COUNCIL on FOREIGN RELATIONS



Annual Report

2012

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## July 1, 2011–June 30, 2012

Council on Foreign Relations

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Note: This list of Officers and Directors is current as of July 1, 2012. A historical roster of Directors and Officers can be found on pages 25-27.

## Contents

- 4 Mission Statement
- 5 Letter from the Co-Chairs
- 7 President's Message: Continuity and Change
- 9 2012 Highlights
- 21 Foreign Affairs
- 24 Committees of the Board
- 26 2012 Board Election and Appointments
- 27 Historical Roster of Directors and Officers
- 30 Membership
- 33 Membership Roster
- 55 Corporate Members
- 58 Endowed and Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships
- 61 International Affairs Fellows Program
- 62 By-Laws of the Council
- 67 Rules, Guidelines, and Practices
- 70 Staff
- 75 Financial Statements

## **Mission Statement**

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank, and publisher dedicated to being a resource for its members, government officials, business executives, journalists, educators and students, civic and religious leaders, and other interested citizens in order to help them better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries.

Founded in 1921, CFR takes no institutional positions on matters of policy. CFR carries out its mission by

- maintaining a diverse membership, with special programs to promote interest and develop expertise in the next generation of foreign policy leaders;
- convening meetings at its headquarters in New York and in Washington, DC, and other cities where senior government officials, members of Congress, global leaders, and prominent thinkers come together with CFR members to discuss and debate major international issues;
- supporting a Studies Program that fosters independent research, enabling CFR scholars to produce articles, reports, and books and hold roundtables that analyze foreign policy issues and make concrete policy recommendations;
- publishing Foreign Affairs, the preeminent journal on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy;
- sponsoring Independent Task Forces that produce reports with both findings and policy prescriptions on the most important foreign policy topics; and
- providing up-to-date information and analysis about world events and American foreign policy on its website, CFR.org.

Mission Statement 4

## Letter from the Co-Chairs

As we mark our fifth year as co-chairs of the Council on Foreign Relations, we are pleased the institution has evolved and grown. CFR has extended its outreach to new audiences, tripled its number of publications, launched fifteen expert blogs, and developed a strong and growing following on social media platforms. Its flagship publications, *Foreign Affairs*, has remained the most influential journal dedicated to international affairs in an ever-changing media landscape. At the same time, CFR has stayed true to its ninety-one-year-old mission as a nonpartisan and independent think tank, publisher, and membership organization.

A U.S. presidential election inevitably heightens partisanship on both sides of the aisle, across the country, and in the press. In this rancorous environment, CFR is a truly nonpartisan and authoritative source representing a broad range of views that inform the policy debate. The analysis and opinions of more than seventy-five CFR scholars cover the policy spectrum, reflected in the intellectual content they generate in books, blogs, op-eds, television and radio appearances, and interviews and articles in leading outlets.

CFR is committed to being a resource for citizens in the United States and beyond. Ahead of the November election, CFR launched Campaign 2012, an initiative that examines the foreign policy dimensions of the presidential race via backgrounders, video briefs, and reports. The Candidates and the World blog tracks presidential contenders' positions, offers insight on subjects salient to the campaigns, and gauges international attitudes in advance of the vote.

CFR also continues to look at the domestic underpinnings of American power: Renewing America, an institution-wide initiative to generate policy recommendations for revitalizing economic strength at home and bolstering U.S. competitiveness abroad, along with the Renewing America Channel, a new online platform, showcases original research and reports, infographic scorecards, and the best coverage of these topics.

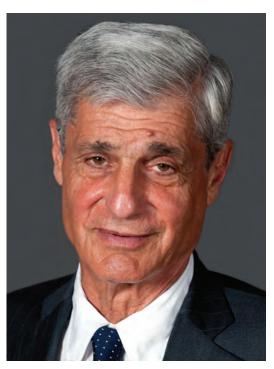
The institution's nonpartisan convening power is demonstrated by the number of Democrats and Republicans who chose CFR as a venue. This year alone CFR members met with Senators Carl M. Levin (D-MI), Lindsey O. Graham (R-SC), Robert J. Portman (R-OH), and Marco Rubio (R-FL) and Representatives Barney Frank (D-MA), Walter B. Jones (R-NC), and Kay Granger (R-TX).

The Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy program connects senators and representatives with CFR fellows and the intellectual content they generate. Over the past year, CFR programming for congressional policymakers included dozens of roundtables with experts, some seventy briefings with scholars for members of Congress and their staffs, and well over one hundred meetings with congressional offices. As one House staffer remarked, "CFR's efforts help inform Congress and help us to make good policy decisions."

Since the start of the 112th Congress, scholars have been called to testify before congressional committees twenty-six times. Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow Edward Alden spoke before the House Judiciary



Co-Chairman Carla A. Hills



Co-Chairman Robert E. Rubin

Letter from the Co-Chairs 5

subcommittee on immigration policy and enforcement on travel and tourism visa issues, Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Fellow Charles A. Kupchan addressed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the future of NATO, and Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies Ray Takeyh and Senior Fellow for Korea Studies and Director of the Program on U.S.-Korea Policy Scott A. Snyder testified before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on the conflicting priorities of the Iranian regime and North Korea's strategic environment, respectively.

Beyond CFR's work on Capitol Hill, the diplomatic program hosts sessions with senior foreign diplomats, while the executive branch program arranges briefings for senior officials. CFR also serves as a conduit for the administration to interact with the organization's influential membership. Throughout the programming year a number of senior officials addressed members, including Secretary of the Treasury Timothy F. Geithner, Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano, Undersecretary of Defense Michèle A. Flournoy, Deputy Secretary of Defense Ashton B. Carter, U.S. Agency for International Development administrator Rajiv Shah, and Director of National Intelligence James R. Clapper Jr.

CFR-sponsored Independent Task Forces are perhaps the best reflection of the institution's nonpartisanship. Former national security adviser Stephen J. Hadley, who chaired the first Task Force in 1995 on nuclear nonproliferation and also co-chaired the recent Task Force on Turkey, said of the program, "It is important that there are organizations like CFR that run these bipartisan efforts to show a responsible center." Task Forces—groups diverse in backgrounds and perspectives—are convened to reach a meaningful consensus on matters critical to U.S. foreign policy. Recent Task Forces have looked at often substandard K-12 education and its consequences for American national security, U.S.-Brazil relations, trade and investment policy, and U.S. policy toward Afghanistan and Pakistan.

As co-chairs, we, too, represent opposite sides of the political spectrum, another confirmation of CFR's commitment to a bipartisan balance. In or out of an election year, the Council on Foreign Relations continues to do what it does best: inform the debate. We believe in Thomas Jefferson's famous assertion that the cornerstone of democracy rests on the foundation of an informed electorate, and we are proud that CFR furthers that conviction by continuing to be an authoritative resource on international affairs for its members, educators and students, the media, business leaders, state and local officials, religious leaders, and the public.

We continue to be impressed by CFR's achievements and impact and we are honored to continue to serve as co-chairs. We are grateful to CFR Vice Chairman Richard E. Salomon for all his work, and we welcome new vice chairman David M. Rubenstein. We thank the members of the Board of Directors for their many contributions throughout the year. We would also like to acknowledge and thank CFR President Richard N. Haass for his innovative yet pragmatic leadership throughout his nine years of leading the institution.

Carla A. Hills Robert E. Rubin Co-Chairs of the Board



Vice Chairman David M. Rubenstein



Vice Chairman Richard E. Salomon

Letter from the Co-Chairs

## President's Message: Continuity and Change

The Council on Foreign Relations has, for nearly a century, remained steadfast to its mission of providing authoritative analysis of the foreign policy choices facing the United States. CFR's tradition of intellectual diversity is underpinned by its principles of nonpartisanship and independence, traits emphasized by our co-chairs in their essay.

While this continuity is worth celebrating, any leading institution must also adapt. Management expert Jim Collins writes that great organizations that endure are characterized by a fundamental duality: "a set of timeless core values and core reason for being that remain constant over long periods of time" and "a relentless drive for change and progress" that enables the organization to adapt to an always-evolving world. All of us associated with CFR are mindful of balancing these twin objectives as we strive to contribute to and compete in the marketplace of ideas.

We do not want to change too much by moving away from the principles and activities that have brought the institution to preeminence. Our commitment is to be a resource to help our members and others better understand the world. And CFR accomplishes this by doing what it does best: convene meetings with senior government officials, global business and civil society leaders, and prominent thinkers; sponsor Independent Task Forces; provide up-to-date analysis of world events on its website, CFR.org; support scholarly work by its fellows in the David Rockefeller Studies Program; and publish *Foreign Affairs*, by all counts the best magazine in the business.

While we continue to evaluate traditional foreign policy topics from nuclear nonproliferation and Europe's economic uncertainty to the rise of China and conflict in the Middle East, we are also turning our attention to emerging issues such as noncommunicable diseases, girls' education and maternal health, the consequences of the information and communications revolutions, and the interplay of civil society, economic markets, and democracy.

We have also been focusing on the domestic underpinnings of U.S. power—a notable intellectual departure for a foreign policy organization. Premised on the understanding that the United States' ability to influence world events rests on a robust, competitive economy and a prepared citizenry, CFR's Renewing America initiative looks at how to revitalize the country's economic strength and build the foundations for future prosperity and international influence. The initiative concentrates on six issues: debt and deficits; infrastructure; education and human capital; corporate regulation and taxation; innovation; and international trade and investment.

In response to the ever-shifting information landscape, we are incorporating cutting-edge strategies to produce and distribute content tailored for new constituencies. We are using infographics, chart books, and interactives to visually illustrate complex issues and major economic trends. CFR scholars connect with new and growing audiences on an array of social media platforms through their blogs, Twitter feeds,



President Richard N. Haass

President's Message 7

Facebook profiles, and the like. I am glad to say that we are being recognized for our innovation: For the second year in a row, CFR.org was awarded Best Use of Online Multimedia by the Overseas Press Club, this time for "Crisis Guide: Iran," the latest multimedia feature in the Emmy Award—winning series.

In addition to virtual networking, CFR launched the Council of Councils, a group of prominent international organizations—from some two dozen countries in Asia, Europe, North America, South America, Africa, and Australia—to generate ideas to promote governance and multilateral coordination at both the global and regional levels. Between annual conferences, the Council of Councils will maintain an ongoing dialogue, including regional meetings and a monthly Global Roundup of opinion on CFR.org.

CFR is also reaching beyond traditional foreign policy circles by bringing together interested citizens whose voices are increasingly important to policy debates. These constituencies include educators and students, religious and congregational leaders, and state and local officials. Our outreach aims to connect these groups with CFR's resources that can help them better fulfill their respective missions. This year, we convened our first Educators Workshop as a forum for academics to share ideas and to solicit feedback on the utility of our materials for the classroom.

A thorough breakdown of the year's activities follows in the "2012 Highlights" section of this Annual Report. Implicit in this summary is that CFR is a valued, authoritative resource on foreign policy—directly, in terms of meetings with policymakers; and perhaps more important, indirectly, in terms of helping to shape the context in which foreign policy is discussed and made. CFR scholars, events, and publications inform serious debate on global issues by offering facts, analysis, and, where appropriate, prescriptions, but taking no institutional point of view.

It is hard not to be impressed by the breadth and depth of all that we do. None of this would be possible without the time and effort of a good many extraordinary individuals. I want to thank Co-Chairs Carla A. Hills and Robert E. Rubin, Vice Chairman Richard E. Salomon, newly appointed Vice Chairman David M. Rubenstein, and members of the Board of Directors for their leadership of and dedication to this institution. I also want to acknowledge the efforts of the dedicated CFR staff in New York and Washington, DC. What they do and how they do it, day in and day out, is truly admirable.

Richard N. Haass President CFR has, for nearly a century, remained steadfast to its mission of providing authoritative analysis of the foreign policy choices facing the United States.

President's Message 8

## 2012 Highlights









Top: Joined by Sudanese bishop Andudu Adam Elnail and Darfur activist Omer Ismail, George Clooney and John Prendergast give a trip report following their return from South Sudan with the Enough Project.

Lower left to right: Chinese activist and U.S.-Asia Law Institute special student Chen Guangcheng; U.S. Department of Homeland Security secretary Janet Napolitano; U.S. Senate member (R-FL) and member of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Marco Rubio









Top left: Turkish president Abdullah Gul hosts CFR's Task Force on Turkey chaired by former secretary of state Madeleine K. Albright and former national security adviser Stephen J. Hadley.

 $Top \ right: Task Force \ chairs \ Joel I. \ Klein, former \ chancellor \ of \ New \ York \ City \ public \ schools, and \ Condoleezza \ Rice, former \ secretary \ of \ state, \ speak \ with \ ABC's \ Terry \ Moran \ at \ the \ U.S. \ Education \ Reform \ and \ National \ Security \ rollout \ event.$ 

Lower left: CFR Adjunct Senior Fellow Matthew J. Slaughter with Task Force chairs Andrew H. Card, former chief of staff during the George W. Bush administration, and Thomas A. Daschle, former Senate majority leader, at the launch of *U.S. Trade and Investment Policy*.

Lower right: Task Force chairs Samuel W. Bodman, former secretary of energy, and James D. Wolfensohn, former president of the World Bank, at a Global Brazil and U.S.-Brazil Relations meeting with CFR Senior Fellow Julia E. Sweig.

## Task Forces

CFR sponsored four Independent Task Forces over the past twelve months. *Global Brazil and U.S.-Brazil Relations* finds that Brazil is a significant international actor—a driver of growth within its region and an active force in world politics—whose influence on global issues is only likely to increase. The Task Force report recommends that the Obama administration recognize its global standing by endorsing the country's bid for a seat as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. The Task Force was chaired by former secretary of energy Samuel W. Bodman and former president of the World Bank James D. Wolfensohn and directed by CFR Senior Fellow and Director of the Global Brazil Initiative Julia E. Sweig.

U.S. Trade and Investment Policy urges the United States to adopt policies that further its position as a dynamic trading country while bringing more Americans the benefits of global engagement. The bipartisan report calls for the Obama administration and Congress to develop a strengthened rules-based trading system that will produce American job and wage growth. The Independent Task Force was chaired by former White House chief of staff Andrew H. Card and former Senate majority leader Thomas A. Daschle and codirected by Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow Edward Alden and Adjunct Senior Fellow for Business and Globalization Matthew J. Slaughter.

Led by former U.S. secretary of state Condoleezza Rice and former chancellor of the New York City Department of Education Joel I. Klein and directed by CFR term member Julia Levy, U.S. Education Reform and National Security stresses that the United States' failure to educate its students impairs the country's ability to thrive in a global economy and threatens U.S. national security. The report's policy recommendations for reform of the nation's underperforming K-12 public schools include implementing and expanding national education standards, quantifying and assessing educational achievement across the country, and offering more education choices for students and parents.

The Independent Task Force on Turkey was chaired by former secretary of state Madeleine K. Albright and former national security adviser Stephen J. Hadley and directed by Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies Steven A. Cook. *U.S.-Turkey Relations: A New Partnership* recognizes Turkey as an increasingly influential regional and economic power and calls for American and Turkish leadership to forge a new relationship based on a set of shared strategic interests—promoting stable political transitions in the Middle East, stopping bloodshed and repression in Syria, and frustrating Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons.

U.S. Education Reform and National Security stresses that the United States' failure to educate its students impairs the country's ability to thrive in a global economy and threatens U.S. national security.

## Meetings

CFR held over 250 general meetings for members in New York and Washington, DC, maintaining its reputation for convening world leaders, senior government officials, and diplomats. During the United Nations General Assembly last fall, CFR hosted the foreign ministers of Cuba, France, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, and Vietnam; the presidents of Chile, Ivory Coast, and Sierra Leone; and the secretary-general of the Arab League.

In Washington, the prime minister of Ethiopia, the home secretary of the United Kingdom, the German finance minister, the Egyptian and Portuguese foreign ministers, opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi (via live videoconference from Myanmar), former national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Undersecretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs Maria Otero addressed the membership.

In New York, members met with Chinese dissident Chen Guangcheng in his first public appearance in the United States, former U.S. special envoy George J. Mitchell, and former White House chief of staff Erskine Bowles. A meeting cosponsored by the National History Center featured biographer John Lewis Gaddis, author of *George F. Kennan: An American Life*. Other special events included a meeting with the service chiefs as part of the Robert B. McKeon Endowed Series on Military Strategy and Leadership and a panel discussion with top network news executives from ABC, CBS, CNN, and NBC. This year's Darryl G. Behrman Lecture on Africa was an update on Sudan, with activist George Clooney and the Enough Project's John Prendergast, while the Kenneth A. Moskow Lecture on Homeland Security and Counterterrorism featured U.S. Special Operations commander Admiral William H. McRaven.

A symposium marking the tenth anniversary of the 9/11 attacks featured former executive director of the 9/11 Commission Philip D. Zelikow, former career CIA officer and State Department coordinator for counterterrorism Henry Crumpton, CFR Shelby Cullom and Kathryn W. Davis Adjunct Senior Fellow for Counterterrorism and Homeland Security Richard A. Falkenrath, former CIA acting director John McLaughlin, former assistant to the president for homeland security and counterterrorism Frances Townsend, and former deputy national security adviser for combating terrorism Juan Zarate.

Other symposia focused on the bilateral relationship between the United States and Mexico and the implications of the Arab upheavals one year later. Speakers at "U.S.-Mexico Relations Beyond the 2012

CFR held over 250 meetings for members in New York and Washington, DC, maintaining its reputation for convening world leaders, senior government officials, and diplomats.







Elections" examined issues important to both countries, including drugs, organized crime, trade, immigration, and the outlook for each country's election. CFR and St. Antony's College at the University of Oxford cosponsored a daylong symposium on unrest in the Middle East and North Africa featuring panel debates on the role of monarchies, the interplay between Islam and governance, and the changing politics of the region.

The annual Stephen C. Freidheim Symposium featured White House Office of Management and Budget director Jacob Lew, *Financial Times* U.S. managing director Gillian Tett, and former Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan. Speakers analyzed the debt and fiscal deficits plaguing the United States, Europe, and other economies and proposed remedies for the crises.

Meetings of the C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics hosted Russian finance minister Anton G. Siluanov, Bank of Canada governor Mark Carney, International Monetary Fund managing director Christine Lagarde, Congressional Budget Office director Douglas W. Elmendorf, and Federal Reserve Board of Governors member Daniel K. Tarullo. The McKinsey Series on International Economics, comprising panel discussions with leading economists, held sessions on central banking and lessons learned on macroeconomics from the financial crisis.

Above: CFR Senior Fellow Shannon K. O'Neil introduces a panel at the symposium "U.S.-Mexico Relations Beyond the 2012 Elections." Participants included the New York Times' Ginger Thompson, the Wilson Center's Eric L. Olson, and Alejandro Hope of the Instituto Mexicano para la Competividad and México Evalúa.

Previous page left: Stanley A. McChrystal, former commander of the United States and International Security Assistance Forces Afghanistan and Joint Special Operations Command's premier military counterterrorism force Previous page right: Zhang Xin, CEO of SOHO China, the

Previous page right: Zhang Xin, CEO of SOHO China, t largest real-estate developer in Beijing



Kenneth I. Chenault, chairman and chief executive officer of American Express, discusses the upheaval in the eurozone, the struggling U.S. economy, and the role of business in foreign policy with the Wall Street Journal's Alan S. Murray.

The ninth annual Corporate Conference gathered more than 370 representatives of 120 companies to explore issues at the intersection of foreign policy and international economics.

## National Program

The organization staged nearly one hundred events for national members, the over one-third of CFR membership located outside of New York and Washington, DC. Highlights included sessions with State Department officials Tamara Wittes, Michael Posner, and Reuben Brigety; a discussion on the future of global public health with Congressman Adam Smith (D-WA) and Senior Fellow Laurie Garrett; and a rollout event for the CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force report on education reform.

The National Conference—the highlight of programming for National members—featured a conversation with Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Martin E. Dempsey; a special session at the Intrepid Sea, Air, and Space Museum with General Stanley H. McChrystal; and a mock National Security Council meeting on U.S. policy options toward Iran featuring retired U.S. Army general John P. Abizaid, Harvard professor Joseph S. Nye Jr., former undersecretary of state for political affairs Thomas R. Pickering, energy expert Daniel Yergin, and former CIA deputy director Jami Miscik.

### Corporate Program

CFR's Corporate Program hosted a number of events to bring together members of the business community and policymakers. As part of the CEO Speaker series, the institution convened meetings with the leadership of American Express, Anheuser-Busch InBev, BlackRock, Deere, Deutsche Bank, ExxonMobil, Grupo Salinas, McKinsey & Co., and SAP.

The ninth annual Corporate Conference gathered more than 370 representatives of 120 companies to explore issues at the intersection of foreign policy and international economics. Sessions featured former U.S. treasury secretaries Lawrence H. Summers and Robert E. Rubin, Princeton University economist Alan S. Blinder, Columbia University economist Glenn Hubbard, Carlyle Group vice chairman David M. Rubenstein, former U.S. secretary of state Madeleine K. Albright, SOHO China CEO Zhang Xin, and CBS's Charlie Rose.

CFR experts gave nearly 300 interviews to leading broadcast news outlets, authored over one hundred pieces on CFR.org, and published more than 350 op-eds.

## David Rockefeller Studies Program

CFR experts gave nearly three hundred interviews to leading broadcast news outlets, including ABC, CNN, MSNBC, NPR, Fox News, Bloomberg, al-Jazeera, and the BBC, for shows such as *Morning Joe, Fareed Zakaria GPS, Talk of the Nation, PBS Newshour, Charlie Rose*, and *World News Tonight*. They authored over one hundred pieces on CFR.org and published more than 350 op-eds in the *New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, Financial Times, International Herald Tribune*, and other leading periodicals.

The latest CFR ebook, *Iran: The Nuclear Challenge*, was edited by Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy Robert D. Blackwill and includes contributions from scholars Ray Takeyh, Meghan L. O'Sullivan, Richard A. Falkenrath, Matthew Kroenig, Robert M. Danin, and Elliott Abrams. The volume maps objectives, tools, and strategies for dealing with Iran's nuclear program. In its seven chapters, the volume aims to provide clarity on policy choices and principles to assist in analyzing one of the most vexing issues in the world today.

The U.S.-India Joint Study Group, cosponsored by CFR and Aspen Institute India, released its final report in conjunction with rollout meetings in New York and Washington, DC. The group comprised business, policy, and thought leaders from the United States and India and was chaired by Robert D. Blackwill and India's National Security Advisory Board chairman Naresh Chandra. The report calls for the United States to express strong support for India's peaceful rise as a crucial component of Asian security and stability.

Scholars published five books over the past year. Senior Fellow Steven A. Cook's *The Struggle for Egypt: From Nasser to Tahrir Square* explains Egypt's state of affairs, its relationships with regional and international actors, the circumstances that resulted in the events of Tahrir Square, and its outlook post-Mubarak. Former adjunct senior fellow for Middle Eastern studies Thomas Lippman published *Saudi Arabia on the Edge: The Uncertain Future of an American Ally*, in which he dissects the challenges the country—wealthy and young, but politically stagnant and repressed—presents to itself and to U.S. interests in the region. Adjunct Senior Fellow Richard K. Betts authored *American Force: Dangers, Delusions, and Dilemmas*, which examines the American use of military

capabilities since the end of the Cold War, and recommends that the United States exercise greater caution and restraint, using force less frequently but more decisively. In No One's World: The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn, Senior Fellow Charles A. Kupchan argues that the twenty-first century will mark the first time in history that the world is both interdependent and without a center of gravity or global guardian. Senior Fellow Scott A. Snyder edited The US–South Korea Alliance: Meeting New Security Challenges, in which the contributors consider the capacities and potential for cooperation, assess the corresponding challenges, and propose new forms of collaboration between the two countries.

Beyond books, the Studies Program generated an unprecedented sixty-four reports, a nearly 70 percent increase over the previous year. Among these were three Council Special Reports:

- In Partners in Preventive Action: The United States and International Institutions, Director and Senior Fellow Paul B. Stares and Fellow Micah Zenko of the Center for Preventive Action call for the United States to nurture effective international partnerships to help prevent and manage violent conflicts that threaten U.S. interests.
- The University of Vermont's F. Gregory Gause III examines the challenges and opportunities facing Saudi Arabia and argues for a more modest, businesslike relationship between Washington and Riyadh, in Saudi Arabia in the New Middle East.
- Michael Shifter, president of the Inter-American Dialogue, reviews
  the causes and consequences of the violence in several Central American countries and evaluates the national, regional, and international
  efforts intended to curb its worst effects, in Countering Criminal Violence in Central America.

CFR's think tank extended its roster of Policy Innovation Memoranda with papers on the Arctic economy, a code of conduct for outer space, U.S. policy options for Syria, American visa systems, financial regulation, governance in Afghanistan, tobacco control, U.S.-Japan relations, Yemen, and the risk of a Cuban oil spill, among other topics.

The David Rockefeller Studies Program is CFR's world-class think tank, comprising more than eighty scholars whose work over the past year includes:

- 5 Books published
- 7 Average weekly number of op-eds published
- 14 Appearances by CFR experts before Congress
- 43 Magazine or journal articles published
- 45 Reports published
- 109 Expert Briefs, First Takes, and Interviews on CFR.org
- 286 Briefings given to U.S. and foreign government officials
- 354 Study group and roundtable meetings

The Academic Initiative connects educators and students at the college and graduate levels with CFR's research and analysis.

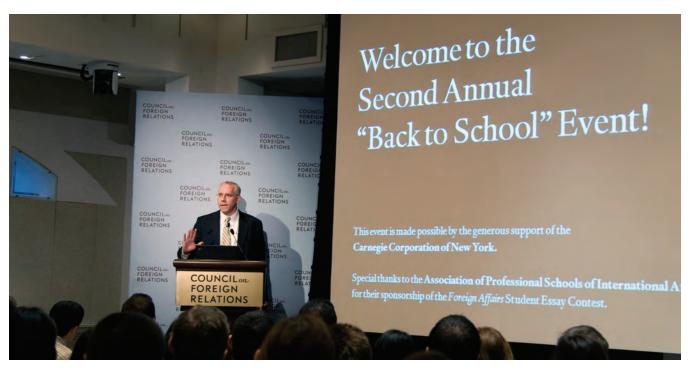
#### Outreach

Over the past year, the institution greatly expanded its work for the academic community. Made possible in large part by a generous grant from David M. Rubenstein, the Academic Initiative connects educators and students at the college and graduate levels with CFR's research and analysis. The Higher Education Working Group of college, university, and community college presidents and select foundation heads convened for its ninth session. Briefings with fellows and other leading experts focused on the global economy, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East, as well as the implications of globalization for higher education.

As part of its outreach to the religious community, CFR assembled the fifth annual Religion and Foreign Policy Summer Workshop. The more than one hundred participants included congregational leaders from sixteen religious traditions, religious scholars, fellows, and outside experts. Discussions focused on demographic trends in the United States and abroad, political revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa, religious freedom, electoral and economic challenges in Africa, and immigration and border security.

Next page top: CFR.org Editor Robert McMahon welcomes students to an educational event in New York.

Next page bottom: J. Bryan Hehir, secretary for health care and social services in the Archdiocese of Boston, at the sixth annual Religion and Foreign Policy Summer Workshop





#### CFR Online

CFR.org attracted a monthly average of 1.3 million page views, up nearly 10 percent from the previous year, and 540,000 unique visitors, an increase of 20 percent from a year earlier. New content partnership agreements with CNN and the *Atlantic* added hundreds of thousands of monthly page views of CFR content. More than a dozen blogs showcase timely commentary created and curated by in-house experts.

CFR accelerated its in-house broadcast production to reach online audiences around the world more effectively. The website launched new video series featuring fellows' analysis of breaking international developments and the U.S. presidential election, and guided viewers on issues ranging from how international organizations function to lessons learned from major events in modern history. Subscribers to the institution's YouTube channel increased by 85 percent over the past twelve months, and video views grew 170 percent, to 540,000.

Released last October, "Crisis Guide: Iran," the latest multimedia feature in the Emmy Award–winning series, includes analysis of Iran's history, oil-driven economy, and nuclear program from interviews with more than twenty-five experts.

The Global Governance Monitor, an interactive tracking multilateral efforts to address international difficulties, added three new components: on counterterrorism, human rights, and transnational crime. Through timelines, issue briefs, and maps, the monitor shows that international arrangements to fight terrorism are insufficient and uncoordinated, the human rights regime has made strides to prevent abuses and atrocities but falls short in crucial areas, and the anticrime system is not adequate to combat international criminal networks.

This year, the institution's presence in social media developed significantly. Fans on Facebook grew by more than 80 percent as a result of the enhanced experience on our institutional page, while Twitter followers increased nearly 40 percent, propelled in part by the twenty-five fellows now active in that space.



This year, the institution's presence in social media developed significantly. Fans on Facebook grew by more than 80 percent, and Twitter followers increased nearly 40 percent, propelled in part by the twenty-five fellows now active in that space.

## Foreign Affairs

This year has been one of sustained growth and evolution for *Foreign Affairs*. We continued to put out a compelling print magazine while also ramping up our Web and social media presences, deploying an awardwinning mobile website, publishing several ebooks, and doing more live events. The amount of *Foreign Affairs* content published online only now surpasses the amount published in the print edition, and all of our content is reaching a broader audience, on more platforms, than ever before.

The July/August 2011 issue led with a package on "How America Can Compete," with major articles by Nobel laureate Michael A. Spence on globalization and unemployment, former budget czar Peter Orszag on health-care reform, and former auto czar Steve Rattner on lessons from the German economic model. Other notable pieces included NATO secretary-general Anders Fogh Rasmussen on "NATO After Libya," moral philosopher Michael Walzer on humanitarianism, and former deputy national security adviser Elliott Abrams on Israeli settlements.

The September/October issue featured a package pegged to the tenth anniversary of 9/11, including a study of al-Qaeda's evolution by terrorism expert William McCants, an assessment of the first decade of the war on terror by diplomatic historian Melvyn Leffler, and several analyses of the situation in Afghanistan. A debate between Arvind Subramanian and Salvatore Babones on the speed and inevitability of China's economic ascent attracted a great deal of attention, as did a penetrating critique of the drug war by Mark Kleiman and a piece on Korea's foreign policy by Park Geun-hye.

The November/December issue led with a powerful essay by George Packer on economic inequality and social decline—one that was already drawing buzz before the eruption of the Occupy Wall Street protests, for which it provided a de facto manifesto. The issue also contained lively debates on Israel's greatest challenges and the merits of humanitarian intervention, a look at Indonesia's prospects by Karen Brooks, a searching analysis of the future of nuclear energy by Ernest Moniz, and an exploration of Bismarck's lessons for contemporary policymakers in the developing world.

For the January/February 2012 issue, we put out a ninetieth anniversary special section on "The Clash of Ideas," tracing the emergence and future of the modern order. The package was built around twenty excerpts of essays from the *Foreign Affairs* archives, by such notable authors as Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Isaiah Berlin, C. P. Kindleberger, Harold Laski, and Leon Trotsky. It also included several new pieces, including a major essay by Francis Fukuyama on "The Future of History." Rounding out the issue was a trio of articles on the future of the euro, the dollar, and the yuan; a provocative case for attacking Iran's nuclear program; and an argument for cutting off U.S. military aid to Pakistan.

The March/April issue showcased a variety of traditional and new content. Henry Kissinger contributed a major article on managing U.S.-Chinese relations, Robert Zoellick summed up what he had learned in his five years leading the World Bank, Fouad Ajami assessed the state of



Foreign Affairs Editor Gideon Rose

Foreign Affairs 2

the Arab Spring a year on, and U.S. NATO ambassador Ivo Daalder and supreme allied commander James Stavridis discussed the Libya campaign. In addition, astrophysicist Neil deGrasse Tyson made the case for a reinvigorated space program, Robert Putnam and David Campbell analyzed the role of religion in American politics, and David Bell explored the life and contemporary significance of Cardinal Richelieu. Other notable articles included a counterintuitive argument by Micah Zenko and Michael Cohen on the plentiful security of the contemporary international environment and a damning survey of post-American Iraq by CFR Murrow Fellow Ned Parker.

The May/June issue continued this diversity of offerings. It featured traditional fare such as guidance on the future of the U.S. Army by Chief of Staff Raymond Odierno, an authoritative analysis of the Obama administration's foreign policy by Martin Indyk, Kenneth Lieberthal, and Michael O'Hanlon, and a look at developments in Europe by Andrew Moravcsik. At the same time, it led with an excerpt of a new translation of a two-thousand-year-old guide to political campaigning by Quintus Tullius Cicero accompanied by a commentary from political consultant James Carville, and included articles on topics such as noncommunicable diseases, climate change, and renewable energy. A critique of Keynesian analyses of the recession by economist Raghuram Rajan made a particular splash.

With its greater freedom to respond to breaking events, ForeignAffairs.com showcased a flurry of articles throughout the year on timely topics such as the ongoing turbulence in the Middle East, the crack-up in Europe, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Occupy Wall Street protests, leadership transitions across the globe, and much more. With a newly dynamic Web operation generating two to three fresh online items every weekday, the site saw a surge in traffic and attention, repeatedly hitting new all-time highs and beginning to fulfill its potential as an important driver of public debate.

Having released our first ebook in late spring 2011—The New Arab Revolt, a joint effort with CFR—in late summer we released our second, The U.S. vs. al Qaeda: A History of the War on Terror. At the end of the year we published our third, The Clash of Ideas: The Ideological Battles that Made the Modern World—And Will Shape the Future. In January 2012, the complete Foreign Affairs archives were made available online, with nine thematic collections of highlights presented as an introduction. And a growing series of live events sponsored by the magazine—including author panels, debates, business-oriented investment conferences, and media partnerships with other institutions—has extended our reach on the ground as well.

The magazine's performance on the business side over recent decades has been stellar, and this year continued that trend. *Foreign Affairs* is a unique phenomenon—a niche publication that also has broad appeal. Unlike most intellectual publications, the magazine remains consistently in the black, rather than being subsidized, as are most serious publications. The bulk of our revenue comes from subscriptions and single-copy sales, while advertising and ancillary products contribute significantly. In recent years, *Foreign Affairs* has evolved from a professional journal into a broad multimedia forum that now serves a diverse annual audience of three million.

Paid readership of the bimonthly magazine is at an all-time high of 175,000, including those who read it in print, in a digital facsimile edition, and over the Kindle and other ereaders. Readership of ForeignAffairs.com is also at a high. In the first half of 2012, the site attracted

With its greater freedom to respond to breaking events, ForeignAffairs.com showcased a flurry of articles throughout the year on timely topics.

Foreign Affairs



Foreign Affairs Editor Gideon Rose with renowned political scientist Francis Fukuyama at the Foreign Affairs LIVE event "The Future of History."

3.2 million unique visitors and 11 million page views. More than 175,000 readers follow *Foreign Affairs* on social media (including Twitter and Facebook), more than 100,000 subscribe to our free weekly enewsletter, and our *Foreign Affairs* videos on YouTube have been viewed more than 150,000 times. We will continue to embrace the digital revolution in the year to come and are currently developing an app for the iPad.

A crucial architect of all this success has been publisher David Kellogg, who retired at the end of June 2012, after two and a half decades of extraordinary service in that post. His successor, Lynda Hammes, has already played a major role in recent years as deputy publisher and director of digital strategy, and we are delighted that she will be the one building on David's record.

Gideon Rose Foreign Affairs *Editor* 

Foreign Affairs 23

## Committees of the Board

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Robert E. Rubin, Co-Chair
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Vice Chair
Peter Ackerman
Mary McInnis Boies
Tom Brokaw
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Martin S. Feldstein
Stephen Friedman
Donna J. Hrinak
Joseph S. Nye Jr.
James W. Owens
David M. Rubenstein

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\* Term Member † Ex officio

*Note:* Committee listing shown as of June 30, 2012.

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David A. Hunt
Mel M. Immergut
Virginia Ann Kamsky
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Ira A. Lipman
Jami Miscik
Jeffrey A. Rosen
Thakur Sharma
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#### **MEETINGS**

Tom Brokaw, Chair Fouad Ajami Deborah S. Amos Lisa Anderson Mark A. Angelson Monica Crowley Kim Gordon Davis Kenneth Quinn Fionda\* Galen J. Guengerich J. Tomilson Hill Alan Kent Jones Zachary Karabell Amber D. Miller\* Richard L. Plepler Thomas L. Pulling Carla Anne Robbins Gideon Rose† E. John Rosenwald Arthur Mark Rubin George Rupp

David Shuman Alan M. Silberstein Calvin G. Sims Elliott Stein Anne M. Tatlock Alice S. Victor Stephen R. Volk Maureen White James D. Zirin

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Reuben E. Brigerty
Loren Douglass
Laura L. Efros
Mercedes C. Fitchett
Scott Holcomb
José Ignacio Lozano
M. Diana Helweg Newton
Keith R. Nilsson
Celina B. Realuyo
Nancy E. Soderberg
Scott L. Swid
George H. Young III

Committees of the Board

#### NATIONAL PROGRAM

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Pearl T. Robinson Donna E. Shalala

Ted Van Dyk Marsha Vande Berg Jay M. Vogelson David B. Weinberg

Philip W. Yun

#### NOMINATING AND *GOVERNANCE*

Mary McInnis Boies, Chair Madeleine K. Albright, Vice Chair

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Sylvia Mathews Burwell Kenneth M. Duberstein

Nancy A. Jarvis Kenneth I. Juster

Maria Elena Lagomasino Edward J. Mathias

Jami Miscik

Theodore Roosevelt IV Stanley S. Shuman

G. Richard Thoman

R. Keith Walton

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\* Term Member †Ex officio

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Peter Ackerman, Chair Gordon M. Adams Madeleine K. Albright Pauline H. Baker Teresa C. Barger David G. Bradley Nelson W. Cunningham Kenneth M. Duberstein Marsha A. Echols

Lauri J. Fitz-Pegado Michael H. Haltzel Darin E. Johnson Karen H. Johnson Thea M. Lee Carl L. Meacham Montgomery C. Meigs

Norman P. Neureiter Colin L. Powell Peter R. Rosenblatt

Stanley O. Roth Kori Schake

Frances Fragos Townsend

Committees of the Board 25

## 2012 Board Election and Appointments

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

Directors with terms expiring on June 30, 2012, were Fouad Ajami, Sylvia Mathews Burwell, Kenneth M. Duberstein, Stephen Friedman, Carla A. Hills, Jami Miscik, and Robert E. Rubin.

The Nominating and Governance Committee was composed of Mary McInnis Boies (Chair), Madeleine K. Albright, Sylvia Mathews Burwell, Kenneth M. Duberstein, Nancy A. Jarvis, Kenneth I. Juster, Maria Elena Lagomasino, Edward J. Mathias, Jami Miscik, Theodore Roosevelt IV, Stanley S. Shuman, G. Richard Thoman, R. Keith Walton, and Christine Todd Whitman. On December 6, 2011, the Chair invited the Council membership to propose possible candidates. The Nominating and Governance Committee met on February 22, 2012, to consider the pool of names suggested by Council members for the three elective vacancies. Mindful of its mandate to consider "the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation, and professional background," the Nominating and Governance Committee developed the following slate of nominees for the Class of 2017: Sylvia Mathews Burwell, Dan E. Caldwell, Peter B. Henry, Karen Parker Feld, Mona K. Sutphen, and Margaret G. Warner. (Incumbent directors eligible to serve another term recused themselves from deliberations on their own candidacies.) On March 23, 2012, Council members were notified of the slate and of the petition process available to them in accordance with the By-Laws. No petition candidate was put forth. A ballot was sent to all Council members on May 1, 2012.

At the Annual Meeting for the Election of Directors on June 5, 2012, 1,624 members participated in person or by proxy, fulfilling the quorum required by By-Law V. No name was written on thirty or more ballots cast at the meeting, and, therefore, no one was nominated for the 2013 election by the write-in procedure outlined in the By-Laws. Sarah A.W. Fitts, Ernest T. Patrikis, and Nancy Young served as election overseers. The following nominees were elected for five-year terms beginning July 1, 2012, and expiring June 30, 2017: Sylvia Mathews Burwell, Peter B. Henry, and Margaret G. Warner.

At its June 14 meeting, the Board also appointed four Council members to serve five-year terms as Directors in the Class of 2017, beginning July 1, 2012, and expiring June

30, 2017: Stephen Friedman, Carla A. Hills, Jami Miscik, and Robert E. Rubin. Two additional directors were appointed: Muhtar Kent to fill a vacancy in the Class of 2016, and Vin Weber to the Class of 2014 to replace Henry R. Kravis, who stepped down on June 30, 2012. Carla A. Hills and Robert E. Rubin were reappointed as co-chairs and David M. Rubenstein was appointed vice chairman.

## Historical Roster of Directors and Officers

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Isaiah Bowman	1921–50	Charles M. Spofford	1955–72	Graham T. Allison Jr.	1979–88
Archibald Cary Coolidge	1921–28	Adlai E. Stevenson	1958–62	Richard L. Gelb	1979–88
Paul D. Cravath	1921–40	William C. Foster	1959–72	William D. Ruckelshaus	1979–83
John W. Davis	1921–55	Caryl P. Haskins	1961–75	James F. Hoge Jr.	1980–84
Norman H. Davis	1921–44	James A. Perkins	1963–79	William D. Rogers	1980–90
Stephen P. Duggan	1921–50	William P. Bundy	1964–74	George P. Shultz	1980-82
John H. Finley	1921–29	Gabriel Hauge	1964-81	Lewis T. Preston	1981-88
Edwin F. Gay	1921-45	Carroll L. Wilson	1964–79	Walter B. Wriston	1981-87
David F. Houston	1921-27	Douglas Dillon	1965-78	Warren Christopher	1982-91
Otto H. Kahn	1921-34	Henry R. Labouisse	1965-74	Alan Greenspan	1982-88
Frank L. Polk	1921-43	Lucian W. Pye	1966-82	Robert A. Scalapino	1982-89
Whitney H. Shepardson	1921-66	Robert V. Roosa	1966-81	Harold Brown	1983-92
William R. Shepherd	1921–27	Bill Moyers	1967–74	Stanley Hoffmann	1983-92
Paul M. Warburg	1921–32	Alfred C. Neal	1967–76	Juanita M. Kreps	1983-89
George W. Wickersham	1921–36	Cyrus R. Vance	1968–76,	Brent Scowcroft	1983-89
Allen W. Dulles	1927–69		1981–87	Clifton R. Wharton Jr.	1983–92
Russell C. Leffingwell	1927–60	Hedley Donovan	1969–79	Donald F. McHenry	1984–93
George O. May	1927–53	Najeeb E. Halaby	1970–72	B. R. Inman	1985–93
Wesley C. Mitchell	1927–34	Bayless Manning	1971–77	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1985–94
Owen D. Young	1927–40	W. Michael Blumenthal	1972–77,	Charles McC. Mathias Jr.	
Hamilton Fish Armstrong		W. Wilchael Diumenthal	1979–84	Ruben F. Mettler	1986–92
Charles P. Howland	1929–31	Zbigniew Brzezinski	1972–77	Peter Tarnoff	1986–93
Walter Lippmann	1932–37	Elizabeth Drew	1972–77	James E. Burke	1987–95
Clarence M. Woolley	1932–37	George S. Franklin	1972–83	Richard B. Cheney	1987–93
Frank Altschul	1934–72	Marshall D. Shulman	1972–83	Richard B. Cheney	1993–95
		Martha Redfield Wallace		Robert F. Erburu	
Philip C. Jessup Harold W. Dodds	1934–42	Paul C. Warnke	1972–82	Karen Elliott House	1987–98
	1935–43		1972–77	Karen Elliott House	1987–98,
Leon Fraser	1936–45	Peter G. Peterson	1973–83,		2003–2008
John H. Williams	1937–64	D 1 + O A 1	1984–2007	Glenn E. Watts	1987–90
Lewis W. Douglas	1940–64	Robert O. Anderson	1974–80	Thomas S. Foley	1988–94
Edward Warner	1940–49	Edward K. Hamilton	1974–83	James D. Robinson III	1988–91
Clarence E. Hunter	1942–53	Harry C. McPherson Jr.	1974–77	Strobe Talbott	1988–93
Myron C. Taylor	1943–59	Elliot L. Richardson	1974–75	John L. Clendenin	1989–94
Henry M. Wriston	1943–67	Nicholas deB. Katzenbach		William S. Cohen	1989–97
Thomas K. Finletter	1944–67	Paul A. Volcker	1975–79,	Joshua Lederberg	1989–98
William A.M. Burden	1945–74		1988–99	John S. Reed	1989–92
Walter H. Mallory	1945–68	Franklin Hall Williams	1975–83	Alice M. Rivlin	1989–92
Philip D. Reed	1945–69	Theodore M. Hesburgh	1976–85	William J. Crowe Jr.	1990–93
Winfield W. Riefler	1945–50	Lane Kirkland	1976–86	Thomas R. Donahue	1990–2001
David Rockefeller	1949–85	George H.W. Bush	1977–79	Richard C. Holbrooke	1991–93,
W. Averell Harriman	1950–55	Lloyd N. Cutler	1977–79		1996–99,
Joseph E. Johnson	1950–74	Philip L. Geyelin	1977–87		2001–2009
Grayson Kirk	1950-73	Henry A. Kissinger	1977–81	Robert D. Hormats	1991-2004
Devereux C. Josephs	1951–58	Winston Lord	1977–85	John E. Bryson	1992-2002
Elliott V. Bell	1953–66	Stephen Stamas	1977–89	Kenneth W. Dam	1992-2001
John J. McCloy	1953-72	Marina v.N. Whitman	1977-87	Maurice R. Greenberg	1992-2002,
Arthur H. Dean	1955–72	C. Peter McColough	1978–87		2004–2009
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Karen N. Horn	1992–95	Joseph S. Nye Jr.	2004–	Douglas Dillon	1976–78
James R. Houghton	1992–96	Fareed Zakaria	2004–	Carroll L. Wilson	1978–79
Charlayne Hunter-Gault		Peter Ackerman	2005–	Warren Christopher	1987–91
Donna E. Shalala	1992–93	Charlene Barshefsky	2005–2010	Harold Brown	1991–92
Paul A. Allaire	1993–2002	Stephen W. Bosworth	2005–2009	B. R. Inman	1992–93
Robert E. Allen	1993–96	Tom Brokaw	2005-	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1993–94
Richard N. Cooper	1993–94	David M. Rubenstein	2005-	Maurice R. Greenberg	1994–2002
E. Gerald Corrigan	1993–95	Frank J. Caufield	2006–2010	Carla A. Hills	2001–2007
Alton Frye	1993	Ann M. Fudge	2006-	William J. McDonough	2002-2003
Leslie H. Gelb	1993–2001,	Alberto Ibargüen	2006-	Robert E. Rubin	2003-2007
	2002-2003	Henry R. Kravis	2006-2012	Richard E. Salomon	2007-
Rita E. Hauser	1993–97	James W. Owens	2006-	David M. Rubenstein	2012-
Theodore C. Sorensen	1993-2004	Colin M. Powell	2006-		
Garrick Utley	1993-2003	Christine Todd Whitman	2006–	HONORARY	
Carla A. Hills	1994–	Sylvia Mathews Burwell	2007-	VICE CHAIRMAN	
Helene L. Kaplan	1994–96	Stephen Friedman	2007-	Maurice R. Greenberg	2002-
Frank G. Zarb	1994–96	Jami Miscik	2007-		
Robert B. Zoellick	1994-2001	Alan S. Blinder	2008-	PRESIDENTS	
Les Aspin	1995	J. Tomilson Hill	2008-	John W. Davis	1921-33
Mario L. Baeza	1995-2001	Shirley Ann Jackson	2008-	George W. Wickersham	1933–36
Peggy Dulany	1995–2003	George Rupp	2008–	Norman H. Davis	1936–44
Jessica P. Einhorn	1995–2005	David G. Bradley	2009–	Russell C. Leffingwell	1944–46
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.	1995–2005	Donna J. Hrinak	2009–	Allen W. Dulles	1946–50
Hannah Holborn Gray	1995–98	Penny S. Pritzker	2009–	Henry M. Wriston	1951–64
William J. McDonough	1995–2004	Frederick W. Smith	2009–	Grayson Kirk	1964–71
George J. Mitchell	1995–2005	John P. Abizaid	2010–	Bayless Manning	1971–77
Frank Savage	1995–2003	Mary McInnis Boies	2010-	Winston Lord	1977–85
George Soros	1995–2002	Pamela Brooks Gann	2010-	John Temple Swing*	1985–86
Lee Cullum	1995–2004	Thomas H. Glocer	2010-	Peter Tarnoff	1985–80
Vincent A. Mai			2011-		
	1997–2003	Eduardo J. Padrón		Alton Frye Leslie H. Gelb	1993
Warren B. Rudman	1997–2005	Peter B. Henry	2012-		1993–2003
Laura D'Andrea Tyson	1997–2007	Muhtar Kent	2012-	Richard N. Haass	2003–
Roone Arledge	1998–2002	Margaret G. Warner	2012–	PRESIDENT EMERI	THS
Martin S. Feldstein	1998–2008,	CHAIRMEN OF THE	ROARD		
D D 1	2009–			Leslie H. Gelb	2003–
Bette Bao Lord	1998–2003	Russell C. Leffingwell	1946–53	HONORARY PRESII	DENTS
Michael H. Moskow	1998–2008	John J. McCloy	1953–70		
Diane Sawyer	1998–99	David Rockefeller	1970–85	Elihu Root	1921–37
John Deutch	1999–2004	Peter G. Peterson	1985–2007	Henry M. Wriston	1964–78
Robert E. Rubin	2000–	Carla A. Hills		EXECUTIVE	
Andrew Young	2000–2005	(Co-Chairman)	2007–		
Henry S. Bienen	2001–2011	Robert E. Rubin		VICE PRESIDENTS	
Kenneth M. Duberstein	2001–2012	(Co-Chairman)	2007–	John Temple Swing	1986–93
Joan E. Spero	2001–2011		TILO	Michael P. Peters	2002–2005
Vin Weber	2001–2011,	CHAIRMAN EMERI	TUS	Keith Olson	2012-
	2012-	Peter G. Peterson	2007-		
Fouad Ajami	2002-2012			CHIEF FINANCIAL	OFFICERS
Jeffrey L. Bewkes	2002-2006	HONORARY CHAIR	MEN	Kenneth Castiglia	2009-2011
Ronald L. Olson	2002-2010	John J. McCloy	1970-1989	Keith Olson	2012-
Thomas R. Pickering	2002-2007	David Rockefeller	1985-		
Helene D. Gayle	2003-2008			CHIEF INFORMATI	
Richard N. Haass	2003-	VICE CHAIRMEN		OFFICER AND PUBL	LISHER
Richard E. Salomon	2003-	OF THE BOARD		David Kellogg	2010-2012
Anne-Marie Slaughter	2003-2009	Grayson Kirk	1971–73		
Madeleine K. Albright	2004-	Cyrus R. Vance	1973–76,		
Richard N. Foster	2004-2009	•	1985–87	* pro-tempore	
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SENIOR VICE PRESIDENTS		EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS		Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96
Alton Frye	1993-98	Hamilton Fish		Kenneth R. Maxwell	1996
Kenneth H. Keller	1993-95	Armstrong	1922-28	Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98
Larry L. Fabian	1994–95	Malcolm W. Davis	1925-27	Lawrence J. Korb	1998–2002
Michael P. Peters	1995-2002	Walter H. Mallory	1927-59	Michael P. Peters	2002–2003
Paula Dobriansky	2001	George S. Franklin	1953-71	James M. Lindsay	2003–2006,
Charles G. Boyd	2001-2002	0			2009–
David Kellogg	2002-2010	SECRETARIES		Gary Samore	2006–2009
Janice L. Murray	2002-2009	Edwin F. Gay	1921-33	DIRECTORS OF ME	ETINGS
James M. Lindsay	2009-	Allen W. Dulles	1933–44		
ULGE DD EGID ENÆG		Frank Altschul	1944–72	George S. Franklin	1949–50
VICE PRESIDENTS		John Temple Swing	1972–87	William Henderson	1952–54,
Paul D. Cravath	1921–33	Judith Gustafson	1987–2000	MILLO	1955–56
Norman H. Davis	1933–36	Lilita V. Gusts	2000–2010	Melvin Conant	1954–55,*
Edwin F. Gay	1933–40	Jeffrey A. Reinke	2010-		1956–57,*
Frank L. Polk	1940–43	HONODADVCECDE	TADV	Carra VII Maralan III	1957–59
Russell C. Leffingwell	1943–44	HONORARY SECRE		George V.H. Moseley III	1959–62
Allen W. Dulles	1944–46	Frank Altschul	1972–1981	Harry Boardman	1962–69
Isaiah Bowman	1945–49	TDEACHDEDC		Zygmunt Nagorski Jr.	1969–78
David Rockefeller	1950–70	TREASURERS		Marilyn Berger	1978–79
Henry M. Wriston	1950–51	Edwin F. Gay	1921–33	Margaret	1070 02
Frank Altschul	1951–71	Whitney H. Shepardson	1933–42	Osmer-McQuade	1979–93
Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52	Clarence E. Hunter	1942–51	Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98
David W. MacEachron	1972–74	Devereux C. Josephs	1951–52	Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–2005
John Temple Swing	1972–86	Elliott V. Bell	1952–64	Nancy D. Bodurtha	2005–
Alton Frye	1987–93	Gabriel Hauge	1964–81		
William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89	Peter G. Peterson	1981–85		
John A. Millington	1987–96	C. Peter McColough	1985–87		
Margaret		Lewis T. Preston	1987–88		
Osmer-McQuade	1987–93	James E. Burke	1988–89		
Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94	David Woodbridge	1989–94		
Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98	Janice L. Murray	1994–2009		
Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96	Kenneth Castiglia	2010–2011		
Abraham F. Lowenthal	1995–2005	Keith Olson	2012-		
Janice L. Murray	1995–2002	EDITORS OF			
David J. Vidal	1995–97 1996–97	FOREIGN AFFAIRS			
Frederick C. Broda					
Kenneth R. Maxwell	1996 1997–2001	Archibald Cary Coolidge	1922–20		
Paula J. Dobriansky		Hamilton Fish	1029 72		
Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98	Armstrong	1928–72 1972–84		
David Kellogg Lawrence J. Korb	1997–2002 1998–2002	William P. Bundy	1972-84		
Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–2002	William G. Hyland	1992–2010		
Elise Carlson Lewis	1998–2003	James F. Hoge Jr. Gideon Rose	2010–		
Irina A. Faskianos	2002-	Glucoli Rosc	2010-		
Robert C. Orr	2002-2003	DIRECTORS OF STU	UDIES		
James M. Lindsay	2003–2006	Percy W. Bidwell	1937–53		
Lisa Shields	2003-2000	Philip E. Mosely	1955–63		
Nancy E. Roman	2004–2007	Richard H. Ullman	1973–76		
Nancy D. Bodurtha	2005-	Abraham F. Lowenthal	1976–77		
Suzanne E. Helm	2005–	John C. Campbell	1977–78		
Gary Samore	2006–2009	Paul H. Kreisberg	1981–87		
Kay King	2007–2011	William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89		
L. Camille Massey	2008-	Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94		
Jan Mowder Hughes	2010-	Kenneth H. Keller*	1994–95	* pro-tempore	
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## Membership

#### *MEMBERSHIP*

The Council on Foreign Relations is first and foremost a membership organization. With nearly 4,700 members, CFR's roster includes top government officials, renowned scholars, business executives, acclaimed journalists, prominent lawyers, and distinguished nonprofit professionals. Representing a group unmatched in accomplishment and diversity in the field of international affairs, the membership is divided almost equally among those living in New York, Washington, DC, and across the country and abroad.

Members have unparalleled access to world leaders, senior government officials, members of Congress, prominent thinkers and practitioners in academia, policy, and business, and fellow CFR members. Members participate in meetings, panel discussions, interviews, lectures, book clubs, and film screenings to discuss and debate the major foreign policy issues of our time.

#### STEPHEN M. KELLEN TERM MEMBER PROGRAM

The Stephen M. Kellen Term Member Program, established in 1970 to cultivate the next generation of foreign policy leaders, encourages promising young women and men from diverse backgrounds to engage in a sustained conversation on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. Each year a new class of term members is elected to serve a five-year term. The Term Member Program has grown considerably since it was established more than forty years ago; the number of term members is now indexed at up to 15 percent of the total CFR membership. Candidates for term membership must be between the ages of thirty and thirty-six on January 1 of the year in which their election takes place. Term membership elections are held in June following the application deadline.

For more information on term membership, please visit www.cfr.org/about/term\_member\_program.

#### APPLYING FOR MEMBERSHIP

The Council seeks quality, diversity, and balance in its membership. Criteria for membership include intellectual achievement and expertise; degree of experience, interest, and current involvement in international affairs; promise of future achievement and service in foreign relations; potential contributions to CFR's work; desire and ability to participate in CFR activities; and standing among peers.

New members are named twice a year by the Board of Directors, which invites selected women and men to join based on the recommendations of the Committee on Membership. The committee, which meets twice a year, is composed of six Board members and other non-Board members appointed by the committee chair.

Candidates for membership must be nominated in writing by a current CFR member and seconded by three other individuals (maximum of four). To be considered for term membership, candidates must be nominated by a current CFR member and seconded by two other individuals (maximum of three). The roster of members is listed following this section and is regularly updated at www.cfr.org/about/membership/roster.html. It is not required that seconding letters come from CFR members, but it is strongly recommended. It is also recommended that at least one letter come from a current or former professional colleague.

All candidates must complete an online application, which can be accessed only by contacting Membership at applications@cfr.org or 212.434.9487. All materials, including nomination and seconding letters, must be submitted using the online application.

Membership in CFR is restricted to U.S. citizens (native born or naturalized) or permanent residents who have made formal application to become citizens. If foreign born, a candidate must submit a written statement that he or she has met this requirement.

For more information on the membership application process, please visit www.cfr.org/about/membership.

Membership 30

#### APPLICATION REQUIREMENTS

- Letter of nomination from a CFR member;
- Three seconding letters for membership (maximum of four) or two seconding letters for term membership (maximum of three); and
- Completion of online application.

#### SPONSORING A CANDIDATE FOR MEMBERSHIP

The Council on Foreign Relations relies on its members for their engagement, substantive contributions, and support, and counts on members to identify and nominate or second qualified prospects for membership. Membership development efforts are focused on identifying and attracting diverse leaders in international affairs across all sectors. Members are advised to commit themselves to nominating or seconding a candidate only when they are confident the requirements of the process can be met.

Members should write only in support of candidates whom they know personally. Additionally, members are encouraged to make comparative judgments about candidates where appropriate. The committee also advises members to write no more than two letters per round (either one nominating and one seconding letter or two seconding letters).

#### NOMINATING LETTERS

Candidates must be nominated by a CFR member. Thoughtful, candid, and succinct comments are far more important than formal endorsements. The first paragraph of a nomination letter must include a clear and comprehensive statement about the nature of the relationship between the candidate and the letter writer. Nomination letters should be no more than five hundred words and 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; and
- standing among peers.

#### SECONDING LETTERS

Seconding letters need not be as comprehensive but should state why the candidate should be considered for CFR membership based on the criteria above with an emphasis on "standing among peers." Letter writers should also provide relevant information that might not be included in a candidate's CV or the nomination letter. The first paragraph of seconding letters must include a clear and comprehensive statement about the nature of the relationship between the candidate and the letter writer. As with nomination letters, thoughtful, candid, and succinct comments are far more important in seconding letters than formal endorsements. It is not required that seconding letters come from current CFR members, but it is strongly recommended.

#### ADDITIONAL RULES AND REGULATIONS TO CONSIDER

Candidates or their nominators are responsible for ensuring that all required application materials are submitted by the filing deadlines. Please also note the following:

- Officers of CFR as well as members of the Board of Directors and Committee on Membership are precluded from nominating or writing seconding letters on any candidate's behalf.
- A spouse, close relative (parent, sibling, cousin, or the like), or near in-law of a candidate may
  not formally nominate or second that candidate for CFR membership. Members should also
  refrain from writing on behalf of clients.
- CFR visiting fellows are prohibited from applying for membership until they have completed their fellowship tenure.

#### DEADLINES, CANDIDATE NOTIFICATION, AND REACTIVATION

Strict observance of deadlines is essential to staff support of the Committee on Membership's work. Applications not completed prior to the deadline for any given committee meeting will not

Membership 31

be considered at that time. All membership candidates and their nominators will receive notification of the committee's decisions according to the schedule below.

	APPLICATION	
	DEADLINE	NOTIFICATION
Membership	March 1	late June
	October 1	mid-February
Term Membership	November 1	late June

Candidates who are held over (not elected) at any given committee meeting may remain eligible for consideration at subsequent meetings. An application may be reactivated by submitting an updated CV and basic information, using the online application, and securing a minimum of one and a maximum of three additional seconding letters that provide new insights that would be helpful in the selection process. It is not required that seconding letters come from current CFR members, but it is strongly recommended. The original nomination letter as well as seconding letters submitted in previous applications will remain on file for a period of ten years. Candidates may submit new letters from previous letter writers only when new content is included.

If a candidate is not elected after two consecutive meetings, the application will be placed on hold for a period of three years for membership candidates and one year for term membership candidates. After the hold period, the candidate may reactivate the file for consideration. For term membership applicants, the hold period does not apply if a candidate would be ineligible to reapply due to age.

For more information on nominating a candidate or to learn more about applying for membership, please contact Nancy D. Bodurtha, vice president, meetings and membership, at 212.434.9466 or applications@cfr.org.

#### PROFILE OF THE MEMBERSHIP

Since July 2011, CFR membership has grown by 2 percent, from 4,591 to 4,681 members. Member records are maintained by CFR at 58 East 68th Street, New York, NY 10065.

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	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERSHIP
Location		
New York Area	1,519	33
Washington, DC, Area	1,469	31
National/International	1,693	36
Total	4,681	100
Vocation		
Business	1,473	31
Professors, Fellows,	,	
and Researchers	883	19
Nonprofit and		
International Organizations	695	15
Government	464	10
Law	245	5
University and College		
Administrators	264	6
Journalists, Correspondents,		
and Editors	209	4
Other	448	10
Total	4,681	100

Membership 32

## Membership Roster

AAaron, David L. Abbot, C. Spencer\* Abbot, Charles S. Abbot, Laura Winthrop Abbott, Kimberly M. Abboud, A. Robert Abboud, Labeeb M. Abdalla, Alyce Abell, Keith W. Abercrombie-Winstanley, Abernethy, Robert John Abizaid, John P. Aboelnaga Kanaan, Mona Abraham, David Abrahams, Tara Balmaceda† Abramowitz, Michael J. Abramowitz, Morton I. Abrams, Elliott Abrams, William M. Abshire, David M. Abuaf, Niso Aburdene, Odeh F. Ackerman, Elliot L.† Ackerman, Peter Adams, Gordon M. Adams, Jacqueline Adams, Marjorie A. Adams, Michael F. Adams, Robert McCormick Adams, Timothy Dees Adams-Ender, Clara L. Adashi, Eli Y. Addonizio, Elizabeth Adelman, Carol C. Adkerson, Richard C. Adkins, Travis Adler, Allen R. Adler, Stephen J.\*

\* Elected to membership in 2012. † Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012. Note: Membership shown as of

July 1, 2012.

Afkhami, Amir Agarwal, Sara R. Agarwal, Sumit Aggarwal, Vinod K. Agostinelli, Robert F. Aguiar, Eric Ahern, Stephanie R.\* Ahmed, Salman S.\* Ahuja, Sanjiv Aidinoff, M. Bernard Ajami, Fouad Akhavi, Negar† Albright, Alice P. Albright, Madeleine K. Alderman, Michael H. Aldrich, George H. Alexander, Aileen K. Alexander, John R. Alexander, Margo N. Alfonzo, Rafael Alford, William P. Allaire, Paul A. Allbritton, Joe L. Allen, Dan† Allen, Jodie T. Allen, John R. Allen, Ionathan Allen, Richard V. Allen, Thad W. Allen, William L. Allibhoy, Faheen Allison, Graham T. Almond, Michael A. Alonzo, Anne L. Alter, Jonathan H. Alter, Karen J. Alterman, Jon B. Altman, Daniel Altman, Drew Altman, Roger C. Altman, William C. Altshuler, David Alvarez, Jose E. Alving, Amy E. Amir-Mokri, Cyrus\* Ammori, Marvin

Amos, Deborah Susan

Anand, Manpreet Singh Andelman, David A. Andersen, Harold W. Anderson, Christine L. Anderson, Craig B. Anderson, Desaix Anderson, Edward G. III Anderson, Gloria B. Anderson, John B. Anderson, Lisa Anderson, Mark A. Anderson, Paul F. Anderson, Wendy R.\* Andreas, Terry Lynn Andrews, David R. Andrews, Michael A. Angelson, Mark A. Ansour, M. Michael Anthony, John Duke Aossey, Nancy A. Apgar, David P. Aponte, Mari Carmen Appiah, Kwame A. Applebaum, Anne E. Aquila, Francis J. Arbess, Daniel J.\* Arcos, Cresencio S. Arend, Anthony Clark Argov, Gideon Arkin, Stanley S. Armacost, Michael H. Armstrong, Charles Michael Armstrong, Lloyd Jr. Arnhold, Henry H. Aron, Adam M. Arons, Melinda S. Aronson, Bernard W. Aronson, Jonathan David Arsenian, Deana Arsht, Adrienne Art, Robert J. Arthurs, Alberta Artigiani, Carole Asgard, Ramin Assousa, George E.

Atkin, Rebecca Atkins, Betsy S. Atkinson, Caroline Atuahene, Bernadette Atwood, I. Brian Auer, James E. Auerbach, Michael B. Auerbach, Paul S. Aufhauser, David D. Auguste, Byron Gerald Augustine, Norman R. Auspitz, Josiah Lee Ausubel, Jesse H. Avedon, John F. Avery, John E. Avni. Ronit Awuah, Patrick G. Jr. Axelrod, Robert M. Ayers, H. Brandt Ayón, David R. Ayres, Alyssa Ayyar, Balan Rama Azim, Khalid Azimi, Shad

#### В

Babbitt, Bruce Babbitt, Eileen F. Babbitt, Harriet C. Babcock-Lumish, Terry L.† Bacchus, James L. Bacevich, Andrew J. Bacha, Julia† Bader, Christine\* Bader, William B. Baer, Donald A. Bagley, Bruce M. Bagley, Elizabeth Frawley Bahar, Michael Bailey, Jed Bailey, Ronald Lewis Bains, Leslie E. Baird, Peter W. Baker, Amy Baker, Arnold B. Baker, Audrey H. Baker, Howard H. Jr.

Athreya, Bama

Baker, James A. III Baker, James H. Baker, John R. Baker, Pauline H. Baker, Stewart A. Baker, Thurbert E. Bakhash, Shaul Bakstansky, Peter Balaran, Paul Baldwin, David A. Baldwin, Sherman Baldwin Moody, Carol Bales, Carter F. Balick, Kenneth Baliles, Gerald L. Ballou-Aares, Daniella Balstad, Roberta Band, Laurence M. Bandler, Donald K. Banga, Ajaypal Singh Bansal, Preeta D. Barany, Zoltan Barbacci, Francesco Carlo† Barber, Benjamin R. Barbour, Haley Barcott, Rye Bardel, William G. Barger, Teresa C. Barkan, Joel D. Barkey, Henri J. Barlick, Robert T. Jr.† Barnes, Harry G. Jr. Barnes, Michael D. Barnett, F. William Barnett, Michael Nathan Barnett, Robert B. Barno, David William Barrett, Barbara McConnell Barrett, John Adams Barron, Michael J. Barry, Grace Barry, John L. Barry, Lisa B. Barry, Nancy M. Barry, Thomas Corcoran Barshay, Jill J. Barshefsky, Charlene Bartholomew, Reginald Bartiromo, Maria S. Bartlett, Joseph W. Bartlett, Richard Allen

\* Elected to membership in 2012.

Bartlett, Timothy J

Bartley, Edith Lynn Bartolomei, Jason E. Bartsch, David A. Basek, John T. Basora, Adrian A. Bass, Gary J. Bass, Peter E. Bass, Warren Basu, Pat† Batkin, Alan R. Bator, Francis M. Battaglia, Charles C. Baxter, Randolph Bayh, Evan Bayrasli, Elmira Bean, Frank D. Bearg, Nancy J. Beattie, Richard I. Beatty, Warren Becker, Elizabeth H. Beckler, David Z. Beckmann, David Bedrosian, Gregory R. Beehner, Lionel Beeman, Richard E. Behringer, Michael P. Beim, David O. Beim, Nicholas F. Bekavac, Nancy Yavor Belfer, Robert A. Bell. Alexandra F.† Bell, Burwell B. III Bell, Gordon P. Bell, Joseph C. Bell, Peter Dexter Bell. Robert G. Bell, Ruth Greenspan Bell, Steve Bell, Thomas D. Jr. Bellamy, Carol Bellinger, John B. III Bellows, Ben Bell-Rose, Stephanie K. Belsky, Leah† Bender, Gerald J. Bender, Lawrence Benedict, Keith W.† Benedict, Kennette M. Benioff, Marc Russell Bennet, Douglas J. Bennett, Andrew Owen Bennett, Christina A. Bennett, Susan J. Benshoof, Janet

Benson, Lucy Wilson

Bereuter, Douglas K.

Bergen, Peter Lampert Berger, Joshua Adam Berger, Marilyn Berger, Samuel R. Berger, Suzanne Berggruen, Nicolas Bergman, Lowell A. Bergsten, C. Fred Berkley, Seth F. Berkowitz, Bruce Berkowitz, Elana Berkowitz, Howard P. Berman, Howard L. Berman, Ionathan E. Bernard, Kenneth W. Berndt, John E. Bernstein, David Scott Bernstein, Peter W. Bernstein, Robert L. Bernstein, Tom A. Berresford, Susan Vail Berris, Jan Bersin, Alan D. Bertini, Catherine Ann Bertsch, Gary K. Bery, Priya Beshar, Peter J. Beshara, Adam Bestani, Robert M. Bestor, Theodore C. Betru, Aron† Betts, Richard K. Beutner, Austin M. Bewkes, Jeffrey Beyzavi, Kian Bhala, Raj Bhargava, Anurima Bhidé, Amar V. Bialkin, Kenneth J. Bialos, Jeffrey P. Bickford, Jewelle Biddle, George C. Biegun, Stephen Edward Biel, Eric R. Biemann, Betsy Bienen, Henry S. Bierley, John C. Biersteker, Thomas J. Biggs, John H. Biggs, Marcia Polk Fuller† Biglari, Hamid Billingsley, Lucy C. Bilmes, Linda J. Bindenagel, James D. Binkley, Nicholas Burns Binnendijk, Anika Locke†

Binnendijk, Hans Birdsall, Nancy Birkelund, John P. Bissell, Richard E. Black, Cathleen P. Black, Leon D. Black, Shirley Temple Black, Stanley Warren Blacker, Coit D. Blackwell, Blair Blackwell, J. Kenneth Blackwill, Robert D. Blake, Robert O. Blanc, Iarrett N. Blank, Jonah Blank, Stephen Blankfein, Lloyd C. Blanton, Sharie† Blechman, Barry M. Bleek, Philipp C.† Bleich, Jeffrey L. Bleier, Edward Blendon, Robert Jay Bleyer, Kevin Blinder, Alan S. Blinderman, Eric H. Blinken, Alan John Blinken, Antony J. Blinken, Donald Bloch, Julia Chang Bloom, Evan T. Bloomberg, Michael R. Bloomfield, Lincoln P. Bloomgarden, Kathy Finn Blum, Richard C. Blumenthal, Sidney S. Blumenthal, W. Michael Blumling, Mark Blumrosen, Alexander Bernet Blyth, Mark M. Bob, Daniel E. Bobbitt, Philip Chase Bodansky, Daniel M. Bodea, Andy S. Bodnar, Seth A. Bogert, Carroll R. Bohlen, Avis T. Bohn, John A. Boies, Mary McInnis Bolling, Landrum R.

Bollinger, Lee C.

Bommer, Ashley Faye

Bolton, John R.

Bond, Robert D.

Bondurant, Amy L.

Membership Roster 34

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Bonime-Blanc, Andrea Bonine, David Bonner, Robert C. Bonney, J. Dennis Booth, Carter Borden, William B.† Bordoff, Jason Erik\* Boren, David L. Borgerson, Scott G. Bork, Ellen Boschwitz, Rudy Bosworth, Stephen W. Botts, John C. Boufford, Jo Ivey Boughner, Devry S. Bouis, Antonina W. Boulware-Miller, Kay Boustany, Charles W. Jr. Bouton, Marshall M. Bovin, Denis A. Bower, Joseph Lyon Bower, Whitney Bowles, Erskine B. Boyd, Charles Graham Boyer, Spencer Phipps Bracken, Paul Bradbury, Darcy E.\* Braddock, Richard S. Brademas, John Bradford, Nichol Rae Bradford, Zeb B. Jr. Bradley, Bill Bradley, David G. Brady, Linda Parrish Brady, Nicholas F. Brady, Rose Brainard, Lael Bramwell, Elizabeth R. Branch, Daniel H. Branscomb, Lewis M. Branson, Louise Braswell, Kimberly Brauchli, Marcus W. Braunschvig, David Brautigam, Deborah A. Brazeal, Aurelia E. Breck, Henry R. Breed, Henry Eltinge III Bremer, L. Paul III Bremmer, Ian A. Brenner, Kieran† Brenner, Lee J.†

Breslauer, George William Brewer, John D. Breyer, Stephen G. Briger, Peter L. Jr. Brigety, Reuben Earl II Brill, Steven D. Brillembourg, Clara E.† Brilliant, Larry Brimley, Shawn William† Brimmer, Andrew F. Brimmer, Esther Diane Brinker, Nancy Goodman\* Brinkley, Douglas G. Britell, Jenne K.\* Britt, David V.B. Britt, Glenn A. Broad, Robin Broadman, Harry G. Broadwell, Paula D. Brock, Steven Vernon Brockmann, Heidi A.† Broda, Frederick C. Brodsky, William J. Brody, Christopher W. Brody, Kenneth D. Brokaw, Tom Bronfman, Edgar Jr. Bronfman, Edgar M. Bronner, Ethan S. Bronson, Rachel Brookins, Carole L. Brose, Christian Brosens, Frank P. Broughton, Christopher Nicholas† Brower, Charles N. Brown, Alice Lynn Brown, Bartram S. Brown, Binta Niambi Brown, Carroll Brown, Frederic J. Brown, Gwendolyn A. Brown, Harold Brown, Jonathan A.C. Brown, Katherine Brown, Katherine A. Brown, Kathleen Brown, Leon Carl Brown, Lester R. Brown, Michael Brown, Michael E. Brown, Richard P. Jr. Brown, Seyom Brown Weiss, Edith Browning, David S.

Bruce, Judith

Brun, Leslie A. Bruno, Greg Bruton, Bronwyn E. Bryan, Greyson L. Bryant, Michael E. Bryant, Ralph C. Bryson, John E. Brzezinski, Mark F. Brzezinski, Mika Brzezinski, Zbigniew Buaron, Roberto Buchanan, Scott C.† Buchman, Mark Edward Bucknam, Mark A. Budinger, William Budinger, Zoe Baird Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce Buergenthal, Thomas Bullock, Mary Brown Bumpas, Stuart Maryman Bundy, William D. Bunzel, Jeffrey H. Burand, Deborah K. Burgess, John A. Burke, James E. Burke-White, William W.† Burks, Jonathan W. Burnett, Dale A. Burnett, Erin Isabelle Burnham, Christopher Bancroft Burns, Patrick Owen Burns, R. Nicholas Burns, William J. Burrows, Mathew Burt, Richard R. Burton, Daniel F. Jr. Burwell, Sylvia Mathews Busby, Joshua W. Bush, Mary K. Bush, Richard Clarence III Bushell, Andrew† Bussey, John C. Butler, Paul W. Butler, Samuel C. Butler, William J. Buultjens, Ralph Buxbaum, Richard M. Buyske, Gail Byrne, Patrick M. Byrnes, Maureen K.

C

Cabrera, Ángel Cáceres, Diane Alleva Caesar, Camille M.

Caggins, Myles Barry III Cahill, Kevin M. Cahn, Ionathan D. Calabia, Dawn T. Calabia, F. Christopher Calabresi, Massimo F.T. Calder, Kent Eyring Caldera, Louis E. Caldwell. Dan Edward Caldwell, William B. IV\* Calhoun, Craig J. Califano, Joseph A. Jr. Califano, Mark Gerard Callaghy, Thomas M. Callander, Robert J. Callen, Michael A. Calleo, David Patrick Cambria, Salvatore F. Camp, Roderic Ai Campbell, Carolyn Margaret Campbell, Colin G. Campbell, Elizabeth C.\* Campbell, F. Gregory Campbell, Kurt M. Campbell, Thomas J. Cannella, Margaret Canton, Mikki Caperton, William Gaston III Cappello, Alexander L. Cappello, Juan Carlos Capus, Stephen A. Caputo, David A. Caputo, Lisa M. Carbonell, Néstor T. Cárdenas, José A. Carey, John Cari, Joseph A. Jr. Carlos, Manuel Luis Carlson, Neal David Carlson, Scott A. Carlucci, Frank C. Carmichael, William D. Carnahan, John Russell\* Carnesale, Albert Carothers, Thomas Carpenter, R. Charli Carpenter, Scott\* Carpenter, Ted Galen Carr, Earl Alexander Jr.† Carr, John W. Carrington, Walter C. Carroll, J. Speed Carruth, Reba Anne

Carson, Charles William Jr.

Carson, Johnnie

Carswell, Robert

Membership Roster 35

<sup>\*</sup> Elected to membership in 2012. † Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Carter, Aimee D. Carter, Ashton B. Carter, Barry E. Carter, James Earl Carter, James H. Carter, Mark Andrew Carter, Marshall Nichols Carter, Phillip Cartwright, James P. II\* Caruso-Cabrera, Michelle\* Casey, Claire Cashin, Stephen D. Casper, Gerhard Cassel, Douglass W. Jr. Cassell, Gail H. Cattarulla, Elliot R. Caufield, Frank J. Caulfield, Matthew P. Cavanagh, Richard Edward Cavanaugh, Carey Cave, Ray Charles Caverley, Jonathan D. Cayten, Megan Reilly CdeBaca, Luis Celeste, Richard F. Cha, Victor D. Chadda, Maya Chai, Chuckra Chalasani Grennan, Rekha Challenor, Herschelle S. Chambers, Anne Cox Chambers, Reginald Chamie, Joseph Chan, Gerald L. Chan, Julie L. Chan, Ronnie C. Chan, Sewell Chang, David C. Chang, Gareth C.C. Chang, Joyce Chang, Juju Chanin, Clifford Chanis, Jonathan A. Chao, Angela A.\* Chao, Elaine L. Charap, Samuel Charles, Robert Bruce Charlet, Katherine Phillips Charnovitz, Steve Chartener, Robert Chase, Anthony R. Chase, Michael

\* Elected to membership in 2012.

Chatterjee, Purnendu Chatterji, Aaron K.† Chaudhary, Shamila Chaves, Robert J. Chayes, Antonia Handler Checki, Terrence J. Cheek, Marney L. Chen, John S. Chen, Kimball C. Chen, Lincoln C. Chenault, Kenneth I. Cheney, Richard B. Cheney, Stephen A. Cherian, Sai Chesler, Ellen Chesney, Robert M. Cheston, Sheila C. Chewning, Eric Chiarelli, Peter W.\* Chickering, A. Lawrence Chin, Sally Portia Chira, Susan D. Cho, Albert H. Choffnes, Eileen R. Choi, Audrey Chollet, Derek H. Chon, Julie Choubey, Deepti Choucri, Nazli Chowdhry, Aysha Afzal† Chretien, Jean-Paul Christensen, Guillermo Santiago Christensen, Stanley F. Christensen, Thomas J. Christenson, Michael I. Christianson, Geryld B. Christman, Daniel William Churchill, Bruce B. Cicerone, Ralph J. Ciorciari, John David Cirincione, Joseph Cisneros, Adriana M. Clapp, Priscilla A. Clarida, Richard H. Clark, Dick Clark, J. H. Cullum Clark, John Stephen Jr. Clark, Mark Edmond Clark, Mayree C. Clark, Noreen M. Clark, Ronald Clark, Wesley K.

Clarke, Donald C.

Clarke, Teresa Hillary

Clark-Johnson, Susan J.

Claure, Raul Marcelo Claussen, Eileen B. Clement, Peter A. Cleveland, Peter Matthews Clifford, Donald K. Ir. Clifford, Mark Lambert Cline, William R. Clinton, Chelsea† Clinton, William Jefferson Cloherty, Patricia M. Cloonan, Edward T. Clooney, George Coatsworth, John H. Cobb. Charles E. Ir. Cobb, Sue McCourt Cochran, Barbara S. Coffey, C. Shelby III Cogan, Charles G. Cohan, William David Cohen, Abby Joseph Cohen, Ariel Cohen, Benjamin J. Cohen, Betsy Cohen, Eliot A. Cohen, Herman I. Cohen, Jerome Alan Cohen, Joel E. Cohen, Richard M. Cohen, Roberta Jane Cohen, Stephen Bruce Cohen, Stephen F. Cohen, Stephen S. Cohen, Warren I. Cohen, William S. Colby, Elbridge A. Colby, Jonathan E. Cole, Jonathan R. Coleman, Isobel Coleman, Lewis W. Coleman, William T. Jr. Coles, Julius E. Coles Tull, Carmen Coll, Alberto R. Collazo, Ernest J. Collins, Jay Collins, Joseph J. Collins, Mark M. Jr. Collins, Nancy Walbridge Collins, Timothy C. Collins, Wayne Dale Colwell, Rita R. Comstock, Philip E. Jr. Conde, Cesar R. Cone, Sydney M. III Conley, Dalton Conley, Jill G.

Connelly, William Patrick Conners, Leila Anne Connolly, Gerald E. Connor, John T. Jr. Connors, Celeste Anne† Considine, Jill M. Constable, Pamela Conway, Jill Cook, Frances D. Cook, Gary M. Cooke, Goodwin Cooke, John F. Cooley, Thomas F. Coombe, George William Jr. Coon, Jane Abell Cooney, Joan Ganz Cooper, Ann K. Cooper, Charles A. Cooper, Christian Harley† Cooper, James H.S. Cooper, John Milton Jr. Cooper, Kathleen B. Cooper, Kerry Cooper, Richard N. Cooper, Walter Corbett, Bryan N. Corcoran, Andrea M. Corcoran, Carole A. Cornelius, Wayne A. Cornell, Henry Corsell, Peter L. Cortez, Christopher Cott, Suzanne Cotter, William R. Coulter, Michael Couric, Katherine A. Courtney, Alexandra Marie Courtney, Brooke Courtney, William Cousens, Elizabeth M. Covey, Jock Cowal, Sally Grooms Cowan, Geoffrey Cowhey, Peter F. Cox, Berry R. Cox, Edward F. Cox, Howard E. Jr. Cox, Jessica Lynn† Cox, Larry Richard Coy, Craig P. Craddock, Bantz J. Crahan, Margaret E. Crandall, Russell C.\* Craner, Lorne W. Crawford, John F.

Crebo-Rediker, Heidi E.

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Creed, Alexandra Wallace Creekmore, Marion V. Jr. Creighton, James L. Crichton, Kyle Crippen, Dan L. Crittenden, Ann Crnkovich, Mirko L. Crocker, Bathsheba N. Crocker, Chester A. Crocker, Ryan C. Croft, Helima L. Cromwell, Adelaide McGuinn Cronin, Audrey Kurth\* Cross, Devon G. Cross, June V. Cross, Mary S. Cross, Sam Y. Crossette, Barbara Crovitz, L. Gordon Crow, Michael M. Crowhurst, Tim J. Crowley, Monica Elizabeth Crown, Lester Cruise, Daniel Crumpton, Henry A. Cruz, Ginger M.\* Crystal, Lester M. Cuellar, Mariano-Florentino Cukier, Kenneth N.\* Cullum, Lee Culora, Thomas J. Cumming, Alfred Cumming, Christine M. Cummings, Alexander B. Jr. Cuneo, Donald Cunningham, James B. Cunningham, Nelson W. Cuomo, Scott A.† Curley, Walter J.P. Jr. Curtis, Charles B. Curtis, Gerald L. Curtis, Meghann Adrienne Cutler, Walter L. Cutshaw, Kenneth A. Cutter, W. Bowman Cyr, Arthur I. D

Daalder, Ivo H. Dady, Teresa Gail Dahan, Elizabeth

Dahm, Evelyn Pignatari Dailey, Brian D. Dakin, Brett Dal Bello, Michael Anthony Dale, Catherine M. Dale, Helle Dale, Nan Daley, William M. Dallara, Charles H. Dalley, George Albert Dallmeyer, Dorinda G. Dalton, James E. Dalton, Melissa Griffin† Daly, Sarah Zukerman Dam, Kenneth W. Dam, Marcia Wachs D'Amato, Alfonse M. Damrosch, Lori Fisler Danforth, William H. Dang Murphy, Stephanie Daniel, D. Ronald Daniel, Donald C.F. Danilovich, John J. Danin, Robert M. Danner, Mark D. Daschle, Thomas Andrew Da Silva, Joseph V.† DaSilva, Russell J. Daskal, Jennifer Caryn Daulaire, Nils M. David, Danny† David, Jack Davidson, Amy S. Davidson, Janine Anne Davidson, Peter Davis, Bradford Davis, Florence A. Davis, Geoffrey Clark Davis, Jacquelyn K. Davis, Jerome Davis, Kathryn W. Davis, Kim Gordon Davis, Lynn E. Davis, Marion Thomas Davis, Stephen B. Davis, Susan M. Davis, William Keith Davison, Kristina Perkin Dawisha, Karen Lea Dawkins, Peter M. Dawson, Christine L. Dawson, Horace G. Jr. Dawson Carr, Marion M. Day, Arthur R.

Days, Drew Saunders III

Deagle, Edwin A. Jr.

Deal, Jacqueline Newmyer Dean, Robert W. Dear, Alice M. Deason, Jennifer† Debevoise, Eli Whitney II de Borchgrave, Arnaud Debs, Barbara Knowles Debs, Richard A. DeBusk, F. Amanda DeCrane, Alfred C. Jr. Decyk, Roxanne J. Dedrick, Fred T. Deffenbaugh, Ralston H. Jr. DeFrancia, Cristian M. DeGioia, John J. de Habsburgo, Inmaculada de la Cruz, Carlos M. Sr. de Lasa, Jose M. Del Rosso, Stephen J. DeLaMater, Robert G.\* Delph, Walter Delury, John de Mel, Meera Lea de Ménil, Georges de Menil, Joy Alexandra de Ménil, Lois Pattison Deming, Rust Macpherson Deng, Francis M. Denham, Robert E. Denison, Robert J. Denning, Steven A. Dennis, Everette E. Dennis, Kirby Denoon, David B.H. Denton, Hazel Denton, James S. Dentzer, Susan DePoy, Phil E. Dergham, Raghida de Rothschild, Lynn Forester Derrick, James V. Jr. Derryck, Vivian Lowery Desai, Anand Desai, Mihir\* Desai, Padma Desai, Rohit M. Desai, Vishakha N. Desch, Michael C. DeShazer, MacArthur DeSouza, Patrick J. Despres, Gina H. Destler, I. M. de Swaan, Jean-Christophe Deutch, John Deutch, Shelley

DeVecchi, Robert P. Devine, C. Maury Devine, John J. Devine, Thomas J. de Vries, Rimmer DeYoung, Karen J. Diamond, Larry J. Diamond, Michael W. Diamond, Robert E. Jr. Diaz, Charley L. Dickey, Christopher S. Dicks, Norman D. Dickson-Horton, Valerie L. Didion, Ioan Diehl, Jackson K. Dilenschneider, Robert L. Diller, Barry DiMartino, Rita Dimon, Jamie Dine, Thomas A. Dinerstein, Robert C. Dinkins, David N. DiPerna, Paula Dirks, Nicholas Bernard Distlerath, Linda M. Diuk, Nadia Djerejian, Edward P. Dobbins, James F. Dobriansky, Paula J. Doctoroff, Daniel L. Dodd, Christopher J. Doebele, Justin W. Doerge, David J. Doggett, Martha Lyn\* Doi, Ayako Doley, Harold E. Jr. Dominguez, Jorge I. Domm, Patti Donahue, Thomas R. Donaldson, Peter J. Donaldson, Robert H. Donaldson, William H. Donatich, John E. Donehoo, Stephen C. Donfried, Karen Erika Donohoe, Charles Donohue, Laura K. Donohue, Thomas J. Sr. Doran, Charles F. Doran, Michael Scott\* Dormandy, Xenia B.M. Dory, Amanda Jean Doty, Grant R. Dougan, Diana Lady Dougherty, James P. Dougherty, Jill M.

<sup>\*</sup> Elected to membership in 2012. † Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Douglas, Michael Douglass, Loren Robert Douglass, Robert R. Dowling, John Nicholas Downie, Richard D. Doyle, Brian Joseph Doyle, Michael W. Doyle, Noreen Draper, William H. III Drayton, William Dreier, David T. Drew, Elizabeth Dreyfuss, Joel Dreyfuss, Richard S. Drezner, Daniel W. Drobnick, Richard Lee Drozdiak, William M. Drucker, Joy E. Drucker, Richard A. Druyan, Ann Dryden, Sam Duberstein, Kenneth M. Dubik, James Michael DuBois, Maurice A. Dudley, William C. Duelfer, Charles A. Duersten, Althea L. Duffey, Joseph D. Duffie, David A. Duffy, Gloria Charmian Duffy, James H. DuGan, Gordon F. Duggan, Timothy E. Duke, Robin Chandler Dulany, Peggy Dunbar, Charles F. Duncan, Charles William Jr. Duncan, Graham A. Dunigan, Patrick Andrew Dunkerley, Craig G. Dunn, Jonathan S. Dunn, Lewis A. Dunn, Michael M. Dur, Philip A. Durbin, Brent Durkin, Patrick J. Dutt, Mallika Dworkin, Douglas A. Dyer, James W. Dylan, Jesse Dynan, Karen Dyson, Esther

Е

Einhorn, Robert J.

Eizenstat, Stuart E.

Elden, Richard

Ellick, Adam B.

Elliott, Dorinda

Ellis, James Reed

Ellison, Keith Paty

El-Shazli, Heba F.

Elson, Edward E.

Emerson, John B.

Ely-Raphel, Nancy Halliday

Emanuel, Ezekiel Jonathan\*

Embree, Ainslie Thomas

Ellsberg, Daniel

Ellis, Mark S.

Ellis, Patricia

Ellis, Rodney

Eisendrath, Charles R.

Elders, Christopher C.

Elias, Christopher J.

Elliott, Inger McCabe

Emmert, Mark A. Eng, Na S. Ear, Sophal Ensor, David B. Easterly, Jennie M. Entwistle, L. Brooks Eastman, John Lindner Epstein, Jason Easum, Donald B. Epstein, Joshua M. Eberhart, Ralph E. Erb, Guy F. Eberstadt, Nicholas Erb, Richard D. Echols, Marsha A. Erbsen, Claude E. Eck, Bailey Morris Erck, Dara F.† Economy, Elizabeth C. Ercklentz, Alexander T. Ecton, Donna R. Erdmann, Andrew P.N. Eddleman, Linda Hiniker Erikson, Daniel Eddy, Randolph P. III Ervin, Clark Kent Edelman, Gerald M. Escrogima, Ana A. Edelman, Marian Wright Esfandiari, Haleh Edelman, Richard Winston Esper, Mark T. Ederle, Brendan G.† Esserman, Susan G. Edington, Mark D.W. Esty, Daniel C. Edley, Christopher Jr. Etzioni, Amitai Edmond, Micah Evans, Gail H. Edwards, George C. III Evans, Harold M. Edwards, Howard L. Evans, Peter C. Edwards, Mickey Exum, Andrew Edwards, Robert H. Edwards, Robert H. Jr. F Effron, Blair Factor, Mallory Efros, Laura L. Fair, C. Christine Egan, Julie M. Fairbanks, Richard Eggers, Jeffrey Fairman, David M. Eggers, Thomas E. Falco, Mathea Ehrenkranz, Joel S. Falk, Pamela S. Eichengreen, Barry J. Falk, Richard A. Eikenberry, Karl W. Fallon, Robert E. Einaudi, Luigi Roberto Einhorn, Jessica P.

Fallows, James Fang, Bay

Fanton, Jonathan Foster Farer, Tom J. Farkas, Evelyn N. Farman-Farmaian,

Elizabeth Worley Farmer, Thomas L. Farnum, Andrew Farrar, Jay C. Farrar, Stephen Prescott

Farrell, Diana Faskianos, Irina A. Fawaz, Leila Feigenbaum, Evan A. Feinberg, Mark B.

Feinberg, Richard E. Feiner, Ava S. Feinstein, Dianne

Feinstein, Lee Feissel. Gustave Feist, Samuel H. Feith, Douglas J. Felbab-Brown, Vanda Feldman, Daniel F.\* Feldman, Mark B. Feldstein, Martin S. Feldstein, Steven Felix, Donald Fellner, Jamie Fenton, David Fenzel, Michael R. Ferguson, Charles H. Ferguson, James L. Ferguson, Roger W. Jr. Ferguson, Tim W. Fernandez, Jose W. Fernholz, Mauricio Ferrari, Bernard Thomas Ferrari, Mario B.† Ferré, Helen Aguirre Ferré, Maurice A. Ferré Ramirez, Antonio Luis

Ferrell, Lisa Carolyn Ferrell, Robert S. Fesharaki, Fereidun Fessenden, Hart Fetter. Steve Fick, Nathaniel C. Fiedler, Jeffrey L. Fields, Bertram H. Fields, Craig I. Fife, Eugene V. Filippelli, Guy Louis Filippone, Robert J. Findakly, Hani K. Finder, Joseph Alan Findlay, D. Cameron Finelli, Francis A.

Finer, Jonathan J.

Fink, Sheri L.

Fink, Laurence D.\*

Finkelstein, Lawrence S. Finn, Edwin A. Jr. Finnemore, Martha Finney, Paul B. Fino, Steven Finucane, Anne M. Fionda, Kenneth Quinn Firestone, Charles M.

Fisch, Jacob Fisch, Mark Fischer, Betsy Fischer, Stanley

Fisher, Drosten Andrew Fisher, Julie Ann Fisher, Peter R. Fisher, Richard W.

<sup>\*</sup> Elected to membership in 2012.

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Fisher, Roger D. Fishlow, Albert Fishman, Brian Howes† Fisk. Daniel W. Fitchett, Mercedes Carmela Fitts, Sarah A.W. FitzGerald, Frances Fitzgibbons, Harold E. Fitzgibbons, John B. Fitz-Pegado, Lauri J. Flaherty, Martin S. Flaherty, Pamela P. Flaherty, Peter Flanagan, Stephen J. Fleischmann, Alan H. Fleming, Gregory James Fletcher, Denise K.\* Fletcher, Phillip Douglas Flournoy, Michèle A. Fly, Jamie M. Flynn, Carol Flynn, George J. Flynn, John Stratton† Flynn, Mary Laurence Flynn, Stephen E. Fn'Piere, Patrick John Foggo, James G. III Fogleman, Ronald R. Foley, S. Robert Jr. Foley, Thomas C. Foley, Thomas S. Folsom, George A. Fontaine, Richard H. Jr. Foote, Edward T. II Foote, William Fulbright Forbes, Kristin J. Ford, Celeste V. Ford, Harold E. Jr. Ford, Katie\* Ford, Paul B. Jr. Fore, Henrietta Holsman Forgacs, Andras Forman, Shepard L. Foroohar, Rana A. Forsythe, Rosemarie Fosler, Gail D. Foss, Michelle Michot Foster, Badi Garrett Foster, Brenda Lei Foster, Charles C. Foster, Kathleen Aldworth Foster, Richard N.

Fourquet, José A. Fowler, Jeffrey L. Fowler, Wyche Ir. Fox, Christine H. Fox. Daniel M. Fox, Donald T. Fox, Eleanor M. Fox, Merritt Baker Fox. Nicole Davison Foxman, Abraham H. Fraga Neto, Arminio Francke, Albert Frank, Andrew D. Frank, Charles R. Ir. Frank, Richard A. Frankel, Adam Bynoe\* Frankel, Francine R. Frankel, Jeffrey A. Franklin, Barbara Hackman Franklin, Robert M. Franklin, Shirley Clarke Franklin, William Emery Fraser, Jane Frazer, Jendayi E. Frazier, Kenneth C. Fredman, Jonathan M. Freedman, Alix M. Freedman, Michael Freeman, Bennett Freeman, Constance J. Freidheim, Cyrus F. Freidheim, Scott J. Freidheim, Stephen C. Freifeld, Daniel† Freire, Maria C. Frever, Dana H. Fribourg, Paul J. Friedberg, Aaron Louis Friedberg, Barry S. Friedman, Alexander Stephen Friedman, Alison Kiehl† Friedman, Andrea Friedman, Bart Friedman, Benjamin M. Friedman, Fredrica S. Friedman, Iordana D. Friedman, Stephen Friedman, Stephen J. Friedman, Thomas L. Frieman, Wendy Friend, Theodore W. Frist, William H. Fritz, Oliver III

Froman, Michael B.G.

Fromkin, David

Frost, Ellen L. Frumin, Amy Fry, Earl H. Frye, Alton Frye, Timothy Michael Fudge, Ann M. Fukushima, Glen S. Fukuyama, Francis Fulgham, Alonzo L. Fuller, William P. Fulton, Laurie S. Fung, Mark T. Fung, Victor K. Furlaud, Richard Mortimer Furman, Gail Fusco, Bradley Futter, Ellen V.

#### G

Gacek, Stanley Arthur Gaddis, John Lewis Gadiesh, Orit B. Gaer, Felice D. Gaghan, Stephen W. Gaines, James R. Gaither, Kendra Galbraith, James K. Galbraith, Jean† Galbraith, Peter W. Gallagher, Kelly Sims Gallo, Alexander Michael Gallucci, Robert L. Galvis, Sergio J. Ganguly, Sumit Gann, Pamela Brooks Gannon, John C. Ganoe, Charles S. Gans, Lisa M. Garber, Larry A. Garcia, Juan M. III Garcia, Marlen Gard, Robert G. Ir. Gardels, Nathan P. Gardner, Anthony Luzzatto Gardner, James A. Gardner, Nina Luzzatto Gardner, Richard N. Garment, Suzanne R. Garnett, Sherman Garrett, Geoffrey M. Garrett, Laurie Garten, Jeffrey E. Garwin, Richard L. Garza, Antonio Oscar Jr. Gaston, Erica L.† Gates, Henry Louis Jr.

Gates, Robert M. Gati, Charles Gati, Toby Trister Gaudiani, Claire L. Gause, F. Gregory III Gavin, Francis J. Gavrilis, James A. Gay, Catherine Gayle, Helene D. Gedmin, V. Jeffrey Geier, Philip O. Geithner, Peter F. Geithner, Timothy F. Gelb. Bruce S. Gelb, Leslie H. Gellert, Michael E. Gellman, Barton Gell-Mann, Murray Gelpern, Anna George, Robert P. Georgescu, Peter Andrew Gephardt, Richard A. Gerber, Burton L. Gerber, Louis Gergen, David R. Gerhart, Gail M. Germain, Adrienne Gerschel, Patrick A. Gerson, Allan Gerson, Elliot F. Gerson, Ralph J. Gerstein, Daniel M. Gerstell, Glenn S. Gerstner, Louis V. Jr. Getler, Michael Gewirtz, Paul David Geyer, Georgie Anne Gfoeller, Joachim Jr. Gfoeller, Michael Gfoeller, Tatiana C. Ghiglione, Loren Gholz, Charles Eugene Giacomo, Carol Ann Giambastiani, Ed Peter Jr. Gibbs, Reggie Scott Giffen, James Henry Giffin, Gordon D. Gil. Andrés Valerio Gilbert, G. S. Beckwith Gilbert, Jackson B. Gilbert, Nilizandr E.M.† Gilbert, Steven J. Gill, Bates Gillette, Michael James Gilmore, James S. III

Gilmore, Richard

<sup>\*</sup> Elected to membership in 2012.

† Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Gimelli, Noa Catalina Gingrich, Newton L. Ginsberg, Gary L. Ginsberg, Marc Charles Ginsburg, Jane C. Ginsburg, Ruth Bader Girald, Catalina Givhan, Walter D. Gielten, Thomas G. Glaser, Bonnie S. Glauber, Robert R. Glennon, Michael J. Gleysteen, Peter Glickman, Daniel R. Glickman, Steven G.† Glin, C. D. Jr. Globerman, Norma Glocer, Thomas H. Gluck, Carol Gluck, Frederick W. Godwin, Peter\* Goel, Anish Goeltz, Richard Karl Goins, Charlynn Golby, James T.† Goldberg, Nicholas Goldberg, Ronnie L. Golden, James R. Golden, Jennifer E. Goldfarb, Deborah† Goldfield, Harold P. Goldfield, Jacob D. Goldgeier, James M. Goldin, Harrison J. Goldman, Charles N. Goldman, Guido Goldman, Marshall I. Goldman, Merle D. Goldman, Neal D. Goldmark, Peter C. Jr. Goldsmith, Barbara Goldsmith, Jack Landman III Goldsmith, Russell D. Goldstein, Gordon M. Goldstein, Jeffrey A. Goldstein, Morris Goldstone, Iack A. Goldwyn, David L. Goldzimer, Aaron M. Golhar, Shawn P.M. Golob, Paul D. Golston, Allan C.

Gomez, Eduardo J. Gomez, Heidi N. Gomory, Ralph E. Gompert, David C. Gonen, Ron Gonzalez, Emilio Tomas Goodman, Allan E. Goodman, George J.W. Goodman, Herbert I. Goodman, John B. Goodman, Mary Beth\* Goodman, Matthew P. Goodman, Roy M. Goodman, Rvan Goodman, Sherri W. Gordon, John A. Gordon, Michael R. Gordon, Philip H. Gordon-Hagerty, Lisa E. Gordon-Reed, Annette Gorelick, Jamie S. Gorman, Joseph T. Gorman, Monica J. Gostin, Lawrence O.\* Gotbaum, Victor Gottdiener, Noah\* Gottemoeller, Rose E. Gottfried, Kurt Gottlieb, Geoffrey A. Gottlieb, Gidon A.G. Gottsegen, Peter M. Gould, Peter G. Gourevitch, Peter A. Gourevitch, Philip D. Grace, Lola Nashashibi Grady, Robert E. Graff, Garrett M.† Graff, Henry Franklin Graham, Bob Graham, Carol Lee Graham, Thomas Edward Graham, Thomas Jr. Graham, Thomas W. Granger, Kay Granoff, Michael D. Grant, Heidi Honecker\* Grant, Iames D. Graubard, Stephen Richards Graves, Christopher J. Gray, C. Boyden Gray, Hanna Holborn Grayer, Cara† Greathead, R. Scott Greco, Richard Jr.

Green, Carl J.

Green, Eric F.

Green, Ernest G. Green, Jerrold D. Green, Mark Andrew\* Green, Michael J. Green, Robert Shane Greenberg, Arthur N. Greenberg, David Greenberg, Evan G. Greenberg, Glenn H. Greenberg, Jeffrey W. Greenberg, Karen J. Greenberg, Lawrence Scott Greenberg, Maurice R. Greenberg, Sanford D. Greenberger, Robert Stephen Greene, Robert Lane Greene, Wade Greenman, Margot Alyse Greenspan, Alan Greenwald, G. Jonathan Greenway, Hugh D.S. Gregg, Donald P. Gregorian, Vartan Gregson, Wallace C. Jr. Grenier, Robert L. Griego, Linda Griffiths, Phillip A. Grimes, William W. Grinberg, Itai† Grissom, Janet Mullins Grose, Peter Gross, Martin J. Gross, Patrick W. Grossman, Gene M. Grossman, Marc Grove, Paul C. Groves, Bryan N. Groves, Ray J. Gruman, Jessie C. Gudwin, Ella R. Guengerich, Galen J. Guff, Andrew J. Gugliotta, Brian Gund, Agnes Gundlach, Andrew S. Gupta, Sanjay K.\* Gupte, Pranay Gustafson, Ellen Gutfreund, John H. Guth, John H.J. Gwertzman, Bernard M.

H
Haas, Mimi L.
Haas, Robert D.

Haass, Richard N. Haave, Christopher E. Hachigian, Nina L. Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck Haddon, Davle\* Hadley, Stephen J. Hafner, Joseph A. Jr. Hagel, Chuck Hagen, Katherine A. Haggard, Stephan Hahn, Natalie D. Haider, Ziad† Hailston, Earl B. Haiari, Nisid I. Hajjar, David Phillip Hakakian, Roya Hake, Jim\* Haldeman, William E.† Hale, David D. Hale, Lyric Hughes Hall, C. Barrows Hall, John P. Hall, Kathryn Walt Hall, Shawn D.† Hallett, Stephanie L.† Halper, James D. Halperin, David R. Halperin, Morton H. Haltzel, Michael H. Hamburg, David A. Hamburg, Margaret Ann Hamel, Michael A. Hamilton, Charles V. Hamilton, Daniel Hamilton, Edward K. Hamilton, Hugh Gerard Jr. Hamilton, John Maxwell Hamilton, Lee H. Hammes, Lynda Ann Hammonds, D. Holly Hamre, John J. Hancock, Ellen Hand, Bailey Hand, Lloyd N. Hand, Scott M. Handelman, Stephen Handler, Scott Hanna, Michael Wahid Hansell, Herbert I. Hanson, Gordon H. Hantz, Giselle P. Hantzopoulos, Paraskeve Hardin, Edward I. Hardin, Katherine A.

Harding, Deborah A.

Harding, Harry

<sup>\*</sup> Elected to membership in 2012. † Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Hardt, John P. Hargrove, John Lawrence Harlan, Joshua D.\* Harland, Christopher Munro Harley, Jeffrey Allan Harlow, D. Brooke Harman, Jane Harmon, James A. Harney, Alexandra Harold, Scott W.† Harpel, James W. Harper, Conrad K. Harris, David A. Harris, Grant T. Harris, Jessica Harris, Joshua J. Harris, Martha Caldwell Harrison, Hope M. Harrison, Selig S. Harrison, Todd Samuel† Harrison, William B. Jr. Hart, Clifford Awtrey Jr.\* Hart, Gary Hart, Robert C. Hart, Todd Christopher Hartley, Jane D. Hartman, Arthur A. Haseltine, William Alan Hashemi, Noosheen\* Haskell, John H.F. Jr. Hathaway, Oona A. Hathaway, Robert M. Hau, Sandor Hauge, John Resor Hauser, Rita E. Hauser, William Locke Hausman, Victoria Louise Obst† Havell, Theresa A. Hawkins, Ashton Hawley, F. William Hayden, Michael V. Hayes, Jeff W. Hayes, Margaret Daly Hayes, Michael Edward Hayes, Rita Derrick Haykel, Bernard A. Haynes, Lukas Harrison Haynes, Ulric Jr. Hays, Laurie Hayward, Thomas B.

\* Elected to membership in 2012. † Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Healey, Kerry Murphy Healey, Sean M.\* Heaney, Andrew P. Heck, Charles B. Hecker, Siegfried S. Heckman, Leila Hedstrom, Mitchell W. Heep-Richter, Barbara D. Heer, Paul Heginbotham, Stanley J. Hegseth, Pete Hehir, J. Bryan Heimann, John G. Heimbold, Charles A. Jr. Heimowitz, James B. Heineman, Benjamin W. Jr. Heineman, Melvin L. Heintz, Stephen B. Heintzen, Harry Leonard Heinz Kerry, Teresa Heleniak, David W. Helfer, Michael Stevens Helfer, Ricki Tigert Helfstein, Scott Helgerson, John L. Heller, Bridgette P. Heller, Rebecca M.† Heller, Richard M. Hellman, Steven E. Hellmann, Donald Charles Helm, Robert W. Helm, Suzanne Helman, Joseph J. Helprin, Mark Helvey, David Farr Hendricks, Darryll E. Hendrickson, David C. Henkin, Alice H. Henneberg, Tom Henning, Job Carroll Henninger, Daniel P. Henrikson, Alan K. Henry, Emil W. Jr. Henry, Nancy L. Henry, Peter Albert Henry, Peter Blair Henry, Robert H. Hentov, Elliot Heppner, Donald Gray Jr. Herberger, Roy A. Jr. Herbst, Jeffrey I. Herman, Laura S. Hermann, Charles F. Hernandez, Antonia

Herrera-Flanigan,

Jessica Rae\*

Herrnstadt, Owen Edward Herskovits, Jean Hersman, Rebecca K.C. Herspring, Dale R. Hertog, Roger Hertzberg, Hendrik Hertzberg, Robert M. Herz, Barbara Herzfeld, Charles M. Herzstein, Jessica Herzstein, Robert E. Hesburgh, Theodore M. Hess, John B. Hess, Marlene Hessler, Curtis A. Hessman, Robin\* Hewlett, Sylvia Ann Hexter, James R. Heyman, Ronnie F.\* Heyman, William H. Hiatt, Fred Hicks, Irvin Hicks, John F. Sr. Hicks, Kathleen Holland Hicks, Peggy L. Higginbotham, F. Michael Higgins, Heather Richardson Higgins, Robert F. Hightower, Edward T. Hill. Fiona Hill, J. Tomilson Hill, James T. Hill, Janine W. Hill, Joseph C. Hill, Pamela Hill, Raymond D. Hill, Shephard William Hill, Steven Hillen, John Hillman, Jennifer Hills, Carla A. Hinderstein, Corey Hindery, Leo J. Jr. Hinerfeld, Ruth Hines, Rachel Hinton, Deane R. Hirsch, John L. Hirschhorn, Abigail M. Hirsh, Michael P. Hitz, Frederick P. Hoagland, Jim Hoar, Joseph Paul Hobson, H. Lee Hochberg, Fred Philip\*

Hodes, Matthew Hodin, Michael W. Hoeber, Amoretta M. Hoehn, Andrew R. Hoehn, William E. Jr. Hoenlein, Malcolm I. Hof. Frederic C. Hoffman, A. Michael Hoffman, Bruce Hoffmann, Stanley Hogan, Jeffrey N. Hogan, Timothy Hoge, James F. Jr. Hoge, Warren Hoguet, George Roberts Hoinkes, Mary Elizabeth Holcomb, Scott Holden, John L. Holdren, John P. Holewinski, Sarah Theresa Holgate, Laura S.H. Hollick, Ann Lorraine Holliday, Stuart W. Hollifield, James Frank Holloway, Dwight F. Jr. Holmes, Henry Allen Holmes, Kim R. Holmes, Stephen T. Holt, Blaine D.\* Holtschneider. Dennis H. Holtzman, Elizabeth Holum, John D. Hooda, Sheila Hooker, Richard D. Jr. Hope, Judith Richards Hope, Richard O. Hopkins, Jonathan James† Horlick, Gary N. Hormats, Robert D. Horn, Karen N. Horn, Sally K. Horner, Matina Souretis Hornig, George R. Hornik, Richard H. Hornthal, James Horton, Robert Scott Hosmer, Bradley C. Hoston, Germaine A. Hottelet, Richard C. Houck, James W. Houghton, Amory Jr. Houghton, James R. House, Karen Elliott

Houser, Trevor

Howard, A. E. Dick

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Hockfield, Susan

Howard, Christopher Bernard Howard, Ivana Howard, Lyndsay C. Howard, M. William Jr. Howell, Ernest M. Howk, Jason Howson, Nicholas Calcina Hrinak, Donna J. Hrynkow, Sharon H. Hsu, Ta-Lin Huang, Eugene J. Hubbard, Allan B. Hubbard, R. Glenn Huber, Richard L. Huberman, Benjamin Hudson, Manley O. Jr. Hudson, Michael C. Huebner, Lee W. Huey, John W. Jr. Huey Evans, Gay J. Hufbauer, Gary C. Hughes, Lynn N. Hughes, R. John Hughes, Thomas Lowe Hull, Edmund J. Hulsman, John C. Hultman, Tamela Hultquist, Timothy A. Hume, Cameron R. Hume, Ellen H. Hummer-Tuttle, Maria Hunker, Jeffrey A. Hunt, David A. Hunt, Kathleen E. Hunt, Swanee Hunter, Robert E. Hunter, Shireen T. Hunter, Thomas O. Hunter, William Curt Hunter-Gault, Charlayne Huntington, Patricia Skinner Hurd, Joseph K. III Hurlock, James B. Hurst, Robert J. Hurwitz, Sol Huszar, Andrew C.\* Hutchings, Robert L. Hutchins, Glenn H. Huyck, Philip M.

Hyatt, Joel Z. Hyland, Richard Hyman, Allen I.

I
Ibargüen, Alberto
Ibargüen, Diego
Ignatius, Adi
Ignatius, David R.
Ijaz, Mansoor
Ikenberry, G. John
Immergut, Mel M.
Inderfurth, Karl F.
Indig, Jennifer Buntman†
Indyk, Martin S.
Ingber, Rebecca

Inman, Bobby R.
Intriligator, Michael D.
Irish, Leon E.
Irvin, Patricia L.
Isaacs, Maxine
Isaacson, Walter S.
Iseman, Frederick J.
Isenberg, Steven L.
Isham, Christopher

Iskenderian, Mary Ellen

Ispahani, Mahnaz Istel, Yves-André Itoh, William H. Ivester, M. Douglas Iyengar, Radha† Izlar, William H. Jr.

Jabber, Paul Jackelen, Henry R. Jackley, Jessica Jacklin, Nancy P. Jackson, Bruce Pitcairn Jackson, Jesse L. Sr. Jackson, John H. Iackson, Lois M. Jackson, Sarah Jackson, Shirley Ann Jacobs, Kenneth Jacobs, Lawrence A. Iacobson, Mark R. Jacoby, Charles H. Jr. Jacoby, Jonathan Todd† Jaffe, Amy Myers Jagannath, Ram M.† Jakes, Susan J.† James, Francis John Janes, Jackson

Janis, Mark Weston

Janke, Aleksandra Janklow, Morton L. Ianow, Merit E. Jaquette, Jane S. Jarvis, Nancy A. Jayanti, Anuradha T.\* Jebb, Cindy R. Jeffery, Reuben III Jeffrey, James Franklin\* Jehl, Douglas\* Jenevein, E. Patrick III Jenkins, Bonnie D. Jenkins, Carol\* Iensen, Kenneth D.M. Jervis, Robert Jessup, Philip C. Jr. Jeter, Howard F. Jett, Dennis C. Joel, Jennifer Stacey John, Eric G. Johns, Leslie† Johns, Lionel Skipwith Johns, Raymond E. Jr. Johnson, Darin E.W. Iohnson, Iames A. Johnson, James E. Johnson, Jay L. Johnson, Jeh Charles Johnson, Jerry Lavell Johnson, Karen H. Johnson, L. Oakley Johnson, Larry D. Johnson, Michelle D. Johnson, Robbin S. Johnson, Robert W. IV Johnson, Sheila C. Johnson, Suzanne Nora Johnson, Thomas Stephen Johnson, Todd M. Johnson, Willene A. Johnson, Wyatt Thomas Jones, Alan Kent Jones, Anita K. Jones, David L. Jones, James R. Jones, Kerri-Ann Jones, Stuart Jr.†

Joost, Peter Martin

Iordan, Boris Alexis

Jordan, Robert W.

Joseph, James A.

Joseph, Richard A.

Josephson, William

Jordan, Vernon E. Jr.

Jordan, Eason

Joskow, Paul L. Joulwan, George A. Judge, Barbara Thomas Jumper, John P. Junz, Helen B. Juster, Kenneth I.

#### K

Kaden, Lewis B. Kadlec, Robert P. Kagan, Robert W. Kahler, Miles Kahn, Joseph F. Kahn, Thomas S. Kaiser, Miranda Margaret Kaiser, Robert G. Kalaris, Thomas Llewellyn\* Kalb, Bernard Kalb, Marvin Kalicki, Jan H. Kalir, Erez C.\* Kallmer, Jonathan S. Kamarck, Elaine C. Kamine, Jorge Kaminsky, Howard Kampelman, Max M. Kamsky, Virginia Ann Kanak, Donald P. Kanet, Roger E. Kang, C. S. Eliot Kang, Jane J. Kaniewski, Daniel John† Kann, Peter R. Kansteiner, Walter H. III Kanter, Rosabeth Moss Kantor, Laurence G.\* Kantor, Mickey Kaplan, Ann F. Kaplan, Gilbert Kaplan, Helene L. Kaplan, Mark N. Kaplan, Richard N. Kaplan, Stephen S. Kapnick, Scott Bancroft Kapoor, Vikas Kapp, Robert A. Kapstein, Ethan B. Karabell, Zachary Karafa, Kristian C.† Karalekas, Anne Karamanian, Susan L. Karatnycky, Adrian Karatz, Bruce E.

Karis, Thomas G.

<sup>\*</sup> Elected to membership in 2012.

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Karl, Jonathan David Karl, Terry Lynn Karnow, Stanley Karns, Margaret P. Karol, Adam Karp, Jonathan D. Karsner, Andy Kasdin, Robert Kass, Stephen L. Kassalow, Jordan S. Kassinger, Theodore W. Kassof, Allen H. Kathwari, Farooq Katona, Peter\* Katz, Abraham Katz, Daniel Roger Katz, Robert J. Katz, Sherman E. Katz, Stanley N. Katzenstein, Peter J. Katzovicz, Roy J. Kauffman, Richard L. Kaufman, Daniel J. Kaufman, Henry Kaufman, Robert R. Kavoukjian, Michael E. Kay, Kira Kaye, Charles R. Kaye, Dalia Dassa Kaye, David A. Kayyem, Juliette N. Kazemi, Farhad Kea, Charlotte G. Kean, Thomas H. Keane, John M. Kearney, Daniel Jr. Keating, Timothy J. Keck, Elizabeth Ellen Keefe, Patrick S.R. Keeler, Timothy J. Keenan, Kevin Michael Keene, Lonnie Keeny, Spurgeon M. Jr. Keidan, Jonathan Keker, John W.\* Kelleher, Catherine M. Keller, Edmond I. Keller, Kenneth H. Kellerman, Barbara L. Kelley, Paul X. Kellner, Peter Bicknell

\* Elected to membership in 2012. † Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Kellogg, David Kelly, Alfred F. Jr. Kelly, Arthur L. Kelly, Brendan S. Kelly, Francis J. Kelly, James P. Kelman, Herbert C. Kemble, Eugenia Kemp, Geoffrey Kempe, Frederick S. Kempner, Maximilian W. Kendall, Donald McIntosh Kenen, Peter B. Kennan, Christopher J. Kennedy, Caroline Bouvier Kennedy, Craig Kennedy, David W. Kennedy, Edward Jr. Kent, Muhtar Kent, Philip I. Keohane, Nannerl O. Keohane, Robert O. Keravuori, Rose Kerr, Ann Zwicker Kerrey, Bob Kerry, Cameron F.\* Kerry, John F. Kerry, Peggy Kerry, Vanessa Kessler, Glenn Andrew Kessler, Martha Neff Kester, W. Carl Khalidi, Rashid I. Khalilzad, Zalmay M. Khanna, Parag Khanna, Vikramaditva Khatchadourian, Raffi Khator, Renu Khrushcheva, Nina L. Khuri, Nicola N. Kiernan, Robert Edward III Kiley, Robert R. Kim, Andrew Byong-Soo Kim, Hanya Marie Kim, Mike Kim, Spencer H. Kim, Sukhan Kimball, William F.\* Kimmitt, Mark T. Kimmitt, Robert M. Kimsey, James V. Kinane, William Patrick

Kinder, Molly

King, Charles E.

King, Elizabeth Lee

King, Henry L. King, Kay King, Robert R. King, Susan Robinson Kingston, Timothy M. Kinsella, Kevin J. Kipper, Judith Kirchhoff, Christopher M.† Kireopoulos, Antonios Steve Kiriakou, Heather Katherine Kirkland, Richard I. Kirkpatrick, J. David Kirkpatrick, Melanie M. Kirshner, Jodie A. Kishkovsky, Leonid Kissel, Mary E.† Kittrie, Orde F. Kizer, Karin L. Klaber, Andrew David† Klarman, Seth A. Klatsky, Peter† Klein, David Klein, Edward Klein, George Klein, Jacques Paul Klein, Joseph A. Klotz, Frank G. Klurfeld, James M. Knake, Robert K.† Knapp, Albert Bruce Knapp, Steven Knee, Jonathan A. Knell, Gary E. Knight, Edward S. Knight, Jessie J. Jr. Knudsen, Ciara Ko, Cindy E. Koellner, Laurette T. Kogan, Richard Jay Kohn, Donald L.\* Kohut, Andrew Kojac, Jeffrey Kojima, J. Christopher Kolb, Charles E.M. Kolbe, Iim Kolodziej, Edward A. Koltai, Steven R. Komisar, Lucy Kondracke, Morton Koonin, Steven E. Korb, Lawrence J. Korbonski, Andrzej Korgaonkar, Nikhilesh

Kormi, Nushin Kornblum, John C. Kosaraju, Akhila† Kostiw, Michael Vincent Kotecha, Mahesh K. Kotler, Steven Kovner, Bruce S. Kraham, Sherri G. Kramek, Robert E. Kramer, J. Reed Kramer, Jane Kramer, Michael Kramer, Orin S. Kramer, Steven Philip Kranz, Thomas F. Krasner, Stephen D. Krasno, Richard M. Krauss, Clifford Krauthammer, Charles Kravis, Henry R. Kravis, Marie-Josée Kreek, Mary Jeanne Krens, Thomas Krepinevich, Andrew F. Krepon, Michael Kreps, Sarah Elizabeth\* Kriegel, Jay L. Krikorian, Victoria Reznik Krisher, Bernard Kristof, Nicholas D. Kristoff, Sandra J. Kroeger, Kate M. Kroenig, Matthew Henry Kronman, Anthony Townsend Krueger, Anne O. Krulak, Charles Chandler Ku. Charlotte Kubarych, Roger M. Kuehnast, Kathleen R.\* Kuenstner, Nancy Jo Kuiken, Michael Kull, Steven G. Kumar, Anil Kumar, Maria Teresa Kumar, Nisha Kumar, Raj Udiaver Kumar, Vinay Kumar-Sinha, Punita Kumin, Michael A. Kumra, Raina† Kundra, Vivek Kuniholm, Bruce Robellet Kunstadter, Geraldine S.

Kupchan, Charles A.

Membership Roster

Kupchan, Clifford A. Kurth, James R. Kurtzer, Daniel C. Kushen, Robert A. Kux, Dennis Kwoh, Stewart

L

Labin, Daniel B. Labott, Elise Ladd, Edward Lader, Philip Ladislaw, Sarah Olivia Ladner, Drew I. LaFleur, Vinca Lagomasino, Maria Elena Lagon, Mark P. Lai, Joseph G. Laipson, Ellen Lajeunesse, Gabriel C. Lake, David A. LaMarche, Gara\* Lamb, Denis Lambert, Brett B. Lambeth, Benjamin S. Lamont, Lansing Lampton, David M. Lancaster, Carol J. Land, Richard D. Landau, George W. Lane, Aikojean† Lane, Charles M. Lane, David J. Lane, Randall Arthur\* Lane, Robert W. Laney, James T. Lang, Scott J. Langlois, Robert James LaPalombara, Joseph Lapham, Lewis H. Lapidus, Gail W. LaPuma, Edward Vincent Lardy, Nicholas R. Lariviere, Richard W. Larrabee, F. Stephen Larsen, Randall J. Larson, Charles R. Larson, Ellie K. Lash, Jonathan LaSpada, Salvatore Lasry, Marc Lasser, Lawrence J.

Lateef. Noel V. Lauder, Laura Heller Lauder, Leonard A. Lauder, Ronald S. Lauder, William Philip Laudicina, Paul A. Lauinger, Philip C. Jr. Laurence, Jonathan A. Laurenti, Jeffrey Lautenbach, Ned C. Lautz, Terrill Edward Lavelle, Kathryn C. Lawrence, Richard D. Lawrence, Robert Z. Lawson, Eugene K. Lawson, Sandra Guylay Lawson-Remer, Terra† Layne, Christopher Lazarus, Shelly B. Lazarus, Steven Le Melle, Tilden J. Leach, James A. Leader-Chivee, Lauren LeClerc, Paul Lederman, Gordon Nathaniel Lee, Ellana Lee, Esther Lee, Nancy Lee, Thea Mei Leebron, David W. Leeds, Jeffrey T. Leeds, Roger S. Lee-Kung, Dinah Leet, Kenneth H.M. Leffall, LaSalle D. III Leggett, Paul Matthews† Leghorn, Richard S. Legro, Jeffrey W. Legvold, Robert Lehman, John F. Lehman, Ronald Frank II Lehner, Peter H. Lehr, Amy Karen† Lehrer, Jim Lehrman, Thomas D. Leich, John Foster Leiter, Michael E. Leland, Marc E. Leland, Olivia M. Lemack, Carie A.\* LeMelle, Gerald A. Lemery, Jay Lemkin, Bruce Stuart Lemle, J. Stuart

Lemmon, Gayle Tzemach

Lempert, Robert J. Lenfest, Harold F. Lenihan, Michelle Lennon, Alexander T.J. Lennox, William J. Jr. Lenzen, Louis C. LeoGrande, William M. Leonard, Jennifer A. Leone, Richard C. Leopold, Evelyn R. Lesch, Ann Mosely Leslie, John W. Jr. Lessenberry, Brian Lesser, Ian O. Lettow, Paul Lettre, Marcel J. II Levensohn, Pascal N. Leverett, Flynt L. Levin, Herbert Levin, John A. Levin, Michael Stuart Levin, Richard C.\* Levine, Mel Levine, Ross Levine, Susan B. Levinsohn, James A.\* Levinson, Marc Levitsky, Jonathan E. Levitt, Arthur Jr. Levitt, Matthew A. Levy, Jay A. Levy, Julia C.† Levy, Reynold Lew, Jacob J. Lewin, Leslie A. Lewinsohn, Jonathan Lewis, Bernard Lewis, Eric L. Lewis, Margaret Katri† Lewis, Maureen A. Lewis, Peter M. Lewis, Stephen R. Jr. Lewis, W. Walker Lewis-Berry, Jason C.† Lewy, Glen S. Li, Cheng Li, Lu Libby, I. Lewis Jr. Liberi, Dawn Lichtblau, John H. Lichtenstein, Cynthia Crawford Liebenow, Larry A. Lieber, James E. Lieber, Robert J.

Lieberman, Nancy A. Lieberthal, Kenneth G. Liebman, Jonathan Roy Liebowitz, Jessica K. Lifton, Robert K. Light, Timothy Lighthizer, Robert E. Lin, Robert Lincoln, Edward J. Lindberg, Tod Lindborg, Nancy Elizabeth Linden, Josephine Lindsay, Beverly Lindsay, James M. Linen, Jonathan S. Link, Troland S. Lipman, Gustave K.\* Lipman, Ira A. Lipman, Joanne Lipper, Kenneth Lippey, Brian C. Lippman, Thomas W. Lipsitz, Rochelle J. Lipsky, John P. Lipsky, Seth Lissakers, Karin M. Litan, Robert E. Little, David Littlefield, Elizabeth L. Litwak, Robert S. Liu, Betty W. Liu, Eric P. Livingston, Robert Gerald Loaiza, David Jesse Lobel, Aaron Robert Lockhart, Dennis P. Lodal, Jan M. Lodge, George Cabot Loeb, Daniel S.\* Loeb, Marshall Loewenstein, Andrew B. Logan, Francis D. Loizou, Elaina Lombardi, Clark B. London, Herbert I. Long, Mary Beth Long, William J. Longmuir, Shelley A. Longstreth, Bevis LoNigro, Christina Lopes, Mark López Tirú, Lisa Loranger, Donald Eugene Lord, Bette Bao Lord, Kristin M. Lord, Winston

Membership Roster 44

Lieberman, Joseph I.

 $<sup>^{</sup>st}$  Elected to membership in 2012.

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Lorentzen, Oivind III Lotrionte, Catherine B. Louis, William Roger Loury, Glenn Cartman Lovejoy, Thomas E. Lowenfeld, Andreas F. Lowenkron, Barry F. Lowenstein, James G. Lowenstein, Price G.\* Lowenthal, Abraham F. Lowey, Nita M. Lowry, Glenn D. Loy, Frank E. Lozano, Ignacio E. Lozano, José Ignacio Lozano, Monica C. Lu, Xiaobo Lubin, Nancy Lubman, Stanley B. Luck, Edward C. Lucy, William Luers, Wendy W. Luers, William H. Lugo, Luis E. Lujan, Fernando M. Lukatsevich, Ross Z.† Luke, John A. Jr. Lundeberg, Greta Lundqvist, Bertil Lundstrom, Mark Lustick, Ian S. Lute, Douglas E. Lute, Jane Holl Luttwak, Edward N. Luzzatto, Anne R. Lyman, Princeton N. Lynch, Thomas F. III Lyne, Susan Markham\* Lynk, Myles V. Lynn, Laurence E. Jr. Lynton, Michael M. Lyon, David W. Lyons, Eugene M. Lyons, James E. Lyons, Richard Kent

M

Mabry, Marcus B.
Mabus, Raymond E.
MacCormack, Charles
Frederick
MacDonald, Bruce Walter

MacDougal, Gary E. Mack, Consuelo Cotter Mack, I. Curtis II Mack, William Brady III† Mackay, Leo Sidney Jr. MacKenzie, Gillian Hamilton Mackevich, Eileen R. Macmillan, Graham III Madhany, al-Husein N. Maguire, John David Mahajan, Raj Amit Mahmoud, Adel Mahnken, Thomas G. Mahoney, Paul G. Mahoney, Thomas H. IV Mai, James A. Mai, Vincent A. Maier, Charles S. Makin, John Holmes Makinson, Carolyn Mako, William P. Makovsky, David Malcomson, Scott Malek, Frederic V. Malesky, Edmund J. Mallery, David W. Mallery, Richard Mallett, Robert L. Malmgren, Harald B. Malmgren, K. Philippa Malone-Scott, Kim Malpass, David R. Maltese, Michael Maltz, Gideon Daniel† Mamdani, Mahmoud A. Manca, Marie Antoinette Mancuso, Mario Mandaville, Alicia Phillips Mandel, Stephen F. Jr. Mandelbaum, Michael Maniatis, Gregory A. Manilow, Lewis Mankoff, Jeffrey Mann, James H. Mann, Michael D. Mann, Thomas E. Mans, Darius Mansoor, Peter R. Manuel, Anja\* Manzi, Jim Marans, Joel Eugene Marchick, David M. Marcom, John E. Jr. Marcum, John Arthur

Marczak, Jason

Marder, Murrey Margon, Sarah Mariner, Joanne Mariotti, Steve J. Mark, Hans M. Mark-Jusbasche, Rebecca P. Marks, Paul A. Marlin, Alice Tepper Marquet, Louis David Marr, Phebe A. Marron, Donald B. Marsh, Tom F. Marshall, Andrew W. Marshall, Dale Rogers Marshall, F. Ray Marshall, Katherine Marshall, Zachary Blake Marteau Emerson, Kimberly K.\* Marten, Kimberly Joy Martin, Daniel Richard Martin, Lynn Morley Martin, Susan F. Martin, William F. Martinez, Angelica R. Martinez, Roman IV Martinez, Roman V Marton, Kati I. Martz, Joseph C. Maru, Vivek Masin, Michael T. Masoud, Tarek† Massey, L. Camille Massey, Walter E. Massimino, Elisa C. Mastanduno, Michael Masters, Carlton A. Matheson, Michael J. Mathews, Jessica T. Mathews, Michael S. Mathias, D. Stephen Mathias, Dale Mathias, Edward J. Mathis, Brian Pierre Matlock, Jack F. Jr. Matsukata, Naotaka Matteson, William B. Matthews, Barbara C. Mattox. Gale A. Matuszewski, Daniel C. Matzke, Richard H. Maxwell, Ann Titiev† Maxwell, Kenneth R. Maxwell, Rahsaan May, Michael M. Maybank, Alexis Macy

Mayer, Claudette Mayer, William Emilio Mayhew, Alice E. Mazur, Jay McAfee, William Gage McAllister, Jef Olivarius McAllister, Singleton B. McArdle, Megan McAuliffe, Jane Dammen McBride, Sharon Kelly McCaffrey, Barry R. McCain, John S. III McCann, Edward F. II McCartan, Patrick F. McCarter, John W. Jr. McCarthy, James P. McCarthy, Kathleen D. McCarthy, Terence Arthur McCarthy-Beehner, Julie† McCaw, Craig O. McCaw, Susan R. McChrystal, Stanley A. McClure, Kimberly M. McClure, Robert L. McClymont, Mary E. McConnell, M. Porter† McCord, Gordon C.† McCormack, Elizabeth J. McCormack, Richard Thomas Fox McCormick, David H. McCouch, Donald G. McCoy, Jennifer L. McCray, Ronald David McCue, Susan McCurdy, Dave K. McDermott, Jim McDevitt, Sean Daniel McDonald, Alonzo L. McDonald, Tom McDonough, William J. McDougall, Gay J. McEneaney, Kyle Eamoun† McEvoy, Edward Bruce† McFarland, Kathleen Troia McFarland, Maria McFarlane, Jennifer A. McFarlane, Robert C. McFate. Patricia Ann McFaul, Michael A. McGarr, Cappy R. McGowan, Alan H. McGregor, James L. McGurn, William McHenry, Donald F. McKean, David

 $<sup>^{</sup>st}$  Elected to membership in 2012.

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

McKenna, Tjada D'Oyen† McKenney, Morgan McKeon, Elizabeth A. McKeon, Robert B. McKibben, Tracy B. McLarty, Thomas F. III McLaughlin, Charles James IV McLaughlin, John E. McLean, Mora L. McLean, Sheila Avrin McLin, Jon Blythe McManus, Doyle McManus, Jason D. McMaster, Herbert Raymond McMullin, D. Evan McNally, Elizabeth Young McNamara, Dennis L. McNamara, Kathleen R. McNamara, Thomas E. McNamer, Bruce W. McNaugher, Thomas L. McNeese, Thomas McPeak, Merrill A. McPherson, M. Peter McQuade, Lawrence C. McWade, Jessica C. Meacham, Carl E. Meacham, Jon Mead, Dana G. Mead, E. Scott Mead, Walter Russell Meadows, Jeanne Terry Mearsheimer, John J. Medavoy, Mike Medawar, Adrienne Medina, Kathryn B. Medish, Mark Christian Meers, Sharon I. Meertens, Michelle A. Meese. Michael I. Mehlman, Kenneth B. Mehra, Sanjeev K. Mehreteab, Ghebre Selassie Mehta, Probir J.† Mehta, Ved Meigs, Montgomery C. Meiman Hock, Kellie Meissner, Doris M. Meister, Irene W. Melby, Eric D.K.

\* Elected to membership in 2012. † Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Melloan, George R. Melton, Carol A. Melwani, Anish Mendelson, Sarah E. Mendelson Forman. Johanna Sebastian Mendlovitz, Saul H. Mendonca, Lenny Mendoza, Roberto G. Meng, Sue† Menon, Rajan Menschel, Robert B. Merkel, Claire Sechler Merkel, David A. Meron, Theodor Merow, John E. Merritt, Jack Neil Merszei, Zoltan Mesdag, Willem Meselson, Matthew S. Meserve, Richard A.\* Messmer, Michael Mestres, Ricardo A. Jr. Metzger, Barry Metzl, Jamie Frederic Meyer, Edward C. Meyer, Karl E. Meyer, Michael Ryder Meyer, Noa Meyerman, Harold J. Michaels, Jon Douglas Michaels, Marguerite Michel, Christopher Prentiss Mickiewicz, Ellen Midgley, Elizabeth Mihaly, Eugene B. Mikell, Gwendolyn Mikolay, Justin† Miles, Edward L. Milestone, Judith B. Millard, Robert B. Miller, Aaron David Miller, Alisa Miller, Amber D. Miller, Anthony Murray Miller, Charles R. Miller, Christopher D. Miller, David Charles Jr. Miller, Debra Lynn Miller, Eyrique V. Miller, Franklin C. Miller, Heidi G.\*

Miller, Judith

Miller, Linda B.

Miller, Ken

Miller, Matthew L. Miller, Paul D. Miller, Scott L. Miller, Thomas J. Miller, William Green Miller, William Scott II Millington, John A. Mills, Bradford Mills, Karen Gordon Mills, Susan Linda Milner, Helen V. Milrod, Donna\* Mintz, Daniel R. Mir. Aimen N. Miscik, Jami Mishkin, Alexander V. Mitchell, Andrea Mitchell, Arthur M. III Mitchell, George J. Mitchell, Patricia E. Mitchell, Wandra G. Mixter, Jonathan Cobb Mize, David M. Mizel, Larry A. Mochizuki, Kiichi Modi, Kalpen Suresh† Moe, Sherwood G. Moffett, George D. Molano, Walter Thomas Mondale, Walter F. Moneyhon, Matthew† Moniz, Ernest J. Montelongo, Michael Montgomery, George Cranwell Montgomery, Harold H. Montgomery, Mark C. Montgomery, Parker G. Montgomery, Philip O'Bryan III Montoya, Manuel-Julian Moock, Joyce Lewinger Moody, Jim Moody, William S. Moore Gerety, Amias Agassiz† Moore, John J. Jr. Moore, John M. Moore, John Norton Moore, Jonathan Moore, Julia A. Moore, Wes W. Moorman, Thomas S. Jr. Moose, George E. Moose, Richard M. Mora, Alberto J.

Mora, Antonio G. Moran, Michael E. Moran, Terence P. Moran, Theodore H. Moravcsik, Andrew Morey, David Edward Morgan, Charlotte M. Morin, James Morin, Jamie Morningstar, Richard L. Morris, Charles R. Morris, Frederic A. Morrison, J. Stephen Morrissev, Arthur C. Morse, Edward L. Morse, Kenneth P. Morse, Stephen S. Mortimer, David H. Mosbacher, Robert A. Jr. Moseley, T. Michael Moser, Joel H. Moses, Alfred H. Mosettig, Michael David Moskow, Michael H. Moss, Ambler H. Jr. Moss, Ian C.† Moss, Jeff Mossman, James Motley, Joel W. Mottahedeh, Roy P. Motulsky, Daniel T. Mouat, Lucia Moyer, Homer E. Jr. Mroz, John Edwin Mudd, Daniel H. Mudd, Margaret F. Mujal-Leon, Eusebio Mukunda, Gautam† Mulberger, Virginia A. Mulcahy, Anne M. Mulford, David C. Mullaney, Craig M. Muller, Edward R. Muller, Steven Mundie, Craig James Muñoz, George Munroe, Alexandra Kneeland Munroe, George B. Munsch, Stuart B. Murase, Emily Moto Murdoch, Rupert Murdock, Deroy Murphy, Ewell E. Jr. Murphy, Richard W. Murray, Alan S.

Murray, Douglas J. Murray, Ian P. Murray, Janice L. Murray, Lori Esposito Murray, Robert J. Muse, Martha Twitchell Musham, Bettye Martin Muthiah, Radha Mutua, Makau W. Muzinich, Justin George Myers, Richard B. Myerson, Roger B. Myerson, Toby S. Myrow, Stephen A.

Nachman, David Eli Nacht, Michael Nadiri, M. Ishaq Nagl, John A. Nagorski, Andrew Nagorski, Thomas G.\* Naím, Moisés Nájera, Peter F. Nakhleh, Emile A. Napolitano, Janet A. Nash, William L. Nasr, Vali R. Nathan, James A. Nathanson, Marc B. Nathoo, Raffiq A. Nau, Henry R. Naughton, Barry J. Neal, Jeffrey C. Neal, Stephen L. Nealer, Kevin G. Nederlander, Robert Jr. Negron, Michael Angelo† Negroponte, Diana Villiers Negroponte, John D. Neier, Aryeh Nelson, Abagail Nelson, Anne Nelson, Daniel N. Nelson, Merlin E. Nelson, Richard D. Nelson, Robert L. Jr. Nelson, Thomas C. Nepomnyashchy, Catharine Theimer Nesbit, Lynn

Neuberger, Anne

Neuger, Win J. Neuman, Stephanie G. Neureiter, Norman P. Newberg, Esther R. Newburg, Andre Newcomb, Nancy S. Newell, John F. III\* Newhouse, John Newman, Jay H. Newman, Pamela J. Newman, Pauline Newman, Priscilla A. Newman, Richard T. Newton, M. Diana Helweg Nexon, Daniel H. Ney, Edward N. Nguyen, Ha Nhu† Nguyen, Tuan H. Nicholas, N. J. Jr. Nichols, Rodney W. Nicholson, Jan Nides, Thomas R. Niehuss, John M. Niehuss, Rosemary Neaher Nielsen, Nancy Nielsen, Suzanne Christine Nilsson, Keith R. Nilsson, Kenneth A. Nimetz, Matthew Nimr, Amer N. Nitze, William A. Noam, Eli M. Nogales, Luis G. Nolan, Janne Emilie Nolan, Robert† Noland, Marcus Nolte, William M. Nonacs, Eric Steven Noonan, Peggy Norman, William S. Norquist, Grover Glenn Northup, Nancy J. Norton, Augustus Richard Norton, Eleanor Holmes Norton, Patrick M. Nossel, Suzanne F. Noto, Lucio A. Novack, Lynne Dominick Novogratz, Jacqueline Novotny, Thomas E. Nuechterlein, Jeffrey D. Nunn, Sam

Nye, Joseph S. Jr. Nye, Seth

Oakley, Phyllis E. Oberdorfer, Don Obey, David R.\* O'Brien, James C.\* Ocampo, Juan Ochoa-Brillembourg, Hilda O'Cleireacain, Carol Odeen, Philip A. Odell, Jamieson Meldal† Odell, John S. Odum, Marvin E. III\* Oettinger, Anthony G. Offenheiser, Raymond C. Jr. Offit, Morris W. O'Flaherty, J. Daniel Oh, Kongdan O'Hanlon, Michael O'Hearn, Katherine I. Okata, Maritza U. Okawara, Merle Aiko O'Keefe, Daniel Olayan, Hutham S.\* Oliva, L. Jay Oliver, April A. Oliver, John L. III Ollivant, Douglas A.

Olson, Jane T.

Olson, Lyndon L. Jr.

Olver, Parizad June†

Omestad, Thomas E.

O'Neal, E. Stanley

O'Neil, Michael J.

O'Neill, Matthew

Onek, Joseph N.

Martin

O'Prey, Kevin P.

Orbach, Benjamin

Ordway, John M.

O'Reilly, David J.

Orentlicher, Diane

Orlins, Stephen A.

Ornstein, Norman J.

O'Rourke, Patrick J.

O'Neil, Kathleen A.

O'Malley, Cormac K.H.

O'Neill, Brian Deveraux

Onyeagoro, Obinna A. Jr.

Oppenheimer, Andres M.

Oppenheimer, Michael F.

Orbach, Ashley Kushner

Oppenheimer, Franz

Olson, Ronald L.

Orrenius, Pia M. Orszag, Peter R. Osborn, John E. Osborne, Richard de J. Osius, Margaret Elizabeth Osman, Hoda K. Osmer McQuade, Margaret Osnos, Evan L.R.† Osnos, Peter L.W. Osnos, Susan Sherer Osterholm, Michael T. Osterling, Scott O'Sullivan, Meghan L. Otero, Maria O'Toole, Tara Jeanne Otto, Eric H. Ovitz, Michael S. Owen, Roberts Bishop Owens, James W. Owens, William A. Oxman, Bernard H. Oxman, Stephen A. Oxnam, Robert B. Oye, Kenneth A.

Orr, Robert C.

Paal, Douglas Haines Pachios, Harold C. Packard, George R. Padmanabhan, Vijay M.† Padrón, Eduardo J. Page, Carter W. Paine, George C. II Paisner, Bruce Lawrence Pakula, Hannah C. Palmer, Mark Palmer, Matthew A. Palmisano, Samuel J.\* Pandith, Farah Anwar Paperin, Stewart J. Parasiliti, Andrew\* Pardee, Scott E. Pardes, Herbert Pardew, James W. Parekh, Sanjay Parent, Louise M. Paris, Jonathan Parker, Charles Allen\* Parker, Elizabeth Rindskopf Parker, Emily D. Parker, Jay M. Parker, Michelle S. Parker, Penny L. Parker Feld, Karen Parkinson, Roger P.

Nussbaum, Bruce Nye, J. Benjamin H.

Nusratty, Timur

<sup>\*</sup> Elected to membership in 2012.

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Parks, Michael Christopher Parsky, Gerald L. Parsons, Richard D. Pascal, Alexander Pascual, Carlos E. Passer, Juliette M. Passman, Pamela S. Pastor, Robert A. Pate, R. Hewitt\* Patrick, Hugh T. Patrick, Stewart M. Patrick, Thomas Harold Patricof, Alan Joel Patricof, Ionathan Patricof, Susan E. Patrikis, Ernest T. Patron, Michelle N. Patterson, Eric D. Patterson, Nicholas Patterson, Patricia M. Pattiz, Norman J. Paul, Douglas L. Paul, Roland A. Paulikas, Steven† Paulson, Henry M. Jr. Paulson, John Alfred Paulus, Judith K. Paumgarten, Nicholas Biddle Pavel, Barry Paxson, Christina H.\* Pearl, Jonathan J.† Pearlstine, Norman Peckham, Gardner G. Pedersen Thomas, Leah† Pederson, Rena M. Peek, Andrew L.† Pell, Herbert Claiborne† Pelletreau, Robert H. Jr. Peña, Federico F. Penn, Lawrence Edward III Penn, Mark Jeffrey Perella, Joseph R. Peretz, Don Perez, Antonio F. Perez, David Perez, Luis I. Pérez-Stable, Marifeli Perkin, Linda J. Perkins, Edward J. Perkins, Roswell B. Perkovich, George R.

\* Elected to membership in 2012. † Elected to a five-year term member-

Perlman, Janice Elaine Perlmutter, Barbara S. Perlmutter, Louis Perritt, Henry H. Jr. Perry, Robert C. Perry, William J. Persico, Joseph E. Peschka, Mary Porter Peters, Mary Ann Peters, Michael P. Petersen, Mathew Scott Peterson, Holly Peterson, Michael A. Peterson, Peter G. Petraeus, David H. Petree, Richard W. Jr. Petri, Thomas E. Petro, James Benjamin Pettibone, Peter J. Petty, John R. Peyronnin, Joseph Felix Pfaltzgraff, Robert L. Jr. Pfeiffer, Jane Cahill Pfeiffer, Leon K. Pfeiffer, Steven B. Phan, Dang Tan Pharr, Susan J. Phelan, John J. Jr. Phelps, Edmund S. Phillips, Cecil M. Phillips, David L. Phillips, Jeanne L. Phillips-Barrasso, Kate Phu, Elizabeth M. Pickering, Thomas R. Pieczenik, Steve R. Piedra, Alberto M. Jr. Pierce, Eric Pierce, John vanden Heuvel\* Pierce, Lawrence W. Pierce, Ponchitta Piercy, Jan Pierre, Andrew J. Pifer, Steven K. Pigott, Charles M. Pike, John E. Pilgrim, Kathryn Pillar, Paul R. Pillsbury, Marnie S. Pillsbury, Michael Pilon, Juliana Geran Pincus, Walter H. Pipes, Daniel

Pipes, Richard

Pisar, Leah

Pisano, Anthony Robert

Piverger, Jacques-Philippe Pizzarello, Louis D. Plaks, Livia B. Plasencia, Jorge Platt, Alan A. Platt, Alexander H. Platt, Nicholas Platt, Sheila Maynard Plattner, Marc F. Plepler, Richard L. Plutzik, Jonathan Poats, Rutherford M. Pocalyko, Michael N. Pogue, Richard W. Poizner, Stephen L. Pokempner, Dinah R. Polan, Mary Lake\* Polk, William R. Pollack, Carol A. Pollack, Gerald A. Pollack, Jonathan D. Pollack, Kenneth Michael Pollack, Lester Pollard, Neal A.\* Pollock, Robert Lansing Pond, Elizabeth Poneman, Daniel Bruce Pool-Eckert, Marquita J. Popadiuk, Roman Popkin, Anne B. Porat, Ruth Porges, Marisa L. Porter, Damon Shelby Porter, John Edward Portes, Richard Porzecanski, Arturo C. Posen, Adam S. Posen, Barry R. Posner, Michael Poste, George H. Postol, Theodore A. Potter, William C. Pottinger, Matthew F.\* Powell, Colin L. Powell, Dina Habib Powell, Ierome H. Powell, Nancy J. Powell Jobs, Laurene

Pitts, Joe W. III

Pressler, Larry Preston, Stephen W. Prewitt, Kenneth Price, Bryan Price, Daniel M. Price, John R. Jr. Price, Raymond K. Jr. Price, Robert Price, Sara Dawes Price, Steven Priest, William W. Jr. Prieto, Daniel B. III Prince, Charles O. III Prince, Charles O. IV† Pritzker, Penny S. Pritzker, Thomas J. Proenza, Luis M. Prueher, Joseph Wilson Pryce, Jeffrey F. Puchala, Donald Iames Puckett, Robert H. Pulling, Edward L. Pulling, Thomas L. Purcell, Susan Kaufman Puri, Shaifali Pursley, Robert E. Pustay, John S. Putnam, Robert D. Pyle, Kenneth B. Pyle, Michael

Q Qalbani, Adeel Quainton, Anthony C.E. Quam, Lois E. Quandt, William B. Quartel, Robert Jr. Quelch, John Anthony Quigley, Kevin F.F. Quinn, Jane Bryant

#### R

Raab, Jennifer J.
Rabb, Bruce
Radtke, Robert W.
Rahman, Anika
Rahman, Zeenat
Raimondo, Gina\*
Raines, Franklin D.
Raisian, John
Ramakrishna, Kilaparti
Raman, Aneesh†
Ramaswamy, Sangeetha
Ramchandani, Sunny
Ramer, Bruce M.
Ramer, Lawrence J.

Membership Roster 48

Powers, Averill L.

Pozen, Robert C.

Pranger, Robert J.

Prasso, Sheridan

Press, William H.

Pregenzer, Arian L.

Powers, Timothy E.

TElected to a five-year term member ship in 2012.

Ramirez, Lilia L. Ramo, Simon Ramsay, Alston Ramsey, W. Russell Rand, Dafna Hochman Randall, Lisa Randolph, R. Sean Randt, Clark T. Jr. Ranis, Gustav Rankin, Clyde E. III Raphel, Robin Lynn Rapp, Edward J. Rappaport, Alan H. Rascoff, Samuel James\* Rashid, Hussein Ratchford, J. Thomas Rather, Dan Ratner, Ely S. Ratnesar, Romesh M. Rattner, Steven L. Rattray, Gregory John Rauch, Rudolph S. Rauert, Tyler Reid† Raul, Alan Charles Raustiala, Kal Raval, Aditya Mahendra† Ravenal, Earl C. Ravich, Samantha F. Ravitch, Richard Raymond, David A. Raymond, Douglas A. Raymond, Lee R. Reade, Claire E. Realuyo, Celina B. Rebolledo, Iván C. Reckford, Jonathan T.M. Rediker, Douglas Alan Reed, Charles B. Reed, Jack Reed, Joseph Verner Reed, Lucy Ferguson Reese, William Sears Reffkin, Robert Regan, Ned Regan, Trish Regens, James L. Reichert, William M. Reid, Ogden Reif, Leo Rafael\* Reiling, Peter A. Reilly, Saskia Shane Reilly, William K.

\* Elected to membership in 2012.

Reimer, Dennis Joe Reimers, Fernando Miguel Reinhardt, John E. Reinhart, Carmen M. Reinharz, Jehuda Reisman, William Michael Reiss, Mitchell B. Remache, Julie Ann Remington, Thomas F. Remnick, David J. Renfrew, Charles Byron Rennie, Milbrey Rennie, Renate Renuart, Victor Eugene Jr. Reppert, John C. Resnicoff, Arnold E. Resor, Stanley R. Ressel, Teresa M. Reuter, Timothy Revere, Evans J.R. Revesz, Richard L. Revzin, Philip S. Reynoso, Julissa Rhodes, William R. Ricardel, Mira R. Rice, Condoleezza Rice, Donald S. Rice, Joseph A. Rice, Joseph Lee III Rice, Susan E. Rich, John H. Jr. Rich, Michael D. Richard, Anne C. Richards, Paul G. Richardson, Frank E. Richardson, Henry J. III Richardson, William B. Richardson, William R. Richardson, Yolonda C. Richburg, Keith B. Richter, Anthony Riddell, Malcolm C. Ridgway, Rozanne L. Rieckhoff, Paul Rieff, David Rielly, John E. Riffat, Imran Rifkind, Robert S. Riordan, Michael L. Riotta, Giovanni Rishikof, Harvey Ritch, John B. III Rivkin, David B. Jr. Rivkin, David W.

Rivlin, Alice M.

Rizk, Nayla M.

Roach, Stephen S. Robb, Charles S. Robbins, Carla Anne Robbins, Elizabeth Jane Robbins, Rachel F. Robert, Stephen Roberts, Bradley H. Roberts, John J. Roberts, Walter R. Robichaud, Carl Alexander† Robinson, Barbara Paul Robinson, David Z. Robinson, Davis R. Robinson, Guyton Lee† Robinson, James D. III Robinson, Linda Robinson, Pearl T. Robison, Olin C. Rocca, Christina B. Rocha, V. Manuel Rochberg, Daniel Robert† Roche, James G. Rockefeller, David Rockefeller, David Ir. Rockefeller, John D. IV Rockefeller, Nicholas Rockefeller, Steven C. Rockwell, Hays H. Rockwell, Keith McElroy Rodin, Judith Rodriguera, Sergio Jr. Rodriguez, Cristina Maria Rodriguez, Jorge Javier† Rodriguez, Rita M. Rodrik, Dani Roett, Riordan Rogers, Edward M. Jr. Rogers, James E. Rogers, John M. Roggero, Frederick F. Rogoff, Kenneth S. Rohan, Karen M. Rohatyn, Felix G. Rohlen, Thomas P. Rohlfing, Joan Rokke, Ervin J. Roman, Nancy Ellen Romanowski, Alina L. Romberg, Alan D. Romer, Paul Romero, Philip Joseph Romero-Barcelo, Carlos A. Rometty, Virginia M. Romig, Alton D. Jr. Rondeau, Ann E.

Rooney, Megan E.† Roosevelt, Theodore IV Rose, Charles Peete Ir. Rose, Daniel Rose, Elihu Rose, Gideon Rose, Joseph B. Rose, Marshall Roseboro, Brian C. Rosecrance, Richard Rosen, Amy M. Rosen, Daniel H. Rosen, Gary Rosen, Jack Rosen, Jeffrey A. Rosen, Robert L. Rosenberg, Mark B. Rosenberg, Zeda F. Rosenblatt, Lionel A. Rosenblatt, Peter R. Rosenblum, Mort L. Rosenfeld, Gerald\* Rosenfield, Patricia L. Rosenkranz, Robert Rosensweig, Jeffrey A. Rosenthal, Andrew M. Rosenthal, Douglas Eurico Rosenthal, Jack Rosenthal, Joel H. Rosenthal, Mitchell S. Rosenwald, E. John Jr. Rosenwald, Nina Rosenzweig, Robert M. Rosett, Claudia Rosner, Jeremy D. Rosovsky, Henry Ross, Christopher W.S. Ross, Dennis B. Ross, Gary N. Ross, Robert S. Ross, Thomas Jr. Rossabi, Morris Rosso, David J. Rossotti, Charles O. Rostow, Nicholas Rotberg, Robert I. Roth, Kenneth Roth, Stanley O. Roth, William M. Rothkopf, Adrean Scheid Rothkopf, David Jochanan Rottenberg, Linda D. Roubini, Nouriel\* Roughead, Gary\* Route, Ronald A. Rovine, Arthur W.

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Rowen, Henry S. Rowny, Edward L. Roy, J. Stapleton Rubenstein, David M. Rubenstein, Leonard S. Rubin, Arthur Mark Rubin, Barnett R. Rubin, Gretchen C. Rubin, James P. Rubin, Nancy H. Rubin, Nilmini Gunaratne Rubin, Robert E. Rubin, Trudy S. Rudder, Philip C. Rudenstine, Neil L. Rudin, William C. Rudman, Warren B. Ruenitz, Robert M. Ruggie, John G. Ruggiero, Anthony II Rugh, William A. Rughwani, Ashish B. Rumbaugh, Russell Rumer, Eugene B. Runde, Daniel FitzGerald\* Runge, Carlisle Ford Rupp, George Rutherford, Alanna C.† Ryan, Evan M. Ryan, John T. III Ryan, Jordan Dimock Ryan, Kevin P. Ryan, Mary C. Ryan, Patrick G. Jr.

S

Sachs, Jeffrey D. Sacks, Paul M. Sadat, Leila Nadya\* Saeed, Ahmed M.\* Sagan, Scott D. Sakoian, Carol Knuth Salacuse, Jeswald William Salam, Reihan† Salazar, Ana Maria Salbi, Zainab Saleh, Ulla Rickert† Salem, George R. Salomon, Richard E. Salomon, William R. Salzman, Anthony David Samore, Gary

Sample, Steven B. Samuels, Barbara Christie II Samuels, Michael A. Samuels, Richard J. Sanchez, Francisco J. Sanchez, Miguel Antonio Sanchez, Orlando Sandalow, David Sandberg, Sheryl K. Sandel, Michael J. Sander, Alison B. Sanders, Barry A. Sanders, Marlene Sanderson, Steven E. Sands, Amy Sanger, David E. Sanok, Stephanie Santosham, Shireen Hannah† Sapiro, Miriam Sapolsky, Harvey M. Sapp Mancini, Angela Sapra, Puneet Sargeant, Stephen Thomas Sarotte, Mary Elise Sassen, Saskia Sasser, James R. Satcher, David Satloff, Robert B. Satter, Muneer A. Saujani, Reshma M. Saul, Ralph Southey Saunders, Elizabeth Saunders, Harold H. Savitt, Jill A. Sawoski, Mark Sawyer, Diane Scarborough, Charles J. Schacht, Henry B. Schade, Karl M. Schadlow, Nadia Schaffer, Howard Bruner Schaffer, Teresita C. Schake, Kori Schearer, S. Bruce Schecter, Jerrold L. Schecter, Kate S. Scheffer, David J. Scheinman, Lawrence Schell, Orville Hickok Schell, Theodore H. Scher, Peter L. Schick, Thomas Schieffer, Bob L. Schifter, Richard

Schiller, Vivian L.

Schlein, Michael Edward\* Schlesinger, David Schlesinger, James R. Schlesinger, Leonard A. Schlesinger, Stephen C. Schlickenmaier, William Schlosser, Herbert S. Schmemann, Serge Schmidt, Benno Jr. Schmidt, Eric Schmidt, Todd A. Schmitt, Eric P. Schmoke, Kurt L. Schnabel, Rockwell A. Schneider, Jan Schneider, Kammerle Schneider, Mark E. Schneider, William Schneider, William Jr. Schneidman, Witney W. Schneier, Arthur Schnitzer, Alan\* Schoen, Douglas E. Schoettle, Enid C.B. Schouten, Schuyler J.† Schrage, Elliot J. Schrage, Steven Patrick Schrager, Allison Schramm, Carl J. Schreiber, Brian T. Schroeder, Christopher Matthew Schubert, Richard Francis Schuepbach, Martin A. Schuker, Jill A. Schulhof, Jonathan N. Schulhof, Lesley G.† Schulhof, Michael Peter Schultz, Tammy S. Schulz, Laura Abrahams Schulz, Lauren Gabrielle† Schulz, William F. Schumacher Matos. Edward Schwab, George D. Schwab, Susan Carroll Schwalbe, Nina Rebecca Schwartz, Bernard L. Schwartz, Daniel Ian Schwartz, Eric Paul Schwartz, Norton A. Schwartz, Peter

Sciolino, Elaine F. Sciutto, James E. Scott, Jeannine B. Scott, Robert A. Scotten, Hagan C. Scowcroft, Brent Scully, Timothy R. Seagrave, Norman P. Sears, Jonathan E. Seaton, Edward L. Seaton, James B. III Sedoy, Michael P. Segal, Susan Louise Seib, Gerald F. Seibold, Frederick C. Jr. Seiple, Chris Sekulow, Eugene A. Selib, Jonathan Seligmann, Peter Selin, Ivan Semetko, Holli A. Sender, Henny Sennett, Richard Servan-Schreiber, Pascaline Sesno, Frank W. Sestanovich, Stephen R. Sewall, John O.B. Sewall, Sarah Sexton, John E. Seymour, Frances J. Shafer, D. Michael Shafer, Jeffrey R. Shah, Raj Shah, Smita N. Shailor, Barbara Shalala, Donna E. Shambaugh, David Shanker, Thomas Daniel Shapiro, Andrew J. Shapiro, Ian Shapiro, Isaac Shapiro, Jacob Norman Shaplen, Jason T. Sharma, Amit† Sharma, Deven Sharp, Daniel A. Shattuck, John Shattuck, Megan Shaw, David E. Sheehan, Kevin P. Sheehan, Michael A. Sheeran, Josette M. Sheets, Nathan\* Sheffield, Jill W. Sheldon, Eleanor B.

Shelley, Louise I.\*

Membership Roster 50

Schwarz, Adam

Schwarzer, William W.

Schwebel, Stephen M.

Schwarzman, Stephen A.

<sup>\*</sup> Elected to membership in 2012.

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Shelp, Ronald K. Shelton, Joanna Reed Shelton-Colby, Sally A. Shenai, Neena G.† Shenk, George H. Shepard, Stephen B. Shepardson, Robert Thomas Shepherd, J. Michael Sheriff, Alan R. Sherkey, Mark B. Jr. Sherman, Wendy R. Sherr, Lynn B. Sherwood, Benjamin B. Sherwood-Randall, Elizabeth Shields, Brendan P.† Shields, Geoffrey B. Shields, Lisa Katherine Shiffman, Gary M. Shifter, Michael E. Shimony, Catherine Lieber\* Shinn, James J. Shinseki, Eric Shipley, Walter V. Shirk, Susan L. Shirzad, Faryar Shklyar, Natan M. Shlaes, Amity Ruth Shoemaker, Christopher C. Shoemaker, Jolynn Michele Shribman, David M. Shriver, Donald W. Jr. Shriver, Timothy P. Shulman, Colette Shultz, George P. Shultz, Susan Kent Fried Shuman, David Shuman, Stanley S. Sick, Gary G. Siddiqui, Mustafa Mohsin Siebert, Muriel F. Siegal, Bippy M. Siegal, Brian D. Siegel, Bridget A. Siegel, Seth (Yossi) M. Siegel, William D. Siegman, Henry Sigal, Leon V. Sigelman, Joseph M.\* Sikkink, Kathryn A.

 $^{st}$  Elected to membership in 2012.

Siko, John† Silber, Laura J. Silber, Mitchell Darrow Silberman, Laurence H. Silberman, Robert S. Silberstein, Alan M. Silkenat, James R. Silver, Allison Silver, Daniel B. Silver, Mariko Silverberg, Daniel I. Silvers, Robert B. Simes, Dimitri K. Simmons, Adele Simmons, P. J. Simmons, Ruth J. Simon, Denis Fred Simon, Hugh V. Jr. Simon, Steven Sims, Calvin G. Sinclair, Paula J. Singh, Jaspaul Singh, Michael Singleton, Lincoln Cameron Sinha, Sylvana Q. Sinkin, Richard N. Sisk, Mark S. Sitrick, James Baker Siva, Dileepan Skinner, Kiron Kanina Sklarew, Jennifer Friedman Skoczylas, Paul Skol, Michael M. Skolnikoff, Eugene B. Skora, Alexander J. Skorton, David J. Slade, David R. Slattery, Jim C. Slaughter, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Richard A. Slavin, Barbara Slawson, Paul S. Sloane, Ann Brownell Sloat, Amanda Slobogin, Kathy Slocombe, Walter B. Small, Andrew\* Small, Lawrence M. Smalley, Kathleen Smart, Christopher W. Smart, S. Bruce Jr. Smeall, Christopher Smidt, Jonathan D. Smith, Anna Deavere

Smith, Dane F. Jr.

Smith, Edwin M. Smith, Fern M. Smith, Fred Gary Smith, Frederick Wallace Smith, Gayle E. Smith, Hedrick L. Smith, Jean Kennedy Smith, Jeffrey H. Smith, John T. II Smith, Malcolm B. Smith, Martin Smith, Melissa Smith, Michael B. Smith, Perry M. Smith, Peter Hopkinson Smith, R. Jeffrey Smith, Richard M. Smith, Shannon L.\* Smith, Stephen G. Smith, Taiya M. Smith, Tony Smith, W.Y. Snodgrass, Guy† Snowe, Olympia J. Snyder, Jed C. Snyder, Richard E. Snyder, Timothy D. Sobel, Clifford M.\* Sobel, Richard Paul Sobol, Dorothy Meadow Sobol, Julia† Soderberg, Nancy E. Soellner, Anna Maria Sofaer, Abraham David Sokolski, Henry D. Solnick, Steven L. Solomon, Andrew Wallace Solomon, Anne G.K. Solomon, Joshua N. Solomon, Peter J. Solomon, Richard H. Solomon, Robert Sonenshine, H. Marshall Sonenshine, Tara Diane Sonnenberg, Maurice Sonnenfeldt, Helmut Sorensen, Gillian Martin Sorkin, Andrew Ross Soros, George Soros, Jonathan T.A. Soros, Paul Soudriette, Richard W. Sovern, Michael I. Sowers, Tommy Spain, Anna K. Spalter, Jonathan

Spangler, Scott M. Spar, Debora L. Speckhard, Daniel V. Spector, Leonard S. Speedie, David C. Speltz, Paul W. Spence, A. Michael Spence, Matt Spencer, John Spencer, Karen Spengler, Laurie Jean Sperling, Gene B. Spero, Joan E. Spero, Joshua B. Speyer, Jerry I. Spiegel, Daniel L. Spiegel, John W. Spielvogel, Carl Spiers, Ronald I. Spindler, J. Andrew Spoon, Alan Spratt, John M. Jr. Staats, Jennifer Bulkeley Stahl, Lesley R. Staley, Jes Staley, Thomas Walter Stam, Allan C. Stamas, George Paul Stamas, Stephen Stanger, Allison Katherine Stanislaw, Joseph A. Stanley, Deirdre Staples, Eugene S. Starrs, Ann M. Stavridis, James G. Steel, Ronald Steiger, Paul E. Stein, Elliot Steinberg, David J. Steinberg, James B. Steinberg, Mark R. Steinberg, Richard H. Steinbruner, John D. Steiner, Joshua L. Steiner, Steven E. Stempel, John D. Stengel, Richard Stent, Angela Evelyn Stepan, Alfred C. Stephanopoulos, George R. Stephenson, Randall L. Stern, David J. Stern, Fritz Stern, Jeffrey M.

Stern, Jessica E.

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Stern, Paula Stern, Paul G. Stern, Todd D. Stern, Walter P. Sternberg, Seymour Sterner, Michael E. Stetson, Anne Stevens, Charles R. Stevens, James W. Stevens, Paul Schott Stevens, Robert J. Stevenson, Charles A. Stewart, C. Evan Stewart, Donald M. Stewart, Gordon C. Stewart, Jamie B. Jr. Stewart, Ruth Ann Stiehm, Judith Hicks Stiglitz, Joseph E. Stiles, Deborah F. Stith, Charles R. Stith, Kate Stobaugh, Robert B. Stockman, Farah Stoessinger, John G. Stoga, Alan J. Stokes, Bruce Stoll, Lona S. Stone, Randall W.\* Stoneman, Shelly Stonesifer, Patricia Q. Strauss, Robert S. Streeb, Gordon L. Stremlau, John J. Strianese, Michael T. Stringer, Howard Strmecki, Marin J. Strock, James M. Stromseth, Jane E. Stromseth, Jonathan R. Strossen, Nadine Strzalka, Caroline Studzinski, John J. Stuehmke, Dorothy J. Sturchio, Jeffrey L. Styron, Rose Sughrue, Karen M. Suleiman, Ezra N. Sullivan, Daniel S. Sullivan, Gordon R. Sullivan, John D. Sullivan, Travis J.†

Summers, Lawrence H. Sun, Angela Sundiata, Ibrahim K. Suominen, Kati\* Suro, Roberto A. Sutphen, Mona K. Sutterlin, James S. Sutton, Francis X. Suzman, Cedric L. Swan, Guy C. III Swanson, Carl Axel Swartz, Salli Anne Sweeney, John J. Sweig, Julia Ellen Sweitzer, Brandon W. Swid. Scott L. Swid, Stephen Claar Swiers, Peter Bird Swift, Christopher Swing, John Temple Swonk, Diane Syron, Richard F. Szekely, Deborah Szewczyk, Bart M.J. Szporluk, Roman

T

Taft, William H. IV Tagliabue, Paul Tahir-Kheli, Shirin R. Talbott, Devin Lloyd Talbott, Strobe Talwar, Nick Talwar, Puneet Tama, Jordan† Tan Bhala, Kara W.Y. Tananbaum, Steven A. Tang, David K.Y. Tanner, Harold Tanter, Raymond Tapia, Raul R. Tarbert, Heath P. Tarnoff. Peter Tarter, C. Bruce Tarullo, Daniel K. Tatlock, Anne M. Taubman, William Tauscher, Ellen O. Tavares, Ricardo S. Tavitian, Aso O. Taylor, Adam Taylor, Aleesha Taylor, Arthur R. Taylor, Cathy L. Taylor, Christopher T. Taylor, Diana L.

Taylor, James S. Taylor, James Scott Jr. Taylor, John Brian\* Taylor, Kathryn Pelgrift Taylor, Margaret L. Taylor, Scott D. Taylor-Kale, Laura Teece, David J. Teichner, Martha A. Teitel. Ruti G. Teitelbaum, Michael S. Telhami, Shibley Tellis, Ashley Joachim Tempelsman, Maurice Temple, Ronald S.\* Temple-Raston, Dina Tenet, George J. Tercek, Mark R. Terracciano, Anthony P. Terry, Sarah Meiklejohn Thames, Knox Theobald, Thomas C. Theros, Patrick N. Thielmann, A. Gregory Thiessen, Marc Alexander Thoman, G. Richard Thomas, Christopher Thomas, Franklin A. Thomas, James P. Thomas, Lee B. Jr. Thomas, Lydia Waters Thomas-Graham, Pamela A. Thompson, Nicholas Thompson, Robert L. Thompson, Tommy G. Thompson, W. Scott Thomson, James A. Thomson, Katie Nelson Thomson, Robert H. Thornberry, William M. Thornell, Richard P. Thornton, John L. Thoron, Louisa Thukkaram, Navin Tien, John K. Jr. Tienda, Marta Tierney, Paul E. Jr. Tiersky, Ronald Till, Kimberly Timbers, William H. Timofeyev, Igor V. Timothy, Kristen Timpson, Sarah Livingston Tindell, Cynthia A. Tingle-Smith, Tanisha

Tipson, Frederick S. Tirana, Amina Tisch, Andrew Herbert Tisch, James S. Tiven, Marjorie B. Todman, Terence A. Toft, Monica Duffy Toll, Maynard J. Jr. Tomero, Leonor Tompkins, Graves† Toobin, Jeffrey R. Toomey, Kathleen Elizabeth Toppeta, William J.\* Topping, Audrey Ronning Topping, Seymour Toraño, Maria Elena Torres, Gerald Torricelli, Robert G. Toungara, Jeanne Maddox Townsend, Frances Fragos Townsend, Kathleen Kennedy Trachtenberg, Stephen Joel Train, Harry D. II Train, John Train, Russell E. Trainor, Bernard E. Trani, Eugene P. Traub, James Travers, David Treadway, Stephen J. Treanor, Mark C. Trebat, Thomas J. Treverton, Gregory Frye Trice, Robert H. Jr. Trimble, Charles R. Tripp, Aili Mari Trivedi, Atman M. Trojan, Vera M. Troye, Olivia Truitt, Nancy Sherwood Trulio, David Truman, Edwin M. Tsehai, Elizabeth G. Tsipis, Kosta Tucher, H. Anton Tucker, Cynthia A. Tucker, Joseph David† Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf Tuggle, Clyde C. Tulbah, Ali H. Tuminez, Astrid S. Tung, Ko-Yung Tung, Savio Wai-Hok Tuohey, Brendan

<sup>\*</sup> Elected to membership in 2012.

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Turekian, Vaughan C.
Turner, James M.
Turner, Robert F.
Turner, Stansfield
Tusiani, Michael D.
Tuths, Donna M.
Twombly, Dillon†
Tyson, Carole Henderson
Tyson, Laura D'Andrea

#### U

Ubiñas, Luis A. Udovitch, Abraham L. Uhlig, Mark Ullman, Richard H. Ulman, Cornelius M. Ulrich, Marybeth Peterson Ungar, Sanford J. Unger, David C. Unger, Noam Carl Untermeyer, Charles Graves Upham, Samuel Phineas Upton, Maureen T. Urben, Heidi Usher, William R. Ussery, Terdema L. II Utgoff, Victor A. Utley, Garrick

#### V

Vagts, Detlev F. Vaitheeswaran, Vijay V. Vajjhala, Shalini P.† Vaky, Viron P. Valenta, Jiri Valentine, Curtis C. Valentine. Debra A. Valenzuela, Arturo A. van Agtmael, Antoine W. Vance, Elsie Nicoll Vande Berg, Marsha vanden Heuvel, Katrina vanden Heuvel, William J. van der Vink, Gregory E. Van Dusen, Michael H. Van Dyk, Ted Van Evera, Stephen Van Oudenaren, John Van Vliet-Goodrich, Carina Kristen Van Zandt, David Edgar

Varela, Marta B. Varia, Nisha† Varmus, Harold E. Varney, Christine A.\* Vaughan, Patricia C. Vecchi, Sesto E. Veit, Carol Michele Veit, Lawrence A. Veliotes, Nicholas A. Vendley, William F. Veneman, Ann M. Venkayya, Rajeev V. Verleger, Philip K. Jr. Verma, Richard R. Verrastro, Frank Anthony Verstandig, Toni G. Verveer, Melanne S. Verville, Elizabeth G. Vessey, John W. Vester, Linda J. Vick, Edward H. Victor, Alice S. Vidal, David J. Videt, Pote P. Viebranz, Curtis Gray Viera, Paul E. Jr. Viets, Richard Noyes Vila, Adis M. Viscusi, Enzo Visotzky, Burton L.\* Vitale, Alberto Vitale, David J. Vlasic, Mark V.\* Voell, Richard Allen Vogel, Ezra F. Vogelgesang, Sandy Louise Vogelson, Jay M. Volcker, Paul A. Volk, Stephen R. von Eckartsberg, Gayle Rose von Lipsey, Roderick K. von Mehren, Robert B. Votaw, Carmen Delgado Vradenburg, George III Vuono, Carl E.

#### W

Wachner, Linda J.
Wachtel, Andrew Baruch
Wadsworth Darby, Mary
Wager, Todd K.
Waggoner, Robert C.
Wagner, Gernot†
Wahba, Marcelle M.
Wainstein, Kenneth L.
Wais, Marshall I. Jr.

Wait, Jarett F. Wald, Jesse M.† Waldron, Arthur Wales, Jane M. Walker, Darren\* Walker, George R. Walker, Jenonne Walker, John L. Walker, Nancy J. Walker-Huntley, Mary L. Wall, Christopher R. Wall Spitzer, Silda Alice Wallace, Roger Windham Wallach, Kenneth L. Wallack, Jessica Seddon Wallander, Celeste Ann Wallerstein, Mitchel B. Wallich, Christine I. Wallison, Peter J. Walsh, Ian K. Walsh, Michaela Walsh, Patrick M. Walt, Stephen M. Walter, Barbara F.\* Walters, Barbara Walton, Anthony John Walton, R. Keith Waltz, Kenneth N. Waltz, Michael Wang, Fei-Ling Wang, Tom Wanger, Leah Zell Ward, Katherine T. Ward, William E. Warner, Edward L. III Warner, John William Warner, Margaret G. Warner, Mark R. Warner, Volney James Warren, Rick Warren, Setti D.\* Washburn, Bre M.† Washburn, John L. Washington, Kweli E.† Wasserman, Debra L. Waters, John Richard III Watson, Alexander F. Watson, Peter S. Watt, Linda E. Watts, John H. Watts, William Waxman, Matthew C. Waxman, Sharon Weaver, David R. Webb, Hoyt K.

Weber, Doron Weber, Jon F. Weber, Vin Webster, Timothy† Webster, William H. Wechsler, William F. Weddle, Steven Wedgwood, Ruth Wehrle, Leroy Snyder Wei, Shang-Jin Weidenbaum, Murray Weigel, George Weiksner, George B. Weil. Frank A. Weill, Sanford I. Weinberg, Adam\* Weinberg, David B. Weinberg, Steven Weiner, Allen S. Weiner, Rebecca Ulam Weinert, Richard S. Weinrod, W. Bruce Weinstein, David E. Weinstein, Jeremy M.\* Weinstein, Michael M. Weinstock, Davis II Weintraub, Sidney Weisberg, Jacob M. Weisman, Steven R. Weiss, Andrew Weiss, Andrew S. Weiss, Antonio Francesco Weiss, Charles Jr. Weiss, Cora Weiss, Daniel Gideon Weiss, Martin Andrew Weiss, Stanley A. Weiss Lurie, Christina Welch, C. David Welch, Jasper A. Jr. Welch, Larry D. Weld, Susan Roosevelt Weld, William F. Wellde, George W. Jr. Welle, Joshua Welling, Curtis R. Wells, Damon Wells, Jabali K.† Wells, Louis T. Jr. Wells, Samuel F. Jr. Wender, Ira T. Wendt, Allan Wertheim, Mitzi Mallina Wesbrook, Stephen D. Weschler, Joanna Wesely, Edwin J.

Membership Roster 53

Weber, Andrew C.

<sup>\*</sup> Elected to membership in 2012.

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term membership in 2012.

Wessel, Michael R. West, F. J. Bing West, J. Robinson West, Owen O'Driscoll West, Togo D. Jr. Westin, David Westin, Sherrie Rollins Westly, Steven P. Wethington, Olin L. Weymouth, Elizabeth G. Wharton, Clifton R. Jr. Wharton, Jaron Wheeler, John K. Wheeler, Seth F.† Whelan, Moira Whitaker, Jennifer Seymour Whitaker, Mark White, John P. White, Julia A. White, Mary Jo White, Maureen White, Peter C. White, William H. Whitehead, John C. Whitman, Christine Todd Whitman, Marina v.N. Whitney, Craig R. Whitson, Sarah Leah Sally Whittemore, Frederick B. Wiarda, Howard J. Wien, Anita Volz Wiener, Carolyn Seely Wiener, Malcolm H. Wier, Anthony D. Wiesel, Elie Wilby, Peter Wildenthal, C. Kern Wilhelm, Robert E. Wilkerson, Thomas Lloyd Wilkie, Robert\* Wilkins, Lauren Z. Wilkins, Roger W. Wilkinson, Amy M. Wilkinson, Sharon P. Williams, Aaron S. Williams, Brian D. Williams, Christine Williams, Cindy Williams, Dave H. Williams, F. Haydn Williams, Harold M.

Williams, Margaret Douglas Williams, Michael John† Williams, Paul D. Williams, Paul R.\* Williams, Reba White Williams, William J. Jr. Williamson, Edwin Dargan Williamson, Irving A. Williamson, Richard Salisbury Williamson, Samuel Gates Willkie, Wendell Lewis II Willrich, Mason Wilmers, Robert G. Wilson, Don M. III Wilson, Ernest James III Wilson, Isaiah III Wilson, Margaret S. Wimmer, Kurt A. Winch, Steven D. Windrem, Robert Winfield, W. Montague Wing, Adrien Katherine Winik, Jay Winitzer, Ori Winkler, Matthew A. Winokur, Barton J. Winokur, Herbert S. Jr. Winterer, Philip S. Winters, Francis X. Winters, Laura Wirth, David A. Wirth, Timothy E. Wisch, Steven J. Wise, Carol Wise, Louise Wiseman, Michael Martin Wisner, Frank G. Wisner, Graham G. Witkowsky, Anne A. Wittes, Tamara Cofman Wofford, Harris Wohlforth, William C. Wolf, Benjamin Wolf, Charles Jr. Wolf. Ira Wolf, Robert Wolfe, Josh Wolfensohn, James D. Wolff, Alan W. Wolff, I. Peter Wolfowitz, Paul D.

Wolin, Neal S.

Wolosky, Lee S.

Wolstencroft, Tracy R. Woo, Meredith Jung-En Woodruff, Iudy C. Woodruff, Robert W. Woods, Ward W. Woodward, Susan L. Woolsey, R. James Woolsey, Suzanne H. Woon, Eden Y. Worden, Minky Worenklein, Jacob J. Worthington, Samuel A. Wortzel, Larry M. Wrav. Cecil Wright, Geoffrey W. Wright, Joseph R. Jr. Wright, Lawrence G. Wright, Robin Wright, William H. II Wrona, Richard M. Jr.\* Wu, Mark Wu, Sanford Wucker, Michele M. Wulf, Norman A. Wunderle, William D. Wylie, Andrew

Wyser-Pratte, Guy Patrick

#### $\mathbf{V}$

Yacoubian, Mona Yale, Matthew Alan† Yalman, Nur O. Yalowitz, Kenneth S. Yamada, Tadataka Yang, Linda Tsao Yang, Phoebe L. Yankelovich, Daniel Yanney, Michael B. Yanosek, Kassia J. Yegen, Christian C. Yellen, Janet Louise Yeo, Peter\* Yergin, Daniel H. Yim, Samuel Yochelson, John N. Yoffie, David B. Yordan, Jaime Ernesto Yost, Casimir A. Young, Alice Young, Andrew Young, George H. III Young, Jay T. Young, M. Crawford Young, Mark D.\* Young, Michael K.

Young, Nancy Youngblood, Kneeland C. Younger, Stephen M. Youngwood, Alfred D. Yuan, Sharon H. Yun, Philip W. Yzaguirre, Raul H.

#### Z

Zabel, William D. Zagoria, Donald S. Zahn, Paula A. Zaid, Zaid A. Zaidi, Zeeshan Zakaria, Arshad R. Zakaria, Fareed Zakheim, Dov S. Zakheim, Roger I. Zaleski, Michel Zanoyan, Vahan B. Zarate, Juan Carlos Zarb, Frank G. Zartman, I. William Zawacki, Benjamin Zbar, Brett Ives Wally Zegart, Amy B. Zelikow, Philip D. Zelleke, Andargachew S. Zelnick, C. Robert Zemmol, Jonathan I. Zephyrin, Laurie C. Zheng, Nan Zilkha, Donald E. Zilkha, Ezra K. Zimmerman, Jay S. Zimmerman, Peter D. Zimpher, Nancy L. Zinberg, Dorothy Shore Zingher, Tally Zipp, Brian R. Zirin, James D. Zittrain, Jonathan L. Zoellick, Robert B. Zogby, James J. Zolberg, Aristide R. Zonis, Marvin Zucker, Howard Alan Zuckerman, Harriet Zuckerman, Mortimer B. Zwick, Charles J. Zysman, John A.

ship in 2012.

 $<sup>^{</sup>st}$  Elected to membership in 2012.

<sup>†</sup> Elected to a five-year term member-

## Corporate Members

#### **FOUNDERS**

Bank of America Merrill Lynch Chevron Corporation Exxon Mobil Corporation The Goldman Sachs Group, Inc. Hess Corporation JPMorgan Chase & Co. McKinsey & Company, Inc. The Nasdaq OMX Group

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Canadian Imperial Bank of

Commerce

Caterpillar Inc.

Caxton Associates

Chartis

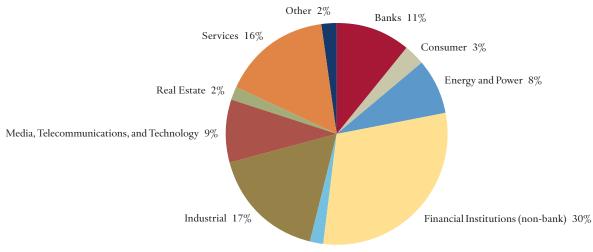
Ligna

Cisneros Group of Companies

CIT Group Inc.

#### CORPORATE PROGRAM MEMBERSHIP

SECTOR REPRESENTATION



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Cleary Gottlieb Steen & Hamilton LLP

**CNA** 

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Crédit Agricole Corporate and PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP (PwC)

Investment Bank Principal Financial Group De Beers Prudential Financial Deere & Company Raytheon Company

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Economist Intelligence Unit Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP Energy Intelligence Group, Inc. Sony Corporation of America

Equinox Partners, L.P. Standard & Poor's Sullivan & Cromwell LLP Estee Lauder Companies Inc. Federal Express Corporation T. Rowe Price Group Freeport-McMoRan Copper The Tata Group

and Gold Inc. Telefónica Internacional U.S.A.

Future Pipe Industries, Inc. **Thomson Reuters** General Atlantic LLC TIAA-CREF General Electric Company Time Warner Inc.

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GlaxoSmithKline TOTAL S.A. Google, Inc. **UBS AG** 

Granite Associates LP United Technologies Corporation Greenberg Traurig LLP U.S. Chamber of Commerce Hitachi, Ltd. Volkswagen Group of America, Inc.

Houlihan Lokey Vornado Realty Trust

Walmart **IBM** Corporation

Indus Capital Partners, LLC Warburg Pincus LLC

Weiss Multi-Strategy Advisors, LLC Intesa Sanpaolo

Investcorp International, Inc. Western Union

Invus Group, LLC Wyoming Investment LLC Xerox Corporation ITOCHU International Jacobs Asset Management, LLC Zephyr Management, L.P. Ziff Brothers Investments LLC

MacAndrews & Forbes Holdings Inc. ASSOCIATES

Mannheim LLC

Marsh & McLennan Companies, Inc. **AARP** Banca d'Italia Marubeni America Corporation MBIA Insurance Corporation Hemispheric Partners MeadWestvaco Corporation Japan Bank for International

Cooperation Merck & Co., Inc. Microsoft Corporation Oxford Analytica Inc.

Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy

Inc.

Mitsubishi Corporation (Americas) Mitsubishi Heavy Industries America,

For more information, please contact the Corporate Program at 212.434.9684 or corporate@cfr.org.

Corporate Members and Benefits of Membership

56

#### BENEFITS OF CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP

#### PREMIUM (\$30,000)

- Invitations for multiple executives to participate in more than three hundred events each year in New York, Washington, DC, and across the nation and the world
- Participation in quarterly briefings by CFR's president
- Access to interactive, rapid-response briefings and analysis by CFR fellows on breaking crises and events
- One private briefing by a CFR fellow tailored to the company's interests
- Opportunities for multiple executives to take part in the Corporate Conference, a yearly summit on geopolitical and geoeconomic challenges
- Access to the members-only section of CFR.org, containing upcoming meetings and online registration, access to *Foreign Affairs* archives, conference call and meeting replays, research publications, and analysis by CFR fellows on contemporary policy issues
- Multiple subscriptions to *Foreign Affairs*, discounted individual subscriptions for all employees, bulk subscription discounts, and special shipping rates
- Member rates for rental of the Harold Pratt House meeting facilities in New York City and the 1777 F Street building in Washington, DC
- Acknowledgment in CFR literature

#### PRESIDENT'S CIRCLE (\$60,000)

- All benefits of Premium membership
- Invitations for senior executives to attend two to three small, private events with world leaders
- Priority registration for high-level events
- One additional private briefing by a CFR fellow tailored to the company's interests
- Opportunities for executives to participate in select in-depth study groups and roundtables led by CFR fellows
- Invitations for executives to participate in at least one trip led by a member of CFR leadership (travel fees will apply)
- Invitations for senior executives to attend the annual fall dinner with the CFR Board of Directors
- Professional development opportunity for two rising executives to participate as "Corporate Leaders" in the CFR Term Member Program
- Special advertising rates in Foreign Affairs

#### FOUNDERS (\$100,000)

- All benefits of President's Circle and Premium memberships
- One additional private briefing by a CFR fellow tailored to the company's interests
- Invitations for executives to the CFR monthly roundtable series with fellows
- Invitations for senior executives to the annual winter dinner with CFR's most generous supporters
- Invitations to Ambassador's Lunches and the Foreign Policy Breakfast Forum series with members of Congress
- Complimentary use of the prestigious Harold Pratt House ballroom and library for a single corporate event (based on availability)
- Special recognition at the annual Corporate Conference

# Endowed and Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships

ENDOWED CHAIRS, 2011-2012

RALPH BUNCHE CHAIR IN AFRICA POLICY STUDIES

In 2003, the Council on Foreign Relations established the first endowed chair in Africa policy studies at any U.S. think tank or public policy school. This scholar addresses matters of economic and political development in Africa. The chair is held by John Campbell.

DOUGLAS DILLON FELLOWSHIP

Each year, the Council names one of its younger fellows the Dillon Fellow, in honor of former Council vice chairman Douglas Dillon. Shannon K. O'Neil is the current Dillon Fellow.

ENI ENRICO MATTEI CHAIR IN MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA STUDIES

This chair was established in 2009 through a generous gift from Eni and was named in honor of Eni's founder, Enrico Mattei, who played a significant role in the transformation of Eni into a global energy company. Robert M. Danin became the first chair holder in June 2010.

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

This chair was established in 1997 with contributions from the friends and colleagues of Maurice R. Greenberg in recognition of his commitment to developing new ideas for U.S. foreign policy and his outstanding leadership of the Council. The chair is held by James M. Lindsay.

MAURICE R. GREENBERG CHAIR IN CHINA STUDIES

This chair was established with a grant from the Starr Foundation and named for the Council's honorary vice chairman, Maurice R. Greenberg, as a tribute to his many contributions to the Council and his long association with China.

GEORGE F. KENNAN CHAIR IN RUSSIAN AND EURASIAN STUDIES

This chair stands as a tribute to Ambassador Kennan's notable contributions as a leading scholar and statesman and is currently held by **Stephen Sestanovich**.

JEANE J. KIRKPATRICK CHAIR IN NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

In 2002, the Council established an endowed senior fellowship in national security studies in honor of Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, long active in the Council and on its Board of Directors, in recognition of her special combination of scholarship, hardheadedness, and courage. Max Boot holds the chair.

HENRY A. KISSINGER CHAIR IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

This chair is named in honor of Dr. Kissinger, the fifty-sixth secretary of state of the United States and a member of the Council's Board of Directors from 1977 to 1981, as a tribute to his contributions to the country and the Council. Robert D. Blackwill assumed the chair in fiscal year 2011.

PETER G. PETERSON CHAIR, EDITOR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The chair is reserved for the editor of *Foreign Affairs* in recognition of Mr. Peterson's extraordinary service to the Council as chairman of its Board of Directors from 1985 to 2007 and member since 1971. **Gideon Rose** assumed the chair in fiscal year 2011.

PHILIP D. REED CHAIR IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

This chair was established in recognition of Mr. Reed's contributions to the Council as a member of its Board of Directors. The chair was endowed by a gift from the Philip D. Reed Foundation with additional support provided by the Malcolm Hewitt Wiener Foundation.

NELSON AND DAVID ROCKEFELLER CHAIR IN LATIN AMERICA STUDIES

This chair honors these two distinguished Americans who have been influential in the development of U.S. policy in the Western Hemisphere. The chair, held by Julia E. Sweig, was created to provide analysis of current developments in Latin America.

DAVID M. RUBENSTEIN CHAIR IN ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

This chair was established in 2008 through a generous gift from Council Director David M. Rubenstein, cofounder and managing director of the Carlyle Group. Michael A. Levi, who directs the Council's program on energy security and climate change, holds the chair.

HASIB J. SABBAGH CHAIR IN MIDDLE EAST STUDIES

This chair, held by **Steven A. Cook**, was established in 1994 to recognize Hasib Sabbagh's many contributions to Middle Eastern peace efforts and to the advancement of interstate cooperation among ethnic and religious groups.

WHITNEY H. SHEPARDSON FELLOWSHIP

The Shepardson Fellowship is periodically awarded to persons with experience and professional stature in public or academic affairs related to international relations. Charles A. Kupchan is the Shepardson Senior Fellow.

#### C. V. STARR CHAIR IN ASIA STUDIES

This chair, currently held by Elizabeth C. Economy, was created in 1985 through a grant from the Starr Foundation. Council members affiliated with the Starr Foundation, especially Maurice R. Greenberg, played a notable role in its establishment.

GENERAL JOHN W. VESSEY CHAIR IN CONFLICT PREVENTION

Established in honor of General Vessey, the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the chair was made possible by a generous gift from Council member Patrick M. Byrne, chairman of the board and president of Overstock.com, and his parents, John and Dorothy. Created to recognize the importance of conflict prevention, the chair is currently held by Paul B. Stares.

PAUL A. VOLCKER CHAIR IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

This chair was established in 1997 to honor Mr. Volcker, former chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve and long active member of the Council's Board of Directors. The chair recognizes his accomplishments as an outstanding public servant and eminent international economist, and gives the Council a leading presence in international economics. The chair is held by Sebastian Mallaby.

#### SPECIAL FELLOWSHIPS

ROGER HERTOG SENIOR FELLOWSHIP

The Hertog Fellowship was established in 2006 through a generous gift from Council member Roger Hertog, vice chairman emeritus of AllianceBernstein LP and a founder of Sanford C. Bernstein & Co., Inc. This fellowship is held by **Stephen Biddle**.

IRA A. LIPMAN SENIOR FELLOWSHIP

FOR COUNTERTERRORISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

The Lipman Senior Fellowship was established in 2008 through a gift from Ira A. Lipman, founder and chairman of Guardsmark, LLC. The chair is currently held by Adam Segal.

BERNARD L. SCHWARTZ SENIOR FELLOWSHIP
IN BUSINESS AND FOREIGN POLICY

This fellowship was established in 2002 with a gift from Bernard L. Schwartz and focuses on the global integration of financial markets and their significance for U.S. economic and foreign policy. The current Schwartz Fellow is Edward Alden.

STEVEN A. TANANBAUM SENIOR FELLOWSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

The Steven A. Tananbaum Senior Fellowship in International Economics will support an international economist who will focus on major economic issues such as U.S. competiveness, challenges in the eurozone, and the continuing shift in global economic dominance. This fellowship has been made possible by the support of CFR member Steven A. Tananbaum, CEO and CIO of Golden Tree Asset

Management. The first Tananbaum senior fellow will be appointed in 2012.

#### VISITING FELLOWSHIPS

MILITARY FELLOWSHIPS

Every year, each military service nominates an outstanding candidate for a military fellowship. These fellowships enable officers to broaden their understanding of international affairs and U.S. foreign policy by spending a year in residence at the Council. This year's fellows were Captain Melissa Bert, U.S. Coast Guard; Colonel Willard Buhl, U.S. Marine Corps; Colonel Kathryn Burba, U.S. Army; Colonel Chad Manske, U.S. Air Force; and Captain Bradley Russell, U.S. Navy.

EDWARD R. MURROW PRESS FELLOWSHIP

Named in honor of Edward R. Murrow and funded by the CBS Foundation, this fellowship offers a foreign correspondent or editor a period of nine months at the Council's head-quarters in New York for sustained analysis and writing, free from the daily pressures that characterize journalistic life. The 2011–2012 Murrow Fellow was Ned Parker, former Baghdad bureau chief, *Los Angeles Times*.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE FELLOWSHIP

This fellowship provides an opportunity for an outstanding person from the U.S. intelligence community to expand his or her knowledge of international relations through study, research, and reflection. It also offers the fellow the opportunity to participate in Council meetings and study groups. The 2011–2012 National Intelligence Fellow was Rachel Beer.

STANTON NUCLEAR SECURITY FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Made possible by a generous grant from the Stanton Foundation, this fellowship offers promising scholars studying nuclear security issues the opportunity to spend a year in the David Rockefeller Studies Program at the Council conducting policy-relevant research. The 2011–2012 fellows were Matthew Kroenig and Todd Sechser.

CYRUS R. VANCE FELLOWSHIP IN DIPLOMATIC STUDIES

This fellowship is offered to a U.S. Foreign Service officer nominated by the U.S. Department of State. The Vance Fellow spends about a year affiliated with the Council, reflecting on issues of foreign policy and participating in Council programs. The 2011–2012 Vance Fellow was Douglas Climan, former principal officer of the consulate in Mazar-e-Sharif and senior civilian representative to ISAF's Northern Regional Command.

ENDOWED AND SPECIALLY FUNDED PROGRAMS

Booz Allen Hamilton Series on Smart Power ExxonMobil Women and Technology Series Pieter A. Fisher Program, International Relations Gulf Program, Middle East W. Averell Harriman Program, Europe HBO History Makers Series Winston Lord Program, Asia
John J. McCloy Program, International Relations
C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics
McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International
Economics

Thomas J. Watson Meetings Program

#### LECTURESHIPS AND OTHER PROGRAMMING

DARRYL G. BEHRMAN LECTURE ON AFRICA POLICY

Members of the Behrman family funded this lecture on Africa policy in memory of Darryl G. Behrman, who was originally from South Africa and had an abiding passion for Africa and international peace. This year's lecture featured a trip report on Sudan with George Clooney, cofounder, Satellite Sentinel Project; John Prendergast, cofounder, Enough Project and Satellite Sentinel Project; Adudu Adam Elnail, Anglican bishop in Kadugli, Sudan; and Sudanese activist Omer Ismail.

STEPHEN C. FREIDHEIM SYMPOSIUM ON GLOBAL ECONOMICS

This symposium, created to address the broad spectrum of issues affecting Wall Street and international economics, was established through the generosity of a gift from Council member Stephen C. Freidheim, chief investment officer and senior managing partner at Cyrus Capital Partners. This year's symposium featured Alan Greenspan, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

ARTHUR C. HELTON MEMORIAL LECTURE

This lecture was established by the Council and the family of Council Senior Fellow Arthur C. Helton, who died in the August 2003 bombing of the UN headquarters in Baghdad. The lecture addresses pressing issues in the broad field of human rights. This year's lecture featured **António Guterres**, UN high commissioner for refugees.

JOHN B. HURFORD MEMORIAL LECTURE

Inaugurated in 2002 in memory of Council member John B. Hurford, this annual lecture features individuals who represent critical new thinking in foreign policy and international affairs. This year's lecture featured Rajiv Shah, administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development.

RUSSELL C. LEFFINGWELL LECTURE

Inaugurated in 1969, this lecture was named for Russell C. Leffingwell, a charter member of the Council who served as its president from 1944 to 1946 and as its chairman from 1946 to 1953. The lecture is given by a distinguished foreign official, who is invited to address Council members on a topic of major international significance. The lectureship was originally endowed by the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company and by Edward and Lucy Leffingwell Pulling, and more recently through the generosity of Thomas Leffingwell Pulling and his son Edward Leffingwell Pulling.

ROBERT B. MCKEON ENDOWED SERIES ON MILITARY STRATEGY AND LEADERSHIP

This series of meetings featuring prominent individuals from the military and intelligence communities has been endowed in perpetuity through a gift from Council member Robert B. McKeon, founder and president of Veritas Capital LLC. This year's lecture featured the service chiefs, General Norton A. Schwartz, chief of staff, U.S. Air Force; General James F. Amos, commandant, U.S. Marine Corps; General Raymond T. Odierno, chief of staff, U.S. Army; and Admiral Jonathan W. Greenert, chief of naval operations, U.S. Navy.

DAVID A. MORSE LECTURE

Inaugurated in 1994, this lecture supports an annual meeting with a distinguished speaker. It honors the memory of lawyer, public servant, and internationalist David A. Morse, an active Council member for nearly thirty years. This year's lecturer was General Martin E. Dempsey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

KENNETH A. MOSKOW MEMORIAL LECTURE
ON HOMELAND SECURITY AND COUNTERTERRORISM

This lecture honors the memory of longtime Council member Kenneth A. Moskow, who made this lecture possible through a generous bequest. His intent was to establish an annual meeting to bring together the leaders of the intelligence community and promote discussion on critical issues in counterterrorism. This year's lecture featured Admiral William McRaven, commander, U.S. Special Operations Command.

DAVID ROCKEFELLER LECTURE

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

RUSSIA AND RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS LECTURE

This lecture series was established in 2003 by Mikhail Fridman, chairman of the board of directors of Alfa Bank in Moscow, with the goal of helping establish a more secure footing for Russia-U.S. relations.

BERNARD L. SCHWARTZ LECTURE
ON BUSINESS AND FOREIGN POLICY

This lecture was established in 2002 and is funded by Bernard L. Schwartz, retired chairman and chief executive officer of Loral Space and Communications. The lecture focuses on the relationship between business and government in foreign policy. This year's lecturer was **Kenneth I. Chenault**, chairman and chief executive officer, American Express.

SORENSEN DISTINGUISHED LECTURE ON THE UNITED NATIONS

This lecture was established in 1996 by Theodore C. Sorensen to honor his wife, Gillian Martin Sorensen, and to commemorate her years of service to the United Nations.

PAUL C. WARNKE LECTURE ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

This lecture, endowed by a number of Council members and the family and friends of Paul C. Warnke, commemorates his legacy of courageous service to the nation and international peace. This year's lecturer was **Ashton B. Carter**, deputy secretary of defense, U.S. Department of Defense.

## International Affairs Fellowship Program

Launched in 1967, the International Affairs Fellowship (IAF) is a distinguished program offered by the Council on Foreign Relations to assist mid-career scholars and professionals in advancing their analytic capabilities and broadening their foreign policy experience. The program aims to strengthen career development by helping outstanding individuals acquire and apply foreign policy skills beyond the scope of their professional and scholarly achievements. The distinctive character of the IAF Program lies in the contrasting professional experiences fellows obtain through their twelve-month appointments. Selected fellows from academia and the private sector spend fellowship tenures in public service and policy-oriented settings, and government officials spend theirs in a scholarly atmosphere free from operational pressure. CFR awards approximately ten fellowships annually to highly accomplished individuals who show a capacity for independent work and are eager to undertake serious foreign policy analysis. Approximately half of the selected IAFs each year spend their tenures working full time in government; the remaining half are placed at academic institutions, think tanks, or nonprofit organizations. The IAF Program is open only to U.S. citizens and permanent residents between the ages of twenty-seven and thirty-five who are eligible to work in the United States.

CFR also offers a country-specific fellowship to U.S. citizens between the ages of twenty-seven and forty-five. The IAF in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd., seeks to strengthen mutual understanding and cooperation between the rising generations of leaders in the United States and Japan. Founded in 1997, the program provides a selected group of mid-career U.S. citizens the opportunity to expand their professional horizons by spending a period of research or other professional activity in Japan.

### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWS 2011–2012 PLACEMENTS

- Laura Winthrop Abbot,\* U.S. Senate. Placed at the U.S. Embassy, Tokyo.
- Frances Z. Brown, U.S. Agency for International Development. Placed at the United States Institute of Peace.
- Faith M. Chamberlain, U.S. Army. Placed at the International Rescue Committee and the Brookings Institution.
- **Samuel G. Charap**, Center for American Progress. Placed at the U.S. Department of State.

- Sean P. Connell,\* U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Placed at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade, and Industry, Tokyo.
- Julie M. Egan, U.S. Department of State. Placed at the Council on Foreign Relations and New York University.
- Stacia D. George, U.S. Agency for International Development. Placed at Georgetown University.
- Alexandra E. Harney,\* University of Hong Kong. Placed at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade, and Industry, Tokyo.
- **Rebecca M. Ingber**, U.S. Department of State. Placed at Columbia University.
- Fernando Lujan, U.S. Military Academy. Placed at the Center for a New American Security.
- J. Cobb Mixter, U.S. Department of the Treasury. Placed at the Council on Foreign Relations.
- Ely S. Ratner, RAND Corporation. Placed at the U.S. Department of State.
- Claire C. Russo, Orbis Operations LLC. Placed at the Institute for Inclusive Security.
- Vance F. Serchuk,\* U.S. Senate. Placed at the Canon Institute for Global Studies, Tokyo.
- M. Hanscom Smith,\* U.S. Department of State. Placed at the Japan Institute of International Affairs, Tokyo.
- Victoria J. Taylor, U.S. Department of State. Placed at the Council on Foreign Relations.

<sup>\*</sup> International Affairs Fellow in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, 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 is not constrained in the number of persons elected to five-year term membership so long as the total number of term members does not exceed 15 percent of the total membership. The terms and conditions of such membership shall be as prescribed by the Board, provided that those elected to such membership are between the ages of thirty and thirty-six on January 1 of the year in which their election would take place, and that so long as their term continues such members will have the full rights and privileges of Council membership.

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

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

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

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

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

	BUSINESS	NONBUSINESS
New York Area		
Under 40	\$1,790	\$425
40 and Over	3,475	780
Washington, DC, Area		
Under 40	\$1,520	\$365
40 and Over	2,950	660
National		
Under 40	\$ 970	\$235
40 and Over	1,875	425

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

All dues shall be paid annually or semiannually in equal installments in advance. Default in the payment of any dues for a period of sixty days may be deemed to be equivalent to resignation.

- IV. A. There shall be a Board of not more than thirty-six Directors. The President of the corporation shall be a Director, ex officio, unless otherwise provided by resolution of the Board of Directors and agreed to by the President. The remaining members of the Board of Directors shall be divided into five equal classes, each class to serve for a term of five years and until their successors are elected and take office. Each class shall consist of three Directors elected directly by the membership at large and four 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 four Directors to serve in the same class as the three Directors elected at the Annual Election. Any Chairman or Vice Chairman of the Board elected on an interim basis pursuant to Article VII who is not a Director at the time of his or her election shall during the period of such interim service be a Director and, at the time of his or her election, shall be designated by the Board of Directors to occupy either (i) the position on the Board that would otherwise be occupied by the President, if the President is not then serving as a Director, ex officio, or (ii) any vacancy among the four Directors in each class subject to appointment by the Board.
- B. At each Annual Election of the Council, three Directors shall be elected to replace the outgoing class of elected Directors. Terms of all Directors, both elected and appointed, shall commence on the first day of July next following their election or appointment or, in the case of any newly created directorships filled by action of the Board, to commence on such other date as may be approved by the Board. A Director, whether elected or appointed, who has served three years or more of a five-year term shall be eligible subsequently for election or appointment to a single consecutive term.
- C. Directors are expected faithfully to attend Board and Board Committee meetings to which they are assigned. A Director who fails to attend two-thirds of all such regularly scheduled Board and Board Committee meetings in any two consecutive calendar years shall be deemed to have submitted his or her resignation to be accepted at the pleasure of the Chairman of the Board. The Board shall have the power to fill any vacancy in its membership. A Director appointed to fill a vacancy created by the retirement, resignation, or death of a Director previously elected by the membership at large shall be nominated by the Nominating and Governance Committee as the sole candidate in the next Annual Election to complete the balance of the unexpired term.
- V. A. The Annual Meeting of Members shall be held in New York City as soon as practicable after the end of the fiscal year, as determined by the Chairman of the Board. At this meeting, the Board of Directors shall present a report of the activities of the Council during the past year, and such other business shall be considered as shall be brought forward by or with the sanction of the Board of Directors and that shall have been stated in the notice convening the meeting.

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

B. The Annual Election of Directors of the Council shall be held at a meeting in New York City on a date set by the President or the Chairman of the Board within thirteen months of the preceding meeting at which Directors were elected. Directors shall be elected by ballot. Ballots will be made available to all members in advance of the Annual Election and may be cast in person or by proxy authorized in writing or by electronic transmission. The ballot shall contain (i) the name of each member who is nominated by the Nominating and Governance Committee as a candidate for the class of Directors scheduled for election in that year, (ii) the name of any member appointed to a vacancy in the Board and nominated by the Nominating and Governance Committee as the sole candidate to complete the balance of the unexpired term, (iii) the name of any member who is nominated in each class by a petition signed by not fewer than thirty members, and (iv) the name of any member who received not fewer than thirty write-in votes in the preceding election. For their ballots to be counted, members must 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 or any other meeting of the members. Notice of any meeting of the members may be written or electronic. Administrative details necessary to implement the Council's nomination and election procedures shall be as prescribed by the President in consultation with the Chairman of the Board.

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

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

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

The Audit Committee shall be composed of no fewer than three members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt no fewer than two additional members who shall not be members of the Board. The Committee shall have general oversight of the annual audit of the Council and related matters as may be designated by the Board from time to time.

The Committee on Compensation shall be composed of the Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Board, the Chairman of the Nominating and Governance Committee, the Chairman of the Committee on Finance and Budget, and such other members of the Board as the Committee Chairman deems appropriate. The Committee shall annually fix the compensation of the Officers and former Officers and of the Editor of *Foreign Affairs*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VII. The Officers of the corporation shall be a Chairman of the Board, one or more Vice Chairmen, a President, one or more Vice Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and such other Officers as in the Board's judgment may be required. In the event of the election of Co-Chairmen of the Board, each Co-Chairman shall be entitled to exercise all of the rights and privileges of the Chairman set forth in the By-Laws individually or jointly with the other Co-Chairman, and each reference in the By-Laws to the Chairman shall be deemed to refer to any Co-Chairman. The Chairman of the Board shall be elected for a term of five years and shall be eligible for reelection to a second term. The Chairman shall be eligible to complete any such term without regard to By-Law limitations on the number or tenure of Directors. Pending election of a Chairman to a five-year term and subject to the By-Law limitation on the number of Directors, for purposes of assuring an orderly

transition in governance, the Board may elect a Chairman and/or Vice Chairman to serve, on an interim basis, for one or more terms of up to twelve months each. The Chairman and any Vice Chairman shall be eligible for election to any such term, on an interim basis, without regard to By-Law limitations on the tenure of Directors or Officers. The other Officers of the corporation shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors.

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

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

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

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

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

VIII. The Board shall appoint the Editor of Foreign Affairs and the Director of Studies, if any.

IX. The funds of the corporation shall be invested by the Committee on Finance and Budget or shall be deposited with trust companies or banking institutions designated by either the Board of Directors or the Committee on Finance and Budget. Disbursements shall be made only upon checks or vouchers approved by any one of the following for amounts up to \$5,000 and by any two of the following for amounts of \$5,000 and over: the President, any Vice President, the Treasurer, the Secretary, the Chief Financial Officer, the Editor of *Foreign Affairs*, and such other employees of the corporation as may from time to time be designated by the Committee on Finance and Budget.

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

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

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

### Rules, Guidelines, and Practices

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

#### RULE ON FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS

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

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

#### RULE ON NON-ATTRIBUTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rules, Guidelines, and Practices 67

#### 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.

- "I. Since the Council invites guests representing many different viewpoints, since it selects topics regardless of, or because of, their controversiality, and since there is a wide divergence of viewpoints among members, it is to be expected that Council meetings will sometimes be marked by sharp dispute.
- "2. Meetings chairmen are expected to stimulate open expression of opinion by all participants and should not attempt to mute controversy or stifle differences of viewpoint where they exist. To this end, it is the responsibility of chairmen to see to it that all viewpoints expressed are treated with respect and that parliamentary decorum is maintained.
- "3. Principal speakers should expect to be questioned vigorously on any point relevant to their intellectual interest, experience, or expertise in international affairs. It is recognized, however, that some speakers, particularly those holding official positions, may not feel free to answer some questions, and, in such case, their declination will be respected."

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

### POLICY ON CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

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

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

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

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

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

"In the case of a staff member who is not an Officer, after disclosure by the Vice President, Human Resources and Administration, to the Chief Financial Officer and the President, those

Rules, Guidelines, and Practices 68

Officers may choose to submit the question to the Board or an appropriate Committee of the Board for a decision or to proceed with the transaction at issue, provided that proceeding does not violate the law.

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

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

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

#### ARCHIVAL PRACTICE

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

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

Rules, Guidelines, and Practices 69

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Note: Staff shown as of June 30, 2012.

Staff 70

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Isabella Bennett Allison Blough Alexander Brock Patrick Browne Kelley Calkins Jay Chittooran Seukhoon Paul Choi Romil Chouhan Gideon Copple Kevin Grossinger	Research Associate	Anastasia M. LaFollette Meaghan Mills Vera Ranola Elizabeth Cartier Bari Rogoff Jacob Roskelley WASHINGTON PROGRAM Christopher Tuttle Portia Wiggins	Director, Meetings Administration Associate Director Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Coordinator Program Associate	
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Isabella Bennett Allison Blough Alexander Brock Patrick Browne Kelley Calkins Jay Chittooran Seukhoon Paul Choi Romil Chouhan Gideon Copple Kevin Grossinger Ashley Harden Asch Harwood	Research Associate	Anastasia M. LaFollette Meaghan Mills Vera Ranola Elizabeth Cartier Bari Rogoff Jacob Roskelley WASHINGTON PROGRAM Christopher Tuttle Portia Wiggins WASHINGTON MEETINGS Emily McLeod	Director, Meetings Administration Associate Director Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Coordinator Program Associate  Director, Washington Program Special Projects Coordinator Associate Director	
Isabella Bennett Allison Blough Alexander Brock Patrick Browne Kelley Calkins Jay Chittooran Seukhoon Paul Choi Romil Chouhan Gideon Copple Kevin Grossinger Ashley Harden Asch Harwood David Herrero	Research Associate	Anastasia M. LaFollette Meaghan Mills Vera Ranola Elizabeth Cartier Bari Rogoff Jacob Roskelley WASHINGTON PROGRAM Christopher Tuttle Portia Wiggins WASHINGTON MEETINGS Emily McLeod Jeffrey A. Gullo	Director, Meetings Administration Associate Director Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Coordinator Program Associate  Director, Washington Program Special Projects Coordinator  Associate Director Program Coordinator	
Isabella Bennett Allison Blough Alexander Brock Patrick Browne Kelley Calkins Jay Chittooran Seukhoon Paul Choi Romil Chouhan Gideon Copple Kevin Grossinger Ashley Harden Asch Harwood David Herrero Jonathan Hill	Research Associate	Anastasia M. LaFollette Meaghan Mills Vera Ranola Elizabeth Cartier Bari Rogoff Jacob Roskelley WASHINGTON PROGRAM Christopher Tuttle Portia Wiggins WASHINGTON MEETINGS Emily McLeod Jeffrey A. Gullo Allison Ball	Director, Meetings Administration Associate Director Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Coordinator Program Associate  Director, Washington Program Special Projects Coordinator  Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Associate	
Isabella Bennett Allison Blough Alexander Brock Patrick Browne Kelley Calkins Jay Chittooran Seukhoon Paul Choi Romil Chouhan Gideon Copple Kevin Grossinger Ashley Harden Asch Harwood David Herrero Jonathan Hill Michael Johnson	Research Associate	Anastasia M. LaFollette Meaghan Mills Vera Ranola Elizabeth Cartier Bari Rogoff Jacob Roskelley WASHINGTON PROGRAM Christopher Tuttle Portia Wiggins WASHINGTON MEETINGS Emily McLeod Jeffrey A. Gullo Allison Ball Kristen Gendron	Director, Meetings Administration Associate Director Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Coordinator Program Associate  Director, Washington Program Special Projects Coordinator  Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Associate Program Associate Program Associate	
Isabella Bennett Allison Blough Alexander Brock Patrick Browne Kelley Calkins Jay Chittooran Seukhoon Paul Choi Romil Chouhan Gideon Copple Kevin Grossinger Ashley Harden Asch Harwood David Herrero Jonathan Hill Michael Johnson Ryan Kaminski	Research Associate	Anastasia M. LaFollette Meaghan Mills Vera Ranola Elizabeth Cartier Bari Rogoff Jacob Roskelley WASHINGTON PROGRAM Christopher Tuttle Portia Wiggins WASHINGTON MEETINGS Emily McLeod Jeffrey A. Gullo Allison Ball	Director, Meetings Administration Associate Director Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Coordinator Program Associate  Director, Washington Program Special Projects Coordinator  Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Associate	
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Isabella Bennett Allison Blough Alexander Brock Patrick Browne Kelley Calkins Jay Chittooran Seukhoon Paul Choi Romil Chouhan Gideon Copple Kevin Grossinger Ashley Harden Asch Harwood David Herrero Jonathan Hill Michael Johnson Ryan Kaminski Matthew Klein Julia Knight	Research Associate	Anastasia M. LaFollette Meaghan Mills Vera Ranola Elizabeth Cartier Bari Rogoff Jacob Roskelley WASHINGTON PROGRAM Christopher Tuttle Portia Wiggins WASHINGTON MEETINGS Emily McLeod Jeffrey A. Gullo Allison Ball Kristen Gendron Peter A. Henry	Director, Meetings Administration Associate Director Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Coordinator Program Associate  Director, Washington Program Special Projects Coordinator  Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Associate Program Associate Program Associate Program Associate AFFAIRS Associate Director, Congress and	
Isabella Bennett Allison Blough Alexander Brock Patrick Browne Kelley Calkins Jay Chittooran Seukhoon Paul Choi Romil Chouhan Gideon Copple Kevin Grossinger Ashley Harden Asch Harwood David Herrero Jonathan Hill Michael Johnson Ryan Kaminski Matthew Klein	Research Associate	Anastasia M. LaFollette Meaghan Mills Vera Ranola Elizabeth Cartier Bari Rogoff Jacob Roskelley WASHINGTON PROGRAM Christopher Tuttle Portia Wiggins WASHINGTON MEETINGS Emily McLeod Jeffrey A. Gullo Allison Ball Kristen Gendron Peter A. Henry WASHINGTON EXTERNAL	Director, Meetings Administration Associate Director Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Associate  Director, Washington Program Special Projects Coordinator  Associate Director Program Associate  Program Associate Program Associate Program Associate Associate Director, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy	
Isabella Bennett Allison Blough Alexander Brock Patrick Browne Kelley Calkins Jay Chittooran Seukhoon Paul Choi Romil Chouhan Gideon Copple Kevin Grossinger Ashley Harden Asch Harwood David Herrero Jonathan Hill Michael Johnson Ryan Kaminski Matthew Klein Julia Knight	Research Associate Program Assistant, Civil Society, Markets, and Democracy Initiative Research Associate Associate Director, Civil Society,	Anastasia M. LaFollette Meaghan Mills Vera Ranola Elizabeth Cartier Bari Rogoff Jacob Roskelley WASHINGTON PROGRAM Christopher Tuttle Portia Wiggins WASHINGTON MEETINGS Emily McLeod Jeffrey A. Gullo Allison Ball Kristen Gendron Peter A. Henry WASHINGTON EXTERNAL Patrick Costello	Director, Meetings Administration Associate Director Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Associate  Director, Washington Program Special Projects Coordinator  Associate Director Program Coordinator  Program Associate Program Associate Program Associate Program Associate AFFAIRS Associate Director, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Assistant Director, Washington	
Isabella Bennett Allison Blough Alexander Brock Patrick Browne Kelley Calkins Jay Chittooran Seukhoon Paul Choi Romil Chouhan Gideon Copple Kevin Grossinger Ashley Harden Asch Harwood David Herrero Jonathan Hill Michael Johnson Ryan Kaminski Matthew Klein Julia Knight	Research Associate	Anastasia M. LaFollette Meaghan Mills Vera Ranola Elizabeth Cartier Bari Rogoff Jacob Roskelley WASHINGTON PROGRAM Christopher Tuttle Portia Wiggins WASHINGTON MEETINGS Emily McLeod Jeffrey A. Gullo Allison Ball Kristen Gendron Peter A. Henry WASHINGTON EXTERNAL Patrick Costello Thomas Bowman	Director, Meetings Administration Associate Director Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Associate  Director, Washington Program Special Projects Coordinator  Associate Director Program Coordinator  Program Associate Program Associate Program Associate Program Associate AFFAIRS Associate Director, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Assistant Director, Washington Program	
Isabella Bennett Allison Blough Alexander Brock Patrick Browne Kelley Calkins Jay Chittooran Seukhoon Paul Choi Romil Chouhan Gideon Copple Kevin Grossinger Ashley Harden Asch Harwood David Herrero Jonathan Hill Michael Johnson Ryan Kaminski Matthew Klein Julia Knight  Nikolai Krylov Charles Landow  Elizabeth Leader	Research Associate Rougland Democracy Initiative Research Associate Associate Director, Civil Society, Markets, and Democracy Initiative	Anastasia M. LaFollette Meaghan Mills Vera Ranola Elizabeth Cartier Bari Rogoff Jacob Roskelley WASHINGTON PROGRAM Christopher Tuttle Portia Wiggins WASHINGTON MEETINGS Emily McLeod Jeffrey A. Gullo Allison Ball Kristen Gendron Peter A. Henry WASHINGTON EXTERNAL Patrick Costello	Director, Meetings Administration Associate Director Associate Director Program Coordinator Program Associate  Director, Washington Program Special Projects Coordinator  Associate Director Program Coordinator  Program Associate Program Associate Program Associate Program Associate AFFAIRS Associate Director, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy Assistant Director, Washington Program Program Associate, Congress and	
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Ruth R. Sullivan	Program Associate, Outreach	Brancaccio		
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Alyssa Eilenfeldt	Assistant to the Vice President,	INFORMATION G		
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AND INTERNATION	ONAL		the Chief Information Officer and	
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•	Affairs	Simon Lee	Help Desk Technician	
Emily Jagger Program Coordinator, Corporate		Alice McLoughlin	Assistant to the Chief Technology	
.,	Affairs	1111001110204911111	Officer	
Ashley Lockhart	Program Coordinator, Corporate	WED MANAGEMENT AND		
	Affairs	WEB MANAGEMENT AND		
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		,	1	

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## **Financial Statements**

#### STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION

AS OF JUNE 30, 2012 (WITH COMPARATIVE TOTALS FOR JUNE 30, 2011)

	2012	2011
Assets		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 20,753,100	\$ 17,835,000
Accounts receivable, net, and prepaid expenses	2,036,000	1,848,200
Grants and contributions receivable, net	23,262,100	12,115,900
Contributions receivable for endowment, net	10,342,900	19,363,900
Inventory	102,300	94,800
Investments	301,728,400	303,830,700
Land, buildings and building improvements,		
and equipment, net	78,161,300	80,224,700
Deferred financing costs, net	2,814,800	2,924,700
Total assets	\$439,200,900	\$438,237,900
Liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 5,192,000	\$ 5,507,500
Deferred revenue	3,694,900	3,331,600
Accrued postretirement benefits	4,866,000	4,352,000
Interest rate swap agreement	10,358,100	5,195,800
Bonds payable	62,680,000	62,680,000
Total liabilities	86,791,000	81,066,900
Net assets	·	
Unrestricted	115,296,300	129,810,500
Temporarily restricted	71,837,100	61,953,300
Permanently restricted	165,276,500	165,407,200
Total net assets	352,409,900	357,171,000
Total liabilities and net assets	\$439,200,900	\$438,237,900

To view the full 2012 Financial Statements, please visit www.cfr.org/about/annual\_report.

Financial Statements 75

### STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES

FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 2012 (WITH COMPARATIVE TOTALS FOR JUNE 30, 2011)

	UNRESTRICTED	TEMPORARILY RESTRICTED	PERMANENTLY RESTRICTED	2012 TOTAL	20II TOTAL
Operating revenue and support					
Membership dues	\$ 5,447,600	\$ —	\$ —	\$ 5,447,600	\$ 5,199,400
Annual giving	8,085,800	_	_	8,085,800	6,739,900
Corporate memberships and related income	6,663,200	_	_	6,663,200	6,695,000
NY meetings	3,400	85,800	_	89,200	151,200
Grants and contributions	44,000	26,321,100	_	26,365,100	15,373,700
Foreign Affairs publications	7,248,800	_	_	7,248,800	7,106,800
Book publications Investment return used for current operations	48,600	4 144 600	_	48,600	35,000
Rental income	8,292,800	4,144,600	_	12,437,400	12,014,600
Miscellaneous	1,784,600 301,700	_	_	1,784,600 301,700	1,866,300 69,600
Net assets released from restrictions	16,177,700	(16,177,700)		301,700	09,000
	54,098,200	14,373,800		68,472,000	55,251,500
Total operating revenue and support	34,098,200	14,3/3,000		08,472,000	33,231,300
Operating expenses					
Program expenses:	20.045.000			20.045.000	10.050.600
Studies Program	20,945,000	_	_	20,945,000	18,958,600
Task Force	576,600	_	_	576,600	687,400
NY Meetings	1,357,700	_	_	1,357,700	1,229,200
DC programs Special Events	1,600,600 950,600	_	_	1,600,600 950,600	2,187,000
Foreign Affairs publications	8,883,300	_	_	8,883,300	962,700 7,633,200
Book publications	491,400	_	_	491,400	473,800
National Program	1,047,600			1,047,600	854,300
Outreach Program	921,400	_	_	921,400	653,800
Term member	447,800	_	_	447,800	405,400
Websites	2,648,000	_	_	2,648,000	2,619,300
Communications	1,677,800	_	_	1,677,800	1,749,800
Total program expenses	41,547,800	_	_	41,547,800	38,414,500
Supporting services: Fundraising:					
Development	1,736,700	_	_	1,736,700	1,392,000
Corporate Program	1,819,300	_	_	1,819,300	1,763,400
Total fundraising	3,556,000	_	_	3,556,000	3,155,400
Management and general	7,514,100	_	_	7,514,100	7,000,200
Membership	1,081,300	_	_	1,081,300	942,300
Total supporting services	12,151,400	_	_	12,151,400	11,097,900
Total operating expenses	53,699,200	_	_	53,699,200	49,512,400
Excess of operating revenue and support over operating expenses	399,000	14,373,800	_	14,772,800	5,739,100
Nonoperating revenue (loss)	-				
Investment gain/(loss) in excess of spending rate	(9,317,900)	(4,490,000)	_	(13,807,900)	23,457,000
Endowment contributions	(5,517,500)	(4,450,000)	169,300	169,300	13,495,600
Return of endowment contribution			(300,000)	(300,000)	13,473,000
Gain/(loss) on interest rate swap agreement	(5,162,300)	_	(500,000)	(5,162,300)	294,700
Gain/(loss) on sale of fixed asset	(3,102,300)	_	_	(5,102,500)	4,300
Write-off of uncollectible contributions	_	_	_	_	(3,110,200)
Total nonoperating revenue (loss)	(14,480,200)	(4,490,000)	(130,700)	(19,100,900)	34,141,400
Change in net assets before postretirement changes	(14,460,200)	(4,490,000)	(130,700)	(13,100,300)	34,141,400
other than net periodic costs	(14,081,200)	9,883,800	(130,700)	(4,328,100)	39,880,500
Postretirement changes other than net periodic costs	(433,000)		(130,700)	(433,000)	(513,000)
	(14,514,200)	9,883,800	(130,700)	(4,761,100)	
Change in net assets Net assets, beginning of year	129,810,500	61,953,300	165,407,200	357,171,000	39,367,500 317,803,500
Net assets, end of year	\$115,296,300	\$ 71,837,100	\$165,276,500	\$352,409,900	\$ 357,171,000

To view the full 2012 Financial Statements, please visit www.cfr.org/about/annual\_report.

Financial Statements 76

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