line indicates, the Council is in a strong financial position. We will continue to maintain a balanced operating budget and work to increase and diversify the sources of support—members, foundations, and corporate members especially—that enable us to carry on the level of activity described elsewhere in this report.

Statement of Financial Position

	June 30	
	1997	1996
Assets		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 5,683,400	\$ 7,611,800
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	1,021,400	1,210,500
Grants and contributions receivable, current portion (Note 5)	1,240,800	694,800
Inventories, at lower of cost or market	227,500	361,000
Grants and contributions receivable, long-term portion (Note 5)	3,056,700	2,553,500
Contributions receivable for endowment and capital expenditure (Note 5)	9,032,700	4,244,900
Land, building and building improvements, and equipment, net (Note 6)	11,453,400	11,336,700
Investments (Note 3)	62,243,000	43,524,700
Investments to be held in perpetuity (Note 3)	44,111,800	40,541,400
Total assets	<u>\$138,070,700</u>	<u>\$112,079,300</u>
Liabilities and net assets		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 2,552,600	\$ 1,319,400
Payable for investment securities purchased		473,400
Deferred subscription revenue	2,495,200	2,222,800
Accrued postretirement benefits (Note 8)	1,797,000	1,759,000
Total liabilities	<u>6,844,800</u>	<u>5,774,600</u>
Commitments (Note 12)		
Net assets (Notes 10 and 11):		
Unrestricted	65,343,500	54,657,100
Temporarily restricted	17,737,900	6,861,300
Permanently restricted	48,144,500	44,786,300
Total net assets	<u>131,225,900</u>	<u>106,304,700</u>
Total liabilities and net assets	<u>\$138,070,700</u>	<u>\$112,079,300</u>

See accompanying notes.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

Statement of Activities

Year ended June 30, 1997, with summarized financial information for 1996

	1997			1996 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted	
Operating revenue, support, and reclassifications				
Membership dues	\$ 2,053,700	\$	\$	\$ 2,011,800
Annual giving	1,463,300			1,242,900
Corporate memberships and related income	2,204,600			1,991,800
Meetings		165,900		102,000
International Affairs Fellowships		5,000		270,000
Grants and contributions for Studies	309,600	4,673,500		1,557,200
Other grants and contributions		27,000		127,700
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	4,020,600			4,042,200
Book publication	102,000			65,700
Investment income allocation (Note 4)	2,345,300	1,075,900		2,799,200
Miscellaneous	306,700			379,200
Total operating revenue and support	12,805,800	5,947,300		14,589,700
Net assets released from restrictions (Note 10)	6,355,500	(6,355,500)		—
Total operating revenue, support, and reclassifications	19,161,300	(408,200)		14,589,700
Operating expenses				
Program expenses:				
Studies Program	6,128,300			6,024,900
Meetings Program	2,021,400			1,853,900
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	3,937,400			4,019,000
Book publication	257,500			343,900
National Program	351,900			395,200
International Affairs Fellowships	436,300			417,700
Media	167,200			151,300
Total program expenses	13,300,000			13,205,900
Supporting services:				
Management and general	3,218,000			2,643,600
Fund-raising:				
Development	499,900			364,100
Membership	300,000			308,200
Corporate Program	587,300			675,600
Total fund-raising	1,387,200			1,347,900
Total supporting services expenses	4,605,200			3,991,500
Total operating expenses	17,905,200			17,197,400
Excess (deficiency) of operating revenue, support, and reclassifications over operating expenses	1,256,100	(408,200)		(2,607,700)

See accompanying notes.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

Statement of Activities (continued)

	1997			1996 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted	
Nonoperating revenue				
Investment income earned in excess of spending rate (Note 4)	\$ 9,430,300	\$ 6,284,800	\$	\$ 15,715,100
Contribution for capital expenditure		5,000,000		5,000,000
Endowment contributions			3,358,200	6,713,600
Total nonoperating revenue	9,430,300	11,284,800	3,358,200	16,854,700
Change in net assets before cumulative effect of changes in accounting principles	10,686,400	10,876,600	3,358,200	14,247,000
Cumulative effect of changes in accounting principles:				
Postretirement benefits (Note 8)				— (1,699,000)
Change to fair value of investments (Note 2)				— 10,567,300
Net cumulative effect of changes in accounting principles				— 8,868,300
Change in net assets	10,686,400	10,876,600	3,358,200	23,115,300
Net assets at the beginning of the year	54,657,100	6,861,300	44,786,300	83,189,400
Net assets at the end of the year	\$65,343,500	\$17,737,900	\$48,144,500	\$106,304,700

See accompanying notes.

Statement of Cash Flows

	Year ended June 30	
	1997	1996
Operating activities		
Change in net assets	\$ 24,921,200	\$ 23,115,300
Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash provided by operating activities:		
Net cumulative effect of changes in accounting principles	—	(8,868,300)
Depreciation	723,800	977,000
Net realized and unrealized gains on investments	(16,544,400)	(10,831,900)
Contributions restricted for capital expenditure	(5,000,000)	—
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	(3,358,200)	(5,676,500)
Changes in operating assets and liabilities:		
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	189,100	(8,100)
Grants and contributions receivable, current portion	(546,000)	2,648,900
Inventories	133,500	33,400
Grants and contributions receivable, long-term portion	(503,200)	(553,500)
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	1,233,200	233,900
Deferred subscription revenue	272,400	58,800
Accrued postretirement benefits	38,000	60,000
Net cash provided by operating activities	1,559,400	1,189,000

BUDGET AND FINANCE

Statement of Cash Flows (continued)

	Year ended June 30	
	1997	1996
Investing activities		
Purchases of building and building improvements and equipment	\$ (840,500)	\$ (2,441,700)
Purchases of investments	(136,412,100)	(60,815,900)
Proceeds from sales of investments	130,194,400	55,917,500
Net cash used in investing activities	(7,058,200)	(7,340,100)
Financing activities		
Contributions restricted for investment in endowment	3,570,400	5,676,500
Net cash provided by financing activities	3,570,400	5,676,500
Net decrease in cash and cash equivalents	(1,928,400)	(474,600)
Cash and cash equivalents, beginning of year	7,611,800	8,086,400
Cash and cash equivalents, end of year	\$ 5,683,400	\$ 7,611,800
Supplemental disclosure of cash flow information		
Non-cash investing and financing activity:		
Contributions receivable for investment in endowment	\$ 4,032,700	\$ 4,244,900
Contributions receivable for capital expenditures	\$ 5,000,000	\$ —
Payable for investment securities purchased	\$ —	\$ 473,400

See accompanying notes

Notes to Financial Statements

June 30, 1997

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 support 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.

1996 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, 1996, from which the summarized information was derived. In addition, certain 1996 amounts have been reclassified to conform to the 1997 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

During 1996, the Council changed its method of recording marketable investments from the lower of cost or market to fair value in accordance with Financial Accounting Standards Board Statement ("SFAS") No. 124, *Accounting for Certain Investments Held by Not-for-Profit Organizations*. The effect of the change, which amounted to \$10,567,300 as of July 1, 1995, has been reflected in the accompanying financial statements as the cumulative effect of a change in accounting principle. The effect of the change on the Council's 1996 change in net assets was an increase of \$16,473,500.

As required under SFAS 124, the Council's investments 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.

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, 1997 and 1996, were as follows:

	June 30		1996	
	1997			
	Cost	Fair Value	Cost	Fair Value
Equity securities	\$21,072,500	\$ 41,484,300	\$18,427,100	\$30,199,500
Foreign and corporate bonds	6,704,700	6,680,600	6,917,000	6,737,000
U.S. government agency obligations	13,221,000	13,312,600	9,313,600	9,355,100
Mutual funds:				
Equity funds	35,595,500	38,242,700	26,348,000	30,697,300
Bond funds	3,226,400	3,267,400	1,825,300	2,315,600
Money market funds	3,367,200	3,367,200	4,761,600	4,761,600
Total	\$83,187,300	\$106,354,800	\$67,592,600	\$84,066,100

As a hedging mechanism relating to its investments in foreign bonds, the Council purchases and sells forward contracts for the delayed sale or purchase of foreign currencies at a specified future date at a specified price. At June 30, 1997, notional amounts were \$1,825,000 for both purchase and sales contracts. Any gain or loss arising as a result of changes in value of the forward contracts is recognized upon the settlement of the underlying contracts. Risks arise from the possible inability of counterparties to meet the terms of their contracts and from future currency exchange rate fluctuations.

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 year 1997 and 1996, the Board also approved an additional draw of \$161,000 for information systems upgrades. Investment income has been reported as follows:

	June 30			1996 Total
	1997 Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	
Dividends and interest, net of investment expenses of \$462,600 and \$400,700 in 1997 and 1996, respectively	\$ 1,710,700	\$ 881,200	\$ 2,591,900	\$ 2,108,400
Net realized and unrealized gains	10,064,900	6,479,500	16,544,400	10,831,900
Total return on investments	11,775,600	7,360,700	19,136,300	12,940,300
Investment return used for current operations	(2,345,300)	(1,075,900)	(3,421,200)	(2,799,200)
Investment return in excess of amounts used for current operations	\$ 9,430,300	\$6,284,800	\$15,715,100	\$10,141,100

5. Grants and Contributions Receivable

At June 30, 1997 and 1996, 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, 1997, are due to be collected as follows:

Less than one year	\$ 9,696,900
One to five years	1,616,700
After five years	2,450,000
	<u>13,763,600</u>
Less discount (using 6% rate)	(433,400)
Grants and contributions receivable, net	<u>\$13,330,200</u>

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
	1997	1996	
Land	\$ 1,854,300	\$ 1,854,300	
Buildings and building improvements	10,572,700	10,352,800	10-55 years
Equipment	4,400,300	4,189,700	3-15 years
Construction in progress	410,000	—	
	<u>17,237,300</u>	<u>16,396,800</u>	
Less accumulated depreciation	5,783,900	5,060,100	
	<u>\$11,453,400</u>	<u>\$11,336,700</u>	

7. Retirement Plan

The Council has a defined contribution retirement plan covering all employees who meet the minimum service requirements. Payments, which are 12.5% of each participant's salary, 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 \$544,000 for 1997 and \$598,000 for 1996. 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.

In 1996, the Council adopted SFAS No. 106, *Employers' Accounting for Postretirement Benefits Other than Pensions*. The Council elected to recognize immediately the transition obligation of approximately \$1,699,000, which is reflected in the accompanying statement of activities as the cumulative effect of a change in accounting principle. The effect of adopting the new rules increased the Council's net periodic postretirement cost for 1996 by \$60,000 and decreased the change in unrestricted net assets by \$1,759,000.

The following table presents the plan's funded status reconciled with amounts recognized in the Council's statements of financial position:

BUDGET AND FINANCE

	June 30	
	1997	1996
Accumulated postretirement benefit obligation:		
Active employees:		
Eligible	\$ 350,000	\$ 330,000
Other	269,000	216,000
Total	619,000	546,000
Retirees	1,069,000	1,213,000
	1,688,000	1,759,000
Plan assets at fair value	—	—
Accumulated postretirement benefit obligation		
in excess of plan assets	1,688,000	1,759,000
Unrecognized net actuarial gain	109,000	—
Accrued postretirement benefit cost	\$1,797,000	\$1,759,000

Net periodic postretirement benefit cost includes the following components:

	June 30	
	1997	1996
Service cost	\$ 13,000	\$ 15,000
Interest cost	123,000	128,000
Net periodic postretirement benefit cost	\$136,000	\$143,000

The discount rate used in determining the accumulated postretirement benefit obligation at June 30, 1997 and 1996, and the 1997 and 1996 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 7.5% and 8% for 1997 and 1996, 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, 1997, by \$214,000 and the aggregate of the service and interest cost components of net periodic postretirement benefit cost for 1997 by \$20,000.

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	
	1997	1996
Studies	\$ 9,310,900	\$4,354,100
International Affairs Fellowships	1,766,800	1,673,300
Meetings	1,221,500	759,600
Next Generation	438,700	74,300
Capital expenditures	5,000,000	—
	\$17,737,900	\$6,861,300

In fiscal 1997, temporarily restricted net assets were released from restrictions for fulfillment of the following:

Purposes and time periods:	
Studies	\$3,730,000
International Affairs Fellowships	151,600
Meetings	939,300
Library	18,300
Other	1,516,300
	\$6,355,500

The above amount released from restrictions primarily represents revenue recognized in prior years and expended in 1997, of which \$1,232,300 represents gains authorized for spending.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

11. Permanently Restricted Net Assets

Permanently restricted net assets are restricted as to income for the following purposes:

	June 30	
	1997	1996
Studies	\$23,058,100	\$20,283,700
International Affairs Fellowships	5,066,100	5,066,100
Meetings	3,853,200	3,852,900
Next Generation	1,944,300	511,000
Library	156,700	156,700
Unrestricted as to use	14,066,100	14,915,900
	<u>\$48,144,500</u>	<u>\$44,786,300</u>

12. Commitments

In fiscal 1997, the Council began refurbishing a recently purchased building. Total construction costs relating to the refurbishment are estimated at \$11,500,000. At June 30, 1997, the Council's remaining commitment approximated \$11,090,000.



787 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Phone: 212 773 3000

REPORT OF INDEPENDENT AUDITORS

Board of Directors
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

We have audited the accompanying statement of financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., as of June 30, 1997, and the related statements of activities and cash flows for the year then ended. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Council's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audit.

We conducted our audit in accordance with 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 audit provides a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., at June 30, 1997, and the changes in its net assets and its cash flows for the year then ended in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

Ernst & Young LLP

August 7, 1997

Ernst & Young LLP is a member of Ernst & Young International, Ltd.

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 member-

ship 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 Chair of the Board.

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

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

	Business	Nonbusiness
RESIDENT		
Under 30	\$ 600	\$170
30-39	1,220	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 di-

vided 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 Chair 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 Chair 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 Chair of the Board

within 13 months of the preceding meeting at which Directors were elected. Directors shall be elected by ballot. Ballots will be mailed to all members in advance of the Annual Election and may be returned by mail or may be delivered in person or by proxy. The ballot shall contain (i) the name of each member who is nominated by the Nominating Committee as a candidate for the class of Directors scheduled for election in that year, (ii) the name of any member appointed to a vacancy in the Board and nominated by the Nominating Committee as the sole candidate to complete the balance of the unexpired term, (iii) the name of any member who is nominated in each class by a petition signed by not fewer than ten members, and (iv) the name of any member who received not fewer than ten write-in votes in the preceding election. Members may cast one vote for each of as many candidates as there are vacancies to be filled on the Board, and the candidates with the highest number of votes in each class will be declared elected as Directors. One-third of the voting members of the Council shall constitute a quorum at the Annual Election Meeting. Administrative details necessary to implement the Council's nomination and election procedures shall be as prescribed by the President in consultation with the Chair 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 Chair 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 Chair and Vice Chair of the Board, the Chairs of the standing committees of the Board, and such other members of the Board as the Executive Committee Chair 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 Chair 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 Chair 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 Chair deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than ten members who shall not be members of the Board. The Committee shall have responsibility for overseeing the Council's program of general meetings and institutional outreach activities involving electronic and other broadcast media.

The Committee on Washington and National Programs shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chair 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 Chair 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 pre-

sent 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 Chair of the Nominating Committee shall be selected by the Chair of the Board from among the Board members on the Committee. Neither the Chair of the Board nor the President shall be an ex officio member of the Nominating Committee. Both in co-opting members to its own body and in nominating candidates for each year's Board election, the Nominating Committee is charged to keep in mind the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation, and professional background. In nominating candidates for each year's Board election, the Committee is also charged (i) to solicit the entire membership for the names of possible candidates and (ii) except as provided in By-Law IV(C) to nominate twice as many candidates as there are directorships to be filled at the election by the membership at large.

The Committee on *Foreign Affairs* shall be composed of five members of the Board and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chair deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than 15 additional members, at least 10 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 Chair deems appropriate. The Committee shall have power to co-opt no fewer than 15 additional members, at least 10 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 ap-

pointed, 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 Chair of the Board, a Vice Chair, 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 Chair of the Board shall be elected for a term of five years and shall be eligible for reelection to a second term. The Chair 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 Chair of the Board, or in his or her absence the Vice Chair, 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

BY-LAWS OF THE COUNCIL

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 Chair 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."

COMMITTEES OF THE BOARD, 1996-97

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Chair
Maurice R. Greenberg
Vice Chair
Paul A. Allaire
Kenneth W. Dam
Thomas R. Donahue
Carla A. Hills
Richard C. Holbrooke
Karen Elliott House
Louis V. Gerstner, Jr.
William J. McDonough
Robert B. Zoellick

Corporate Affairs and Development

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Chair
Odeh Aburdene
John P. Birkelund
Robert F. Erburu
Lynn Forester
Bart Friedman
Rita E. Hauser
Karen N. Horn
John B. Hurford
Morton L. Janklow
Hanya Marie Kim†
Robert M. Kimmitt
Vincent A. Mai
Brian Pierre Mathis†
Judy Hendren Mello
Stephen A. Orlins
Lester Pollack
Warren B. Rudman
Ronald K. Shelp
Maurice Sonnenberg
Carl Spielvogel
Enzo Viscusi
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Paul A. Volcker

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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

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Conrad K. Harper
Robert D. Hormats
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Theodore C. Sorensen
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Katrina vanden Heuvel
Nancy Young

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Martha Finnemore
Stephen E. Flynn
Jon M. Huntsman, Jr.
Lehmann Li
Brian P. Mathis
Kenneth A. Moskow
April Oliver
Frances J. Seymour

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Vice Chair
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Linda Chavez
Paula J. Dobriansky
Thomas R. Donahue
William H. Donaldson
David R. Gergen
Helene L. Kaplan
Steven R. Koltai
Robert H. Legvold
George J. Mitchell
Steven L. Rattner
James B. Sitrick
Gordon C. Stewart

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Alan R. Batkin
Betsy Biemann†
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Stephen W. Bosworth
Lori Fidler Damrosch
Jack David
David B. H. Denoon
James F. Hoge, Jr.*
Samuel P. Huntington
Gary C. Hufbauer*
Arnold Kanter
Roger M. Kubarych
Joshua Lederberg
Edward D. Mansfield†
Martha T. Muse
Claudia Nierenberg
J. Thomas Ratchford
Angela E. Stent
Gordon C. Stewart
Richard H. Ullman
Robert B. Zoellick

**Washington and
National Programs**

Robert B. Zoellick
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John E. Bryson
Vice Chair
Judith Hippler Bello
Daniel Bob†
John F. Cooke
Lee Cullum
Jessica P. Einhorn
Richard W. Fisher
Hanna Holborn Gray
Susan B. Levine
James T. Laney
George J. Mitchell
Michael H. Moskow
Ambler H. Moss, Jr.
Philip A. Odeen
William D. Rogers
Peter R. Rosenblatt
Josette Shiner

* *ex officio*

† designated term member

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,	Brent Scowcroft	1983-89
Russell C. Leffingwell	1927-60		1981-87	Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.	1983-92
George O. May	1927-53	Hedley Donovan	1969-79	Donald F. McHenry	1984-93
Wesley C. Mitchell	1927-34	Najeeb E. Halaby	1970-72	B. R. Inman	1985-93
Owen D. Young	1927-40	Bayless Manning	1971-77	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1985-94
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928-72	W. Michael Blumenthal	1972-77,	Peter Tarnoff	1986-93
Charles P. Howland	1929-31		1979-84	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.	1986-92
Walter Lippmann	1932-37	Zbigniew Brzezinski	1972-77	Ruben F. Mettler	1986-92
Clarence M. Woolley	1932-35	Elizabeth Drew	1972-77	James E. Burke	1987-95
Frank Altschul	1934-72	George S. Franklin	1972-83	Richard B. Cheney	1987-89,
Philip C. Jessup	1934-42	Marshall D. Shulman	1972-77		1993-95
Harold W. Dodds	1935-43	Martha Redfield Wallace	1972-82	Robert F. Erburu	1987-
Leon Fraser	1936-45	Paul C. Warnke	1972-77	Karen Elliott House	1987-
John H. Williams	1937-64	Peter G. Peterson	1973-83,	Glenn E. Watts	1987-90
Lewis W. Douglas	1940-64		1984-	Thomas S. Foley	1988-94
Edward Warner	1940-49	Robert O. Anderson	1974-80	James D. Robinson III	1988-91
Clarence E. Hunter	1942-53	Edward K. Hamilton	1974-83	Strobe Talbott	1988-93
Myron C. Taylor	1943-59	Harry C. McPherson, Jr.	1974-77	John L. Clendenin	1989-94
Henry M. Wriston	1943-67	Elliot L. Richardson	1974-75	William S. Cohen	1989-97
Thomas K. Finletter	1944-67	Franklin Hall Williams	1975-83	Joshua Lederberg	1989-
William A. M. Burden	1945-74	Nicholas deB. Katzenbach	1975-86	John S. Reed	1989-92
Walter H. Mallory	1945-68	Paul A. Volcker	1975-79,	Alice M. Rivlin	1989-92
Philip D. Reed	1945-69		1988-	William J. Crowe, Jr.	1990-93
Winfield W. Riefler	1945-50	Theodore M. Hesburgh	1976-85	Thomas R. Donahue	1990-
David Rockefeller	1949-85	Lane Kirkland	1976-86	Richard C. Holbrooke	1991-93
W. Averell Harriman	1950-55	George H. W. Bush	1977-79		1996-
Joseph E. Johnson	1950-74	Lloyd N. Cutler	1977-79	Robert D. Hormats	1991-
Grayson Kirk	1950-73	Philip L. Geyelin	1977-87	John E. Bryson	1992-
Devereux C. Josephs	1951-58	Henry A. Kissinger	1977-81	Maurice R. Greenberg	1992-
Elliott V. Bell	1953-66	Winston Lord	1977-85	Karen N. Horn	1992-95
John J. McCloy	1953-72	Stephen Stamas	1977-89	James R. Houghton	1992-96
		Marina v.N. Whitman	1977-87	Charlayne Hunter-Gault	1992-

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Kenneth W. Dam	1992–
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Alton Frye	1993
Richard N. Cooper	1993–94
Rita E. Hauser	1993–97
E. Gerald Corrigan	1993–95
Leslie H. Gelb	1993–
Paul A. Allaire	1993–
Robert E. Allen	1993–96
Theodore C. Sorensen	1993–
Garrick Utley	1993–
Carla A. Hills	1994–
Helene L. Kaplan	1994–96
Frank G. Zarb	1994–96
Robert B. Zoellick	1994–
Les Aspin	1995
Mario L. Baeza	1995–
Peggy Dulany	1995–
Jessica P. Einhorn	1995–
William J. McDonough	1995–
Frank Savage	1995–
George Soros	1995–
Hannah Holborn Gray	1995–
George J. Mitchell	1995–
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Vincent A. Mai	1997–
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Russell C. Leffingwell	1946–53
John J. McCloy	1953–70
David Rockefeller	1970–85
Peter G. Peterson	1985–

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Harold Brown	1991–92
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Maurice R. Greenberg	1994–

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John W. Davis	1921–33
George W. Wickersham	1933–36
Norman H. Davis	1936–44
Russell C. Leffingwell	1944–46
Allen W. Dulles	1946–50
Henry M. Wriston	1951–64
Grayson Kirk	1964–71
Bayless Manning	1971–77
Winston Lord	1977–85
John Temple Swing*	1985–86
Peter Tarnoff	1986–93
Alton Frye	1993
Leslie H. Gelb	1993–

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Norman H. Davis	1933–36
Edwin F. Gay	1933–40
Frank L. Polk	1940–43
Russell C. Leffingwell	1943–44
Allen W. Dulles	1944–46
Isaiah Bowman	1945–49
Henry M. Wriston	1950–51
David Rockefeller	1950–70
Frank Altschul	1951–71
Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52
David W. MacEachron	1972–74
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William H. Gleysteen, Jr.	1987–89
John A. Millington	1987–96
Margaret Osmer-McQuade	1987–93
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Abraham F. Lowenthal	1995–
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Kenneth Maxwell	1996
Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–
David Kellogg	1997–
Paula J. Dobriansky	1997–

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Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1922–28
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Walter H. Mallory	1927–59
George S. Franklin	1953–71

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Allen W. Dulles	1933–44
Frank Altschul	1944–72
John Temple Swing	1972–87
Judith Gustafson	1987–

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C. Peter McColough	1985–87
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William H. Gleysteen, Jr.	1987–89
Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94

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Kenneth Maxwell	1996
Gary C. Hufbauer	1997-

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 Brzezinski, Ian J.†

Brzezinski, Mark F†
 Brzezinski, Zbigniew
 Buchman, Mark E.
 Buckley, William F., Jr.
 Buerghenthal, Thomas
 Bugliarello, George
 Bullock, Mary Brown
 Bundy, William P.
 Bunzel, Jeffrey H.
 Burand, Deborah K.
 Burgess, John A.
 Burke, James E.
 Burkhalter, Holly J.
 Burlingame, Edward L.
 Burns, Patrick Owen
 Burns, R. Nicholas
 Burns, William F.
 Burns, William J.
 Burt, Richard R.
 Burton, Daniel F., Jr.
 Busbee, Rodgers
 Christopher
 Bushner, Rolland
 Bussey, Donald S.
 Bussey, John
 Butler, George Lee
 Butler, Samuel C.
 Butler, William J.
 Buxbaum, Richard
 Buyske, Gail*
 Byrne, Patrick M.

C

Cabot, Elizabeth
 Cabot, Louis W.
 Cabranes, Jose A.
 Caesar, Camille M.
 Cahill, Kevin M.
 Cahn, Anne H.
 Calabria, Dawn T.
 Calder, Kent Eyring
 Caldwell, Dan
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 Califano, Joseph A., Jr.
 Callaghy, Thomas M.
 Callahan, David L.
 Callander, Robert J.

Callen, Michael A.
 Calleo, David P.
 Campbell, Colin G.
 Campbell, John C.
 Campbell, Kurt M.*
 Campbell, Thomas J.
 Campbell, W. Glenn
 Canavan, Christopher
 Canfield, Franklin O.
 Cappello, Juan C.
 Carbonell, Nestor T.
 Carey, Hugh L.
 Carey, John
 Carey, Sarah C.
 Carey, William D.
 Carlos, Manuel Luis
 Carlson, Steven E.
 Carlucci, Frank C., III
 Carmichael, William D.
 Carnesale, Albert
 Carothers, Thomas*
 Carozza, Paolo G.
 Carr, John W.*
 Carr, Marion M. Dawson
 Carrington, Walter C.
 Carrion-Rexach,
 Richard L.
 Carroll, J. Speed
 Carruth, Reba Anne
 Carson, C. W., Jr.
 Carswell, Robert
 Carter, Ashton B.
 Carter, Barry E.
 Carter, George E.
 Carter, Hodding, III
 Carter, Jimmy
 Carter, Mark Andrew
 Carter, Marshall N.
 Carter, Theodore N.
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 Cattarulla, Elliot R.
 Catto, Henry E., Jr.
 Caulfield, Matthew P.
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 Cebrowski, Arthur K.
 Celeste, Richard F.
 Cerjan, Paul G.
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 Chafee, John H.
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Chanis, Jonathan A.	Clarke, J.G.	Constable, Pamela	Cuneo, Donald	Dawkins, Peter M.
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Cheney, Stephen A.	Cohen, Betsy H.	Corrigan, E. Gerald		Deffenbaugh,
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Choharis, Peter Charles	Cohen, Jerome Alan	Courtney, William H.		de Janosi, Peter E.
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* Elected to membership in 1997.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 1997.

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Frederick
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Elliott, Osborn
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F

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Fleishman, Rachel
Flournoy, Michele A.
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Foley, S. R., Jr.
Foley, Thomas S.
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Forman, Shepard
Forstmann, Theodore J.
Fosler, Gail
Foster, Brenda Lei
Fowler, Henry H.
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Fox, Eleanor M. C.
Fox, Joseph C.
Fraga, Arminio*
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Francke, Albert, III
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Frank, Barney
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Frank, Isaiah
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Frankel, Francine R.
Frankel, Jeffrey A.
Franklin, Barbara
Hackman
Franklin, William E.*
Frazer, Jendayi E.

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Freedman, Eugene M.	Gaines, James R.	Gerber, Louis	Golden, William T.	Graham, Thomas, Jr.
Freeman, Bennett	Galbraith, Evan G.	Gergen, David R.	Goldgeier, James M.	Graham, Thomas Wallace
Freeman, Harry L.	Gallagher, Dennis	Gerhart, Gail M.	Goldin, Harrison J.	Grant, Stephen A.
Freeman, Roger C.†	Gallucci, Robert L.	Germain, Adrienne	Goldman, Charles N.	Graubard, Stephen R.
Freidheim, Cyrus F., Jr.	Galvin, John R.	Gerschel, Patrick A.	Goldman, Emily O.	Graves, Howard D.
Frelinghuysen, Peter H.B.	Galvis, Sergio J.	Gershman, Carl	Goldman, Guido	Gray, Charles D.
Fremont-Smith, Marion R.	Ganguly, Sumit	Gerson, Allan	Goldman, Marshall I.	Gray, Hanna Holborn
Frey, Donald N.	Gann, Pamela	Gerson, Ralph J.	Goldman, Merle	Grayson, Judy S.
Freytag, Richard A.	Gannon, John C. *	Gerstner, Louis V., Jr.	Goldmark, Peter C., Jr.	Greathead, R. Scott
Fribourg, Michel	Ganoe, Charles S.	Getler, Michael	Goldschmidt, Neil	Green, Bill
Fribourg, Paul	Gantcher, Nathan	Geyelin, Henry R.	Goldsmith, Jack	Green, Carl J.
Fried, Edward R.	Garcia-Passalacqua, Juan Manuel	Geyelin, Philip L.	Landman, III	Green, Ernest G.
Friedberg, Aaron L.	Gard, Robert G., Jr.	Geyer, Georgie Anne	Goldstein, Gordon	Green, Jerrold D.
Friedman, Bart	Gardels, Nathan P.	Gfoeller, Joachim, Jr.*	Goldstein, Jeffrey A.	Green, Michael Jonathan
Friedman, Benjamin M.	Gardner, Anthony	Gfoeller, Michael	Goldwyn, David L.	Greenberg, Arthur N.
Friedman, Jordana D.	Laurence	Gfoeller, Tatiana C.	Golob, Paul	Greenberg, Evan G.
Friedman, Stephen	Gardner, James A.	Ghiglione, Loren	Gomory, Ralph E.	Greenberg, Karen J.
Friedman, Stephen J.	Gardner, Nina Luzzatto	Gibbons, John H.	Gompert, David C.	Greenberg, Maurice R.
Friedman, Thomas L.	Gardner, Richard N.	Gibbs, Nancy Reid	Goodby, James E.	Greenberg, Sanford D.
Frieman, Wendy	Garment, Leonard	Gibney, Frank B.	Goodman, George J. W.	Greenberger, Robert S.
Friend, Theodore	Garment, Suzanne	Giffen, James H.	Goodman, Herbert I.	Greene, Joseph N., Jr.
Froman, Michael B.G.	Garment, Murray J.	Gilbert, Jackson B.	Goodman, Nancy F.	Greene, Margaret L.
Fromkin, David	Gart, Murray J.	Gilbert, Jarobin, Jr.	Goodman, Roy M.	Greene, Wade
Fromm, Joseph	Garten, Jeffrey E.	Gilbert, Steven J.	Goodman, Sherri	Greenfield, James L.
Frost, Ellen L.	Garthoff, Raymond L.	Gillespie, Michael J.	Wasserman	Greenfield, Meg
Fry, Earl H.	Garwin, Richard L.	Gilmore, Kenneth O.	Goodpaster, Andrew J.	Greenspan, Alan
Frye, Alton	Gates, Henry Louis, Jr.	Gilmore, Richard	Gordon, Albert H.	Greenwald, Joseph A.
Fukushima, Glen S.	Gates, Philomene A.	Gilpin, Robert G., Jr.	Gordon, John A.	Greenway, H.D.S.
Fukuyama, Francis	Gates, Robert M.	Gingrich, Newton L.	Gordon, Lincoln	Gregg, Donald P.
Fuld, Richard S., Jr.	Gati, Charles	Ginsberg, Marc Charles	Gordon, Michael R.	Gregorian, Vartan
Fuller, Kathryn S.	Gati, Toby Trister	Ginsburg, David	Gordon, Philip H.	Gregson, Wallace C.
Fuller, William P.	Gaudiani, Claire Lynn	Ginsburg, Jane C.	Gorelick, Jamie S. *	Grenier, Richard
Fullerton, William	Gause, F. Gregory, III*	Ginsburg, Ruth Bader	Gorman, Joseph T.	Griego, Linda
Bewick	Gay, Catherine	Glauber, Robert R.	Gornick, Alan L.	Griffin, Anne-Marea
Fung, Victor K. K.	Gebhard, Paul R.S.	Gleysteen, William H., Jr.	Gotbaum, Victor	Griffith, William E.
Furlaud, Richard M.	Gedo, Inge†	Globerman, Norma	Gottemoeller, Rose E.	Grimes, Joseph A., Jr.
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Gaddis, John Lewis	Gellman, Barton David	Goldberg, Ronnie Lee	Graham, Carol Lee	

G

* Elected to membership in 1997.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 1997.

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Guthman, Edwin O.
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Gwertzman, Bernard M.
Gwin, Catherine

H

Haas, Peter E.
Haas, Robert D.
Haass, Richard N.
Habsburg-Lothringen,
Immaculada De
Haddad, Yvonne
Yazbeck
Hadley, Stephen J.
Hafner, Joseph A., Jr.
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Hansell, Herbert J.
Hansen, Carol Rae
Hanson, Thor
Hantz, Giselle P.
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Hawkins, Ashton
Hawley, F. William
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Haynes, Ulric, Jr.
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Hedstrom, Mitchell W.
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Heilbrunn, Jacob E.
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Heimbold, Charles A., Jr.
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Hellmann, Donald C.
Helms, Richard
Helprin, Mark
Hendrickson, David C.
Henkin, Alice H.
Henkin, Louis
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Herberger, Roy A., Jr.
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Hernandez-Colon,
Rafael
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Hutchins, Glenn H.
Hutzler, Charles
Huyck, Philip M.
Hyland, William G.
Hyman, Allen I.

I

Ignatius, David
Ikenberry, G. John
Ikke, Fred C.
Ilchman, Alice S.
Inderfurth, Karl F.
Ingersoll, Robert S.
Inman, B.R.
Intriligator, Michael D.
Irvin, Patricia L.
Irwin, John N., II
Irwin, Steven M.
Isaacs, Maxine
Isaacson, Walter
Iselin, John Jay
Isenberg, Steven L.
Isham, Christopher
Ispahani, Mahnaz Z.
Istel, Yves-Andre
Itoh, William M.
Izlar, William H., Jr.

J

Jabber, Paul
Jacklin, Nancy P.
Jackson, Bruce P.
Jackson, Eric K.

Jackson, Jesse L.
Jackson, John H.
Jackson, Lois M.
Jackson, Sarah
Jackson, William E.
Jacob, John E.
Jacobs, Eli S.
Jacobs, Nehama
Jacobson, Harold K.
Jacobson, Jerome
Jacoby, Tamar
Janis, Mark W.
Janklow, Morton L.
Janow, Merit E.
Jansen, Marius B.
Jaquette, Jane S.
Jarvis, Nancy A.
Jastrow, Robert
Jebb, Cindy R.
Jeffries, Bradley C.
Jervis, Robert L.
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, W. Thomas
Jones, Alan
Jones, Anita K.*
Jones, David C.
Jones, James R.
Jones, Kerri-Ann*
Jones, Sidney R.
Jones, Thomas V.
Jones, Thomas W.*
Jordan, Amos A.

Jordan, Eason*
Jordan, Vernon E., Jr.
Joseph, Geri M.
Joseph, Ira Benjamin
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
Kagan, Robert W.
Kahan, Jerome H.
Kahin, George McT.
Kahler, Miles
Kahn, Harry
Kaiser, Philip M.
Kaiser, Robert G.
Kalb, Bernard
Kalb, Marvin
Kalicki, Jan
Kalil, Thomas Amadeus
Kamarck, Andrew M.
Kamarck, Elaine Ciulla
Kaminer, Peter H.
Kaminsky, Howard
Kampelman, Max M.
Kamsky, Virginia A.
Kanak, Donald Perry
Kandell, Jonathan
Kanet, Roger E.
Kang, C. S. Eliot†
Kann, Peter R.
Kanter, Arnold
Kanter, Rosabeth Moss
Kaplan, Gilbert E.
Kaplan, Harold J.
Kaplan, Helene L.
Kaplan, Mark N.
Kaplan, Stephen S.

Kapp, Robert A.
Kapstein, Ethan B.
Karalekas, Anne
Karamanian, Susan L.*
Karatnycky, Adrian
Karatz, Bruce
Karis, Thomas G.
Karl, Terry Lynn
Karnow, Stanley
Karns, Margaret P.
Kartman, Charles
Kasdin, Robert
Kass, Stephen L.
Kassalow, Jordan S.
Kassof, Allen H.
Katz, Abraham
Katz, Daniel Roger
Katz, Ronald S.
Katz, Stanley N.
Katzenstein, Peter J.
Kaufman, Daniel J.
Kaufman, Henry
Kaufman, Robert R.
Kaufmann, William W.
Kaysen, Carl
Kazemi, Farhad
Kea, Charlotte G.
Kean, Christopher
Kean, Thomas H.
Kearney, Jude
Kearns, David T.
Keel, Alton G., Jr.
Keene, Lonnie S.
Keeny, Spurgeon M., Jr.
Kelleher, Catherine M.
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Keller, Edmond J.
Keller, Kenneth H.
Kellerman, Barbara
Kelley, P. X.
Kelly, James P.
Kelly, John H.
Kelman, Herbert C.
Kemble, Eugenia
Kemp, Geoffrey
Kempe, Frederick
Kempner, Maximilian W.

Kendall, Donald M.
Kenen, Peter B.
Keniston, Kenneth
Kennan, Christopher J.
Kennan, Elizabeth T.
Kennan, George F.
Kennedy, Craig
Kenney, F. Donald
Kent, William H.
Keohane, Nannerl O.
Keohane, Robert O.
Kern, Paul J.
Kerr, Ann Z.
Kerry, John F.
Kessler, Martha Neff
Kester, John G.
Kester, W. Carl
Khalilzad, Zalmay M.
Khuri, Nicola N.
Kiermaier, John
Kiernan, Robert
Edward, III
Kiley, Robert R.
Kim, Andrew B.
Kim, Hanya Marie
Kimmitt, Robert M.
Kimsey, James V.*
Kinde, Lawrence John
King, Charles
King, Henry L.
King, John A., Jr.
King, Kay
Kipper, Judith
Kirk, Grayson L.
Kirkland, Lane
Kirkland, Richard I., Jr.
Kirkpatrick, Jeane J.
Kirkpatrick, Melanie
Kissinger, Henry A.
Kizer, Karin L.
Kleiman, Robert
Klein, David
Klein, Edward
Klein, George
Klein, Joe
Klurfeld, James
Knight, Edward S.

* Elected to membership in 1997.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 1997.

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 Kohut, Andrew
 Kolbe, James T.
 Kolodziej, Edward A.
 Kolt, George
 Koltai, Steven R.
 Komisar, Lucy
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 Korb, Lawrence J.
 Korbonski, Andrzej
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 Kotecha, Mahesh K.
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 Kraemer, Lillian E.
 Kraeutler, Kirk
 Kramek, Robert E.
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 Kramer, Jane
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 Kramer, Steven Philip
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 Kuchins, Andrew
 Carrigan
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 Kupchan, Charles A.
 Kupchan, Clifford A.*
 Kupperman, Robert H.
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 Kurtzer, Daniel C.
 Kwoh, Stewart
- L**
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 Lake, William T.
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 Lamm, Donald S.
 Lamont, Lansing
 Lampley, Virginia A.
 Lampton, David M.
 Lancaster, Carol J.
 Landau, George W.
 Landers, James M.
 Landy, Joanne
 Laney, James T.
 Langdon, George D., Jr.
 Langlois, John D.
 Lansner, Kermit I.
 LaPalombara, Joseph
 Lapham, Lewis H.
 Lapidus, Gail W.
 Lardy, Nicholas R.
 Larrabee, F. Stephen
 Larson, Charles R.
 Lash, Jonathan
- Lasser, Lawrence J.
 Lateef, Noel V.
 Lauder, Leonard A.
 Laudicina, Paul A.
 Lauinger, Philip C., Jr.
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 Laventhol, David A.
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 LeClerc, Paul*
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 Lee, Janet
 Lee, William L.
 Lee-Kung, Dinah
 Leeborn, David W.
 Leeds, Roger S.
 Lefever, Ernest W.
 Leghorn, Richard S.
 Legvold, Robert H.
 Lehman, John F.
 Lehman, Orin
 Lehman, Ronald F., II
 Lehrer, Jim
 Leich, John Foster
 Leigh, Monroe
 Leland, Marc E.
 Lelyveld, Joseph
 LeMelle, Tilden J.
 LeMelle, Wilbert J.
 Lempert, Robert J.
 Lenzen, Louis C.
 LeoGrande, William M.
 Leonard, James F.
 Leone, Richard C.
 Lerner-Lam, Eva
 Lesch, Ann Mosely
 Lesser, Ian O.*
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 Lewis, Bernard
 Lewis, David A.
 Lewis, Edward T.
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 Lewis, Loida Nicolas
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 Libby, I. Lewis
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 Lichtenstein, Cynthia C.
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 Lieberman, Jodi B.
 Lieberman, Joseph I.
 Lieberman, Nancy A.
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 Lighthizer, Robert E.
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 Lindsay, Franklin A.
 Linen, Jonathan S.
 Link, Troland S.
 Linowes, David E.
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 Lipper, Kenneth
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 Lipscomb, Thomas H.
 Lipset, Seymour Martin
 Lipsky, John P.
 Lipsky, Seth
 Lissakers, Karin M.
 Litan, Robert E.*
- Litt, David G.
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 Litwak, Robert S.
 Liu, Eric P.
 Livingston, Robert
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 Lodge, George C.
 Loeb, Marshall
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 Lovejoy, Thomas E.
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 Low, Stephen
 Lowenfeld, Andreas F.
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 Lowenthal, Abraham F.
 Loy, Frank E.
 Lozano, Ignacio E., Jr.
 Lubin, Nancy
 Lubman, Stanley B.
 Lucas, C. Payne
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 Luck, Edward C.
 Lucy, William
 Luers, Wendy W.
 Luers, William H.
 Luke, John A., Jr.
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 Lyall, Katharine C.
 Lyman, Princeton
 Nathan
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 Lynn, James T.
 Lynn, Laurence E., Jr.
 Lyon, David W.
 Lyons, Gene M.

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Lyons, James E.
Lyons, Richard K.

M

Ma, Christopher Yi-Wen
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Edwin, Jr.
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MacDonald, Shawn A.
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Macomber, William B.
Macy, Robert M., Jr.
Madrid, Arturo
Maguire, John D.
Mahaney, Mark S.
Mahnken, Thomas G.
Mahoney, Catherine F.
Mahoney, Margaret E.
Mahoney, Thomas H., IV
Mai, Vincent A.
Maier, Charles S.
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Mako, William P.
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Malin, Clement B.
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Malmgren, Harald B.
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Mamdani, Mahmoud
Manca, Marie
Antoinette
Mandelbaum, Michael
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Mann, Michael D.
Mann, Thomas E.
Manning, Bayless

Mansfield, Edward
Deering
Marans, J. Eugene
Marcum, John Arthur
Marder, Murrey
Margolis, David I.
Mark, David E.
Mark, Hans M.
Mark, Rebecca P.
Marks, Leonard H.
Marks, Paul A.
Marks, Russell E., Jr.
Markusen, Ann R.
Marlin, Alice Tepper
Marmor, Theodore R.
Marr, Phebe A.
Marron, Donald B.
Marshall, Andrew W.
Marshall, Anthony D.
Marshall, Dale Rogers
Marshall, Katherine
Marshall, Ray
Marshall, Z. Blake
Martin, Daniel R.
Martin, Lisa L.
Martin, Lynn
Martin, Susan Forbes
Martin, William F.
Martin-Brown, Joan
Martinez, Armando
Bravo
Martinuzzi, Leo S., Jr.
Marton, Kati
Marx, Anthony
Masin, Michael T.
Mason, Elvis L.
Massey, L. Camille
Massey, Walter E.*
Massie, Suzanne
Mathews, Jessica T.
Mathews, Michael S.
Mathews, Sylvia M.
Mathias, Charles
McC., Jr.
Mathis, Brian Pierre
Matlock, Jack F.
Matsui, Robert T.

Matteson, William B.
Mattox, Gale A.
Matuszewski, Daniel C.
Maxwell, Kenneth
May, Ernest R.
May, Michael M.*
Mayer, Claudette
Mayer, Gerald M., Jr.
Mayer, Lawrence A.
Mayhew, Alice E.
Maynes, Charles William
Mazarr, Michael J.
Mazur, Jay
McAfee, W. Gage
McAllister, Jef Olivarius
McCaffrey, Barry R.
McCain, John*
McCall, H. Carl
McCann, Edward
McCartan, Patrick F.
McCarthy, James P.
McCarthy, John G.
McCarthy, Paul B.†
McCauley, John F.
McCloy, John J., II
McCormack, Elizabeth J.
McCouch, Donald G.
McCracken, Paul W.
McCurdy, Dave K.
McDermott, James A.
McDonald, Alonzo L.
McDonough, William J.
McDougal, Myres S.
McDougall, Gay J.
McEntee, Joan M.
McFarlane, Jennifer A.*
McFarlane, Robert C.
McFate, Patricia Ann
McGiffert, David E.
McGillicuddy, John F.
McGovern, George S.
McGowan, Alan
McGrath, Eugene R.
McGuire, Raymond J.
McGurn, William*
McHale, Thomas R.
McHenry, Donald F.

McKinney, Robert
McLaughlin, David T.
McLean, Sheila Avrin
McLin, Jon B.
McManus, Doyle*
McManus, Jason D.
McNamara, Kathleen R.†
McNamara, Robert S.
McNaughter, Thomas L.*
McPeak, Merrill A.
McPherson, M. Peter
McQuade, Lawrence C.
McWade, Robert S.
Meacham, Jon
Mead, Dana G.
Mead, Walter R.*
Meagher, Robert F.
Mearsheimer, John J.
Medina, Kathryn B.*
Medish, Mark C.
Meers, Sharon I.
Mehta, Ved
Meissner, Doris M.
Meister, Irene W.
Melby, Eric D. K.
Mello, Judy Hendren
Melloan, George R.
Melville, Richard A.
Mendelson, Sarah E.†
Mendez, Jose F.
Mendlovitz, Saul H.
Menges, Carl B.*
Menke, John R.
Merkling, Christian
Meron, Theodor
Merow, John E.
Merrill, Philip
Merritt, Jack N.
Merszei, Zoltan
Mesa-Lago, Carmelo
Meselson, Matthew
Messner, William
Curtis, Jr.
Mestres, Ricardo A., Jr.
Metcalf, George R.
Mettler, Ruben F.
Metzl, Jamie F.†

Meyer, Cord
Meyer, Edward C.
Meyer, John R.
Meyer, Karl E.
Meyerman, Harold J.
Meyerson, Martin
Michaels, Marguerite
Mickiewicz, Ellen P.
Midgley, Elizabeth
Mihaly, Eugene B.
Mikell, Gwendolyn
Miles, Edward L.
Miller, Charles D.
Miller, David Charles, Jr.
Miller, Debra L.
Miller, Franklin C.
Miller, J. Irwin
Miller, Judith
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Miller, Marcia E.
Miller, Matthew L.
Miller, Paul David
Miller, Roberta Balstad
Miller, William Green
Miller-Adams, Michelle
Beth
Millett, Allan R.
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Mills, Bradford
Mills, Karen Gordon
Mills, Susan
Mims, Valerie A.
Minow, Newton N.
Miranda, Lourdes R.
Mirsky, Yehudah
Mishkin, Alexander†
Mitchell, Arthur M., III
Mitchell, George H., Jr.
Mitchell, George J.
Mitchell, Wandra
Mize, David M.
Mochizuki, Kiichi
Mochizuki, Mike Masato
Moe, Sherwood G.
Moffett, George*
Molano, Walter Thomas

* Elected to membership in 1997.

† Elected to five-year term membership in 1997.

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Montgomery, Parker G.
Montgomery, Philip O'Bryan, III
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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, Milinda
Moran, Theodore H.
Morrell, Gene P.
Morris, Max K.
Morris, Milton D.
Morrisett, Lloyd N.
Morse, Edward L.
Morse, Kenneth P.
Mortimer, David
Mosbacher, Robert A.
Moses, Alfred H.
Mosettig, Michael
Moskow, Kenneth A.
Moskow, Michael H.
Moss, Ambler H., Jr.
Motley, Joel W.
Mottahedeh, Roy
Motulsky, Dan T.
Moynihan, Daniel P.
Mroz, John Edwin
Mudd, Margaret F.
Mujal-Leon, Eusebio
Mulford, David C.
Mulholland, William D.
Muller, Henry
Muller, Steven
Mundy, Carl E., Jr.
Munger, Edwin S.
Munroe, George B.
Munyan, Winthrop R.

Murase, Emily Moto
Muravchik, Joshua
Murdoch, Rupert
Murdy, William F.*
Murphy, Caryle Marie
Murphy, Joseph S.
Murphy, Richard W.
Murphy, Thomas S.
Murray, Allen E.
Murray, Douglas P.
Murray, Ian P.
Murray, Janice L.
Murray, Lori Esposito
Muse, Martha T.
Myerson, Toby S.

N

Nachmanoff, Arnold
Nacht, Michael
Nadiri, M. Ishaq
Nagorski, Andrew
Nagorski, Zygmunt
Namkung, K.A.
Nasher, Raymond D.
Nathan, Andrew J.
Nathan, James A.
Nathoo, Raffiq A.
Natt, Ted M.
Nau, Henry R.
Navab, Alexander
Naylor, Rosamond Lee
Neal, Stephen L.
Negroponte, John D.
Neier, Aryeh
Nelson, Anne
Nelson, Daniel N.
Nelson, Jack
Nelson, Merlin E.
Nenneman, Richard A.
Neuman, Stephanie G.
Neustadt, Richard E.
Newberg, Esther R.
Newburg, Andre W.G.
Newcomb, Nancy
Newell, Barbara W.
Newhouse, John
Newman, Constance B.

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 Neaheer
Nielsen, Nancy*
Nielsen, Waldemar A.
Nierenberg, Claudia
Nilsson, A. Kenneth
Nimetz, Matthew
Nitze, Paul H.
Nitze, William A.
Nix, Crystal
Noam, Eli M.*
Nolan, Janne E.
Noland, Marcus
Nolte, Richard H.
Nooter, Robert H.
Norman, William S.
Norton, Augustus Richard
Norton, Eleanor Holmes
Nossel, Suzanne F†
Noto, Lucio A.
Nuechterlein, Jeffrey D.*
Nugent, Walter
Nussbaum, Bruce
Nye, J. Benjamin
Nye, Joseph S., Jr.

O

Oakes, John B.
Oakes, John G.H.
Oakley, Phyllis E.
Oakley, Robert B.
Oberdorfer, Don
O'Brien, Dennis J.
O'Cleireacain, Carol
O'Connell, Mary Ellen

O'Connor, Sandra Day
O'Connor, Walter F.
Odeen, Philip A.
Odell, John S.
Odom, William E.
Oettinger, Anthony G.
Offit, Morris W.
O'Flaherty, J. Daniel
Ogden, Alfred
Ogden, William S.
Oh, Kongdan
O'Hare, Joseph A.
Okawara, Merle Aiko
Oksenberg, Michel
Okun, Herbert S.
Oliva, L. Jay
Oliver, April
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Olmstead, Cecil J.
Olson, William C.
Olvey, Lee D.
O'Malley, Cormac K. H.
Omestad, Thomas E.
O'Neill, Michael J.
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Oppenheimer, Franz M.
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Otero, Joaquin F.
Ovitz, Michael S.
Owen, Henry
Owen, Roberts B.
Owens, James W.
Owens, William A.
Oxman, Stephen A.
Oxnam, Robert B.
Oye, Kenneth A.

P

Paal, Douglas H.
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.
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Parent, Alexandra
Parker, Barrington D., Jr.
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Parker, Karen E.†
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Parker, Richard B.
Parkinson, Roger
Parsky, Gerald L.
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Passin, Herbert
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Patricof, Alan J.
Patrikis, Ernest T.
Patterson, Gardner
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Paul, Roland A.
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Payne, Donald M.
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Pearson, John E.
Pearson, Scott D.
Pedersen, Richard F.
Pederson, Rena
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Pelletreau, Robert H., Jr.
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Perkins, Roswell B.	Pipes, Daniel	Price, Robert	Ratchford, J. Thomas	Richards, Stephen H.
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Perle, Richard N.	Pisano, Jane G.	Pruitt, Lisa R.†	Rathjens, George W.	Richardson, Elliot L.
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Perry, Robert C.	Platz, Stephanie S.†	Puckett, Allen E.	Rauch, Rudolph S.	Richardson, William B.
Peters, Arthur King	Plepler, Richard	Puckett, Robert H.	Raul, Alan Charles	Richardson, William R.
Peters, Aulana L.	Plimpton, Calvin H.	Pulling, Thomas L.*	Ravenal, Earl C.	Richardson, Yolonda
Peters, Michael P.	Ploumpis, Valerie	Purcell, Susan Kaufman	Ravenholt, Albert	Richman, Joan F.
Peterson, Holly	Plumeri, Joseph J., II*	Pursley, Robert E.	Ravitch, Richard	Richter, Anthony H.
Peterson, Peter G.	Poats, Rutherford M.	Pusey, Nathan M.	Raymond, David A.	Ridgway, Rozanne L.
Peterson, Rudolph A.	Pocalyko, Michael N.	Pustay, John S.	Raymond, Jack	Rieff, David
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Petree, Richard W., Jr.	Pogue, Richard W.	Pye, Lucian W.	Redman, Charles E.*	Ries, Hans A.
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