

COUNCIL on FOREIGN RELATIONS

Annual Report

2011

Annual Report

July 1, 2010–June 30, 2011

Council on Foreign Relations

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Note: This list of Officers and Directors is current as of July 1, 2011. A historical roster of Directors and Officers can be found on pages 25-27.

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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 <u>New York</u> and in <u>Washington, DC</u>, 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 <u>Studies Program</u> 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 <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, the preeminent journal on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy;
- sponsoring <u>Independent Task Forces</u> 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, <u>CFR.org</u>.

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Letter from the Co-Chairs

It has been a year of tremendous disruption and challenge across the world: unprecedented uprisings in the Arab world; economic difficulties in the eurozone; the earthquake, tsunami, and subsequent nuclear crisis in Japan; and the killing of Osama bin Laden.

Such developments constitute a challenge to and an opportunity for organizations such as the Council on Foreign Relations. We are pleased to say that during this year, our fourth as co-chairs of CFR and the Council's ninetieth anniversary year, we continued to be deeply impressed by the range and depth of analysis the institution offers through multiple channels, including meetings and roundtables, publications, and the websites <u>CFR.org</u> and <u>ForeignAffairs.com</u>.

The events in the Arab world continue to remind all of us about the complexities of international relations and the challenges of foreign policy. At a time rife with uncertainty, the Council provided comprehensive analysis, and its experts contributed a range of recommendations on the situations as they unfolded. Since January, the institution has held over thirty general meetings and smaller roundtable discussions and nearly twenty conference calls on the uprisings in the Arab world for both CFR members and targeted constituencies.

The strength of the Council's <u>Middle East program</u> was evidenced by the town hall meeting in early February following the ousting of the Tunisian president and the protests in Egypt. The meeting was videoconferenced between CFR's New York and Washington offices, with Council fellows participating from both locations, and was teleconferenced for National members. The discussion featured in-house experts Elliott Abrams, Mohamad Bazzi, Steven A. Cook, Isobel Coleman, Robert Danin, Ed Husain, and Council President Richard N. Haass. Over six hundred members participated, representing one of the highest turnouts in CFR history for a single meeting. Other conversations focused on particular countries in the greater Middle East, including Libya, Iran, Syria, and Jordan; counter-radicalization; human rights; and the growing role of social media.

CFR hosted a number of conference calls for members of the press on the Arab uprisings with in-house experts. Average media participation doubled compared to last year. Additionally, as part of its Rapid Response Briefing series, the <u>Corporate Program</u> led three conference calls geared specifically toward executives on topics including assessing business risk in the Middle East and the effect of the turmoil on international energy markets.

In May, CFR and *Foreign Affairs* published an ebook, *The New Arab Revolt: What Happened, What It Means, and What Comes Next.* During a time of complex transformation, the volume offers an intellectual context for understanding the upheavals in the Arab world. It brings together more than sixty articles, interviews, congressional testimony, and op-eds from experts and thought leaders; major public statements by Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, Hosni Mubarak, Muammar al-Qaddafi, and others; as well as other relevant primary source documents.



Co-Chairman Carla A. Hills



Co-Chairman Robert E. Rubin

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Council staff and fellows published nearly 90 op-eds on the events in the region in the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Time*, *Financial Times*, *Foreign Policy*, *Atlantic*, *Politico*, and CNN.com, among others, and have made over 160 appearances on major news outlets including ABC, NBC, CBS, FOX, CNN, al-Jazeera, BBC, PBS, NPR, and MSNBC. Council experts testified before both the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on U.S. policy toward Libya, Egypt, and Lebanon, and they have briefed U.S. government officials in the legislative and executive branches.

CFR.org published over one hundred articles on the uprisings in the Arab world. An online Issue Guide from May on the North Africa and Middle East protests that provides analysis of Syria, Egypt, and Libya and of U.S. interests in the region has been viewed over forty thousand times. Other articles examined parallels and differences between the Egyptian and Iranian revolutions, the debate over intervention in Libya and NATO's role, prospects for Syrian regime change, implications of the uprisings for food and oil prices, the future of economic policy in affected countries, and the agendas and prospects for opposition movements like the Muslim Brotherhood. CFR.org had nearly fifty postings on the topic by Council experts as part of the institution's growing blog initiative, with Steven Cook's post, "Five Things You Need to Know about the Egyptian Armed Forces" viewed over 6,500 times—an impressive number for a single post.

Foreign Affairs led its May/June issue with a seven-article package on the uprisings and also published over fifty online-only pieces. "The Muslim Brotherhood After Mubarak: What the Brotherhood Is and How It Will Shape the Future," a website piece by Carrie Rosefsky Wickham of Emory University, has been viewed more than sixty thousand times since it was published in early February. Of the articles published on ForeignAffairs.com since January, the Arab uprisings comprised 30 percent of the content and accounted for over 60 percent of traffic.

Following the crisis in Japan, the Council held a number of meetings, including a town hall discussion with its Japan expert Sheila A. Smith, energy expert Michael A. Levi, and economic expert Sebastian Mallaby, as well as a meeting with Governor of the Bank of Japan Masaaki Shirakawa on Japan's recovery. CFR.org published nearly twenty articles on the situation, and its <u>Issue Guide on Japan's Triple Crisis</u> has been viewed over twenty-five thousand times. Council fellows have published op-eds on the topic in the *Financial Times*, *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Beijing Review*, and the *Atlantic*, among others.

On the ongoing crisis in the Eurozone, the Council featured the head of the European Commission, the chief economist of the World Bank, the governor of the Bank of Spain and Spain's finance minister, and the prime minister of Ireland. CFR's International Institutions and Global Governance program published a series of five reports exploring the Eurozone crisis, ranging from its historic roots to the future of European integration. Scholars from the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies analyzed the crisis from different perspectives, including the effectiveness of the International Monetary Fund in managing the situation, the allocation of funds for Ireland's bailout, and the outlook for Greece. The center also examined the topic through its "Geo-Graphics" blog, which uses innovative graphs to illustrate economic concerns. One post that studied the correlation between sovereign risk and foreign deposits using Ireland and Spain as an example was viewed over five thousand times. Other graphs looked at public and bank debt in Ireland, compared corporate and government debt in



Vice Chairman Richard E. Salomon

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Eurozone countries, and used German bond yields to assess the likelihood of a Greek default.

A <u>CFR.org Backgrounder that profiles al-Qaeda</u>, originally published in November 2005 and updated numerous times, including following Osama bin Laden's killing, has been viewed twenty-five thousand times since May 2 of this year. The Council hosted meetings and conference calls with in-house experts on the implications of bin Laden's death, as well as a meeting with House Intelligence chair Mike Rogers on the lessons learned from the bin Laden operation. CFR experts testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee after bin Laden's death on U.S. policy toward Afghanistan. The Council published a <u>Task Force report on U.S. Strategy for Pakistan and Afghanistan</u> in November 2010, and following bin Laden's killing, published a report titled <u>Next Steps for Pakistan Strategy</u>. In addition, the CFR.org interactive <u>Crisis Guide on Pakistan</u>, which won the Overseas Press Club's first-ever award for Best Use of Multimedia, offers a detailed examination of the country's evolution, challenges, and future prospects.

The challenges that the United States and the world face are vast and complicated. With virtually simultaneous yet unique revolutions taking place across the Arab world, strained relations with Pakistan, nuclear challenges posed by North Korea and Iran, and ongoing financial crises, there are countless questions. The number of professionals in government, business, academia, and the media, as well as interested global citizens, who turned to the Council for insight and as a forum for discussion during this time of extraordinary change is a real testament to the institution's reputation for original, authoritative, and truly nonpartisan work. It was a demanding year, and we want to thank CFR Vice Chairman Richard E. Salomon and our fellow Board members for their guidance. We also want to recognize Council President Richard Haass for his creative and committed leadership. At a time when the mission of this institution was as vital as ever, the quantity and, most importantly, the quality of the work produced by CFR were truly exceptional.

Carla A. Hills Robert E. Rubin Co-Chairs of the Board The CFR.org interactive Crisis Guide on Pakistan won the Overseas Press Club's first-ever award for Best Use of Multimedia.

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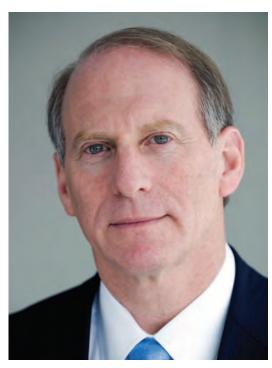
President's Message

This year marked the ninetieth anniversary of the Council on Foreign Relations. As the events of recent months have proven, new challenges can come about at any moment and relationships abroad can transform rapidly. On the previous pages, the co-chairs discussed the uprisings across the Arab world, the triple crisis in Japan, the killing of Osama bin Laden, and ongoing eurozone concerns. These challenges greatly shaped this year's foreign policy agenda, and the Council did considerable work on each. However, there were and continue to be many other issues that require significant attention.

China continues to grow rapidly and become more assertive on the world stage, while other countries such as India and Brazil are also building their economic and political presence. Terrorism threats and the fight against extremism strain relations with strategically important countries like Pakistan. Economic imbalances and the developed world's struggle to emerge decisively from the economic crisis are a source of frustration. Adding to the instability in the Middle East are concerns about nuclear proliferation from Iran and tensions between Israelis and Palestinians. New challenges of cybersecurity governance grow more complex, while measures to deal with more familiar problems like climate change and energy security remain unclear. Mexico continues its battle with drug cartels, and a number of African states are threatened by internal violence. Enduring poverty and corruption lead to questions about the efficacy of foreign aid, and global health fears linger on issues from food safety to the AIDS pandemic, which enters its thirtieth year.

Clearly the world has no shortage of complicated problems, and the United States is no exception—soaring debt, high unemployment, substandard infrastructure, educational shortcomings, outdated immigration policies, and, as is evident from the lack of movement on these issues, highly partisan politics in Washington. These domestic challenges reduce the resources available for national security and foreign policy priorities, detract from the appeal of the American model, and diminish U.S. global competitiveness. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Mike Mullen said, "the biggest threat we have to our national security is our debt." Meanwhile, 25 percent of U.S. students fail to graduate high school; 75 percent of Americans between the ages of seventeen and twenty-four are ineligible to enlist in the military because they did not graduate high school, have a criminal record, or are physically unfit; and restraints on legal immigration make it difficult for highly skilled immigrants to work in the United States. All of this raises concerns about the country's security, productivity, and future prosperity.

CFR has been active on the full range of U.S. foreign policy concerns. Experts published five hundred and seventy op-eds and articles in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, and the *Atlantic*, among others, and made nearly five hundred media appearances on major U.S. and international news



President Richard N. Haass

networks. CFR experts also testified before Congress fourteen times and briefed U.S. and foreign government officials over four hundred times. We held almost seven hundred meetings in New York, Washington, and across the country and over two hundred smaller roundtables run by CFR fellows. The Council hosted a number of heads of state or government, senior U.S. and foreign government officials, and business leaders. We continue to expand our outreach efforts to targeted constituencies, increase our teleconference offerings, and enhance our videoconference capabilities.

As part of its ninetieth anniversary, CFR this year launched the Renewing America initiative to examine the slate of domestic challenges that have a direct impact on U.S. foreign policy and international leadership. Renewing America examines the domestic underpinnings of U.S. power as difficulties within the country increasingly limit what it can do outside its borders. The initiative focuses on six areas: infrastructure, education and human capital development, debt and deficits, corporate regulation and taxation, innovation, and international trade and investment. The scope of this initiative includes work by the David Rockefeller Studies Program; programming in New York, Washington, and nationally; outreach to targeted constituencies, including government officials, business leaders, educators and students, religious leaders, and individuals active at the state, local, and community levels; publications, including Foreign Affairs; and the website, CFR.org.

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Richard N. Haass, George R. Stephanopoulos, Michael Mandelbaum, and Roger C. Altman at the kickoff meeting for CFR's Renewing America initiative.



Service chiefs General James T. Conway, General George W. Casey Jr., Admiral Gary Roughead, General Norton A. Schwartz, and Admiral Robert J. Papp Jr. spoke as part of the Robert B. McKeon Endowed Series on Military Strategy and Leadership. CFR Board member Tom Brokaw moderated.

Renewing America started up in January with a meeting on American power and profligacy in which a panel discussed the strategic implications of U.S. debt for America's foreign policy. The next discussion in the series focused on the challenges of state and municipal debt. At a CFR symposium, New York City mayor Michael R. Bloomberg discussed immigration as America's economic engine, calling a failure to reform current policies "national suicide." Other meetings included conversations on national export strategy, small business growth, job creation, education reform, and infrastructure priorities.

Two of the <u>Independent Task Force reports</u> currently under way examine domestic challenges. The first, on U.S. trade policy, is chaired by former Democratic Senate majority leader Tom Daschle and Andy Card, former chief of staff to President George W. Bush. It is codirected by senior fellows Edward Alden and Matthew Slaughter. The second Task Force, on U.S. education reform, focuses on how the American education system can better serve economic and security objectives. It is chaired by former secretary of state Condoleezza Rice and former chancellor of the New York City Department of Education Joel Klein and directed by Julia Levy.

CFR's Michael Spence coauthored a Working Paper with Sandile Hlatshwayo on the evolving structure of the U.S. economy and how it affects employment opportunities. CFR will convene a roundtable series on American manufacturing and a publication series in which it commissions leading thinkers to write papers on the six themes of the Renewing America initiative. Additionally, each month CFR.org brings together a small group of experts to weigh in on a specific policy issue. The first of these asked seven experts what they see as the most serious domestic threat to America's international standing. Other debates

The Council held almost seven hundred meetings in New York, Washington, and across the country and over two hundred smaller roundtables run by CFR fellows.

ranged from how best to spur innovation to priority areas for improving infrastructure.

In addition to this new initiative, CFR continues to focus on more traditional challenges outside of the nation's borders. The organization's intellectual output and convening power in this area remained unparalleled. During the United Nations General Assembly, the Council hosted six heads of state or government, five foreign ministers, and the president of the European Commission. Speakers included the presidents of Colombia, Turkey, and the Philippines; the prime ministers of Malaysia, Thailand, and the Palestinian Authority; and the foreign ministers of the United Kingdom, Indonesia, Pakistan, Kenya, and Jordan.

Throughout the year, CFR also hosted the presidents of Georgia, Mongolia, and Rwanda; the prime ministers of Ireland and Israel; the foreign ministers of China, Nigeria, Brazil, and Canada; the finance ministers of Spain and Zimbabwe; and the secretary-general of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

A number of senior U.S. administration officials met with CFR members on national security concerns. Highlights included a meeting with the U.S. service chiefs from the Army, Air Force, Marine Corps, Navy, and for the first time the Coast Guard, as well as sessions with Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Deputy Secretary of Defense William J. Lynn, Legal Adviser of the Department of State Harold Koh, and Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Judith McHale. We also hosted Secretary of Education Arne Duncan and Deputy Secretary of Energy Daniel Poneman.

Programming of the <u>Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeco-nomic Studies (CGS)</u> remained strong during a period of intense challenge to the U.S. and global economies. The Stephen C. Freidheim



The Council hosted six heads of state or government, five foreign ministers, and the president of the European Commission.

As part of CFR's Religion and Foreign Policy initiative, Archbishop Daniel Deng Bul Yak discussed the religious implications of a potential civil war in Sudan.

Symposium on Global Economics featured Director of the National Economic Council Larry Summers. As part of our C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics, we hosted Secretary of the Treasury Timothy Geithner, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Alan Greenspan, Trade Representative Ronald Kirk, Treasury Undersecretary for International Affairs Lael Brainard, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers Austan Goolsbee, and Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Sheila Bair. We also featured Stuart Levey, the first undersecretary for terrorism and financial markets at the Treasury Department.

The McKinsey Series on International Economics held panel discussions covering a range of topics. One highlight was a meeting titled "What Sort of Fed Do We Want?" with former vice chair of the Federal Reserve Alan Blinder, Stanford professor and monetary policy expert John Taylor, and *Wall Street Journal* economics editor David Wessel. The Council continued its popular World Economic Update series, in which a panel of senior bankers and economists analyze the state of the global economy each quarter. The most recent session examined U.S. federal spending levels and congressional battles over the budget.

With one-third of our membership located outside the New York and Washington areas, members living in forty-three states and twenty-two countries participated in the National Program this year. The sixteenth National Conference, held in June, was a major highlight. It explored the role of social media in the upheavals in the Middle East, fiscal challenges facing the global economy, and the rise of Asia. Notable speakers included the president of Mongolia and vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Other National Program highlights included meetings with new Foreign Affairs editor Gideon Rose, Israeli ambassador Michael Oren, and former president of Mexico Vicente Fox. For the first time, our military fellows led briefings at SOUTHCOM and Camp Pendleton for National members. We also continue to connect members to our programming in New York and Washington, with over fifty teleconferences



An October meeting of the Independent Task Force on U.S. Trade Policy in Washington, DC.



CFR introduced a new publication series, Policy Innovation Memoranda, which target critical areas where new thinking is needed.

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton

and interactive conference calls resulting in a 24 percent increase in participation from last year.

The <u>Corporate Program</u> remained another robust element of CFR's work. Corporate members attended over 350 events this year, including the <u>Corporate Conference</u>. This year's event opened with a conversation between General Electric CEO Jeff Immelt and CNBC's Maria Bartiromo. The CEO Speaker series is increasingly attracting business leaders from leading global corporations. This year, thirteen CEOs from a range of industries and countries spoke at CFR. Speakers included NYSE Euronext's Duncan Niederauer, Intel's Paul Otellini, Google's Eric Schmidt, FedEx's Fred Smith, Nestlé's Peter Brabeck-Letmathe, and AREVA's Anne Lauvergeon.

Also noteworthy, at the height of the controversy about building an Islamic community center near the Ground Zero site, the Council hosted Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf, the chairman of the Cordoba Initiative, the organization in charge of the project. The meeting brought together over three hundred CFR members and a number of religious leaders of various faiths. We also hosted AFL-CIO president Richard Trumka, head of the United Nations Development Program Helen Clark, former president of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf, former Taliban captive David Rohde, and a session on Sudan with actor and activist George Clooney. Also on the agenda were symposia on Cuba's twenty-first-century trajectory, U.S.-Mexico relations with ambassadors Carlos Pascual and Arturo Sarukhan, and the increasingly globalized food and drug trade featuring FDA commissioner Margaret Hamburg.

CFR has sponsored a number of <u>Independent Task Forces</u> this fiscal year. In addition to the two Task Forces on trade and education, the Council published a report of the Independent Task Force on U.S. Strategy for Pakistan and Afghanistan, chaired by former deputy secretary

of state Richard Armitage and former national security adviser Samuel R. Berger and directed by Senior Fellow Daniel Markey. Its report supports a long-term partnership with Pakistan; calls for a new approach to Afghan political reform, reconciliation, and regional diplomacy; and argues that a more limited U.S. mission in Afghanistan would be warranted if the present strategy does not show sufficient signs of progress.

An Independent Task Force on Brazil, led by former secretary of energy Samuel Bodman and former president of the World Bank James Wolfensohn and directed by Senior Fellow Julia E. Sweig, worked throughout the year on its report. The Task Force published its findings and recommendations in July 2011. An Independent Task Force on Turkey, which aims to examine that country's domestic and foreign policy trajectories and make recommendations for U.S. policy, was launched with chairs Madeleine K. Albright and Stephen J. Hadley and is directed by Senior Fellow Steven Cook.

Six <u>Council Special Reports</u> were published this year by both in-house and outside experts: Stewart M. Patrick and Kara C. McDonald on U.S. leadership in UN Security Council reform and expansion; Micah Zenko on how to reduce the U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals; Robert K. Knake on cybersecurity and Internet governance; Kay King on the effect of congressional gridlock on national security; David A. Shirk on the drug war in Mexico and the potential of state failure; and David Kaye on the limitations of the International Criminal Court and the importance of strengthening national justice systems.

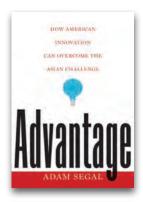
The <u>Center for Preventive Action</u>—a part of the <u>David Rockefeller Studies Program</u>—has continued its Contingency Planning Memoranda series, which offers practical policy options for managing immediate threats that, should they arise, could seriously jeopardize U.S. interests. It released papers this year on military escalation on the Korean Peninsula, potential election violence in Nigeria, a third Lebanon war, and electoral instability and violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo. CFR

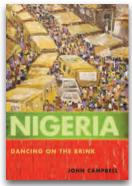
The David Rockefeller Studies Program

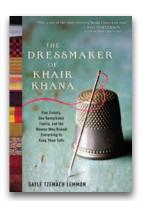
The David Rockefeller Studies Program is the Council's world-class think tank.

This year CFR scholars continued to contribute expert analysis on the full range of foreign policy issues. Here is a snapshot of their work:

- 9 Average weekly number of op-eds published
- 9 Books published
- 14 Appearances by Council experts before Congress
- 33 Reports published
- 94 Magazine or journal articles published
- 189 Expert Briefs, First Takes, and Interviews on CFR.org
- 214 Study group and roundtable meetings held
- 438 Briefings given to U.S. and foreign government officials

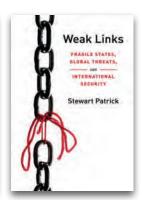


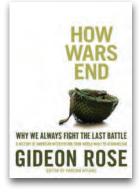


















A group of term members met with Hen Zheng, mayor of Shanghai, on a May trip to China.

also introduced a new publication series, Policy Innovation Memoranda, which target critical areas where new thinking is needed. They are concise products aimed at policymakers and opinion leaders. So far five have been released: managing the world's dollar dependency, the U.S. role in defining the rules of cyberspace governance, rethinking peacemaking for Darfur, improving relations with Pakistan, and enhancing U.S. crisis preparedness.

In addition to these reports and the CFR/Foreign Affairs ebook, The New Arab Revolt, Council experts published eight books. Micah Zenko's Between Threats and War studies the efficacy of discrete military operations and the use of limited military force. Gideon Rose's *How Wars End* examines the historic lack of postwar planning in U.S. foreign policy. John Campbell published Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink, which explores that country's daunting challenges of governance and poverty. *The Sixth* <u>Crisis</u> by Steven Simon and Dana H. Allin warns that the growing friction between Israel and Iran represents an increasingly imminent threat to U.S. interests in the region and offers solutions to defuse a potential conflict. Adam Segal's Advantage: How American Innovation Can Overcome the Asian Challenge considers U.S. competitiveness in light of the rise of India, China, and others. Gayle Tzemach Lemmon's The Dressmaker of Khair Khana underscores the integral role of women in the development and stability of Afghanistan. Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security by Stewart Patrick challenges the standing assumption that threats to global security emanate primarily from weak and failed states. Finally, Michael Spence's The Next Convergence analyzes the convergence between fast-growing developing countries and slower-growing industrialized ones and explores the implications of this trend for the coming decades.

CFR's <u>Civil Society</u>, <u>Markets</u>, <u>and Democracy</u> initiative has completed its first year of research and programming under the leadership of Senior Fellow Isobel Coleman. The initiative examines what the United

States and others can do to foster open, prosperous, and stable societies. This is a timely addition to CFR's work in the context of concerns about capitalism and democracy, the rise of an alternative economic and political model in China, and the upheavals that have swept large parts of the Arab world in 2011. Efforts so far include an official launch in Washington featuring former prime minister of the United Kingdom Tony Blair; a symposium on British and American approaches to countering radicalization; and more than fifteen roundtable meetings. The initiative's website on <u>CFR.org</u> features Markets and Democracy Briefs, which are concise analyses by CFR scholars of important emerging countries or functional issues, as well as video interviews with both Council experts and leading outside voices.

CFR.org continues to increase its output and has an average of over 1.2 million page views and 450,000 unique visitors each month. The website expanded its blog offerings this year, providing high-quality rapid analysis on news developments and increasing public interaction with Council experts. This short-form commentary allows for examination of a wide range of evolving concerns in a timely and concise manner. Last year, the website had three blogs; it now has eleven. They cover the issues and trends shaping Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America, as well as the sustainability of American power, international security and conflict prevention, multilateral cooperation and sovereignty, energy security, economic development and democracy, and geoeconomic concerns. Our social media presence is also growing rapidly. Compared to last year, the number of CFR Facebook fans is up 157 percent, Twitter followers 264 percent, and YouTube subscribers 134 percent.

We continue to build our Washington outreach as well. CFR's <u>Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy</u> program held staff-level outreach meetings with over 275 House and Senate personnel and hosted its second biennial Congressional Staff Conference on Capitol Hill, drawing 100 participants and featuring presentations from 17 Council fellows and members. Senators John Kerry and John McCain made opening remarks. The program also arranged over 85 events on Capitol Hill, including roundtables for senior congressional staff, dinners for Senate chiefs of staff, breakfast briefings for newly elected members of Congress, and

Cordoba Initiative chairman Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf

Participants from 122 countries were represented at CFR events in total this year.



Jeffrey Immelt, chairman and CEO of General Electric, and Maria Bartiromo, CNBC anchor, at CFR's seventh annual Corporate Conference.

individually tailored briefings for congressional members and staff. CFR's executive branch outreach expanded to include a new roundtable series for mid-level officials in various executive branch agencies. This series was launched in March with a briefing on the upheavals in the Middle East and was followed in May with a briefing on the U.S.-China relationship. CFR also held nine special briefings for senior diplomats featuring Council members or fellows. Participants from 122 countries were represented at CFR events in total this year, including over 60 ambassadors.

As part of its academic outreach, the Council held two meetings of the Higher Education Working Group on Global Issues, which comprises mostly college and university presidents who gather to explore the role of higher education institutions in today's globalized world. In addition, about 1,500 students came through our doors for events and briefings, and 110 colleges and universities participated in our signature Academic Conference Call series, marking increases of 25 and 29 percent over last year, respectively. The fourth annual Religion and Foreign Policy Summer Workshop brought together 100 religious leaders and scholars for discussion on a broad range of issues, while participation in the Religion and Foreign Policy Conference Call series increased by nearly 50 percent from last year. And in partnership with the Episcopal Diocese of New York, CFR hosted a roundtable discussion with a group of religious leaders from Sudan on the country's pivotal January 2011 referendum.

It is impossible in these few pages to list the entirety of the Council's activities this year. Those mentioned, though, do give a sense of the depth and breadth of CFR's work. As I complete my eighth year as Council president and this organization completes its ninetieth year, the list of international concerns grows larger and more complicated,

CFR.org continues to increase its output and has an average of over 1.2 million page views and 450,000 unique visitors each month.



President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso discussed EU economic crisis management and reform with CFR member James D. Wolfensohn.

underscoring the importance of the CFR mission to serve as a comprehensive resource on U.S. foreign policy. I want to thank CFR Co-Chairs Carla A. Hills and Robert E. Rubin, Vice Chair Richard E. Salomon, and the members of the Board of Directors for their able leadership and dedicated service. I also want to thank the Council's individual and corporate members in New York, Washington, and across the country and the world for their involvement. And lastly, none of this would be possible without CFR's committed staff and their many contributions to the institution's work. I truly think that this past year was one of CFR's most impressive, and I am grateful to the many individuals that helped make it possible.

Richard N. Haass President

Foreign Affairs

The past year at *Foreign Affairs* has been one of change and continuity, as the magazine moved from one editor to another and continued its evolution from a print-only to a fully print-and-Web publication.

The Hoge era ended with a special November/December issue on "The World Ahead." Featuring a dazzling array of authors old and new, the plus-sized issue took stock of the major trends changing the world and the global role of the United States. Highlights included articles by U.S. secretary of state Hillary Rodham Clinton on how Washington could strengthen its civilian power abroad, CFR President Richard N. Haass and former U.S. deputy treasury secretary Roger C. Altman on the foreign policy consequences of fiscal irresponsibility, CFR President Emeritus Leslie H. Gelb on the need to refocus foreign policy on economic security, Google CEO Eric Schmidt and his colleague Jared Cohen on the global consequences of increased connectivity, Harvard's Joseph S. Nye Jr. on the future of American power, Columbia University's Richard K. Betts on the major theoretical interpretations of the post-Cold War world, and an all-star section of capsule book review recommendations. The special issue garnered high sales and buzz and served as a fitting capstone to Jim Hoge's two extraordinary decades at the helm—a period that saw the magazine ascend to ever-greater heights of quality, influence, circulation, and financial success.

The January/February 2011 issue inaugurated the new era, leading with a major story by new media guru Clay Shirky on "The Political Power of Social Media," which turned out to be prescient given the prominent role social media played in the upheavals across the Middle East in later months. Other noteworthy articles included a debate on Afghanistan policy between former George W. Bush administration officials Robert D. Blackwill and Paul D. Miller, and pieces by the former director of central intelligence John Deutch on shale gas, CFR Fellow Robert M. Danin on Salam Fayyad's attempt at state-building in the West Bank, and *Die Zeit* publisher Josef Joffe and coauthor James W. Davis on the problems with Global Zero.

The March/April issue featured a lead piece by Walter Russell Mead on "The Tea Party and American Foreign Policy," as well as packages on the rise of China (with articles by Thomas J. Christensen, Wang Jisi, and Charles Glaser) and currency wars and international economic governance (with articles by Liaquat Ahamed, Raghuram Rajan, and Ian Bremmer and Nouriel Roubini). Other highlights included an article by Nancy Birdsall and Francis Fukuyama on social policy and development in the wake of the financial crisis and a follow-up exchange between Malcolm Gladwell and Shirky on social media's political significance.

Soon after the March/April issue went to press, a popular upheaval in Tunisia toppled longtime ruler Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali. The turmoil quickly spread to Egypt and then the rest of the Middle East. The extraordinary and rapidly evolving situation created both challenges and opportunities, and *Foreign Affairs* responded with an unprecedented amount of online coverage in order to provide intellectual context for readers in real



Foreign Affairs editor Gideon Rose

Foreign Affairs

time. ForeignAffairs.com featured dozens of top-notch experts covering everything from events in each affected country to the general causes and characteristics of the crisis. This surge of activity generated unprecedented traffic on the website as well as substantial praise. Standout online features included rapid-fire pieces by Michele Penner Angrist on the fall of Ben Ali, Carrie Rosefsky Wickham on Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, Steven Cook on U.S.-Egyptian relations, Tony Badran on unrest in Syria, and Frederic Wehrey on Libya's political dynamics.

Foreign Affairs complemented its continuing online coverage of the Arab Spring with a seven-article lead package in the May/June issue, featuring articles by Lisa Anderson, Jack A. Goldstone, Michael Scott Doran, and others, along with a particularly provocative piece on "The Black Swan of Cairo" by Nassim Nicholas Taleb and Mark Blyth. Other highlights of the issue included an article on the failure of the Doha trade round by Susan C. Schwab, a piece on Pakistan by Aqil Shah, and a muchdiscussed review essay on totalitarian art by Kanan Makiya.

By mid-spring, the volume and quality of the magazine's print and online coverage was so high, and public interest so intense, that *Foreign Affairs* gathered the highlights together into a special ebook, copublished with CFR. This volume, *The New Arab Revolt*, was released in May, and also included articles from the magazine's archives and <u>CFR.org</u>, CFR experts' op-eds and testimony, and significant primary source documents related to the upheavals. All in all, it was an extraordinary season, ending with another surge of activity in response to the killing of Osama bin Laden.

In the first five months of 2011, ForeignAffairs.com experienced record highs in its site traffic, with unique visitors up 31 percent and page views up 25 percent over the previous year. Thanks to vigorous marketing campaigns aimed at converting online readers into paying customers, meanwhile, sales of digital subscriptions increased by 28 percent over the previous year.

In January, the magazine introduced two new subscription types. A digital subscription option offers an exact replica of the print magazine in an enhanced PDF format. For a premium price, the *Foreign Affairs* Plus subscription offers the regular magazine (in either the print or digital format) along with extras such as premium Web access, book excerpts, special reports, and periodic letters from the editor. Both products have found a receptive audience, particularly among international subscribers who can now get the magazine without delay or added shipping expenses.

Foreign Affairs has continued to reach new readers through the Amazon Kindle, the Barnes & Noble Nook, and other eReader devices. In the first quarter of 2011, eReader subscriptions and single-copy sales grew by 36 percent over the previous year, and the magazine now has almost 15,000 subscribers via eReaders in addition to its print circulation of 154,000.

The magazine has also established a growing presence in social media channels. The number of *Foreign Affairs* fans on Facebook grew by 178 percent over the previous year, rising to more than 38,000 by June, at which point there were more than 34,000 followers on Twitter.

Advertising revenue for the magazine in the 2010–2011 fiscal year increased 25 percent over the previous one, thanks to the support of advertisers such as Eni, the Goldman Sachs Group Inc., Lockheed Martin Corporation, Singapore Airlines, Shell Oil Company, Bank of America Merrill Lynch, USEC, and TETRA Technologies, Inc. Two new special sections highlighting graduate schools created a new category for advertising, while sponsored country sections from Japan, Cape Verde,

Foreign Affairs now has almost 15,000 subscribers via eReaders in addition to its print circulation of 154,000.

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CFR Board member and former managing editor Fareed Zakaria with past and present editors James F. Hoge Jr. and Gideon Rose

Indonesia, Equatorial Guinea, the Philippines, Haiti, and Greece also contributed to revenue growth. Online and newsletter advertising sponsorship delivered an 11 percent increase in revenue over last year.

We also welcomed Jonathan Tepperman, who came on board in early 2011 as the new managing editor, bringing strong managerial and editorial experience to the job from his previous positions at *Foreign Affairs*, *Newsweek International*, and Eurasia Group. With the close of this fiscal year, *Foreign Affairs* is committed to finding new ways to compete, in print and online, in its editorial and publishing operations. And so as strong as the past year was, our hope is to best it in the one to come.

Gideon Rose Foreign Affairs *Editor*

Foreign Affairs

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Frances Fragos Townsend

Vin Weber

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2011 Board Election

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, 2011, were Henry S. Bienen, Ann M. Fudge, Colin L. Powell, Penny S. Pritzker, Joan E. Spero, Vin Weber, and Christine Todd Whitman.

The Nominating and Governance Committee was composed of Henry S. Bienen (Chair), Madeleine K. Albright, Mary McInnis Boies, 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, 2010, the Chair invited the Council membership to propose possible candidates. The Nominating and Governance Committee met on February 28, 2011, 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 2016: Stephen E. Biegun, David W. Leebron, Eduardo J. Padrón, Colin L. Powell, Kevin P. Ryan, and Christine Todd Whitman. On March 17, 2011, Council members were notified of the slate and of the petition process available to them in accordance with the By-Laws. No petition candidate was put forth. A ballot was mailed to all Council members on May 2, 2011.

At the Annual Meeting for the Election of Directors on June 1, 2011, 1,557 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 2012 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, 2011, and expiring June 20, 2016: Eduardo J. Padrón, Colin L. Powell, and Christine Todd Whitman. At its June 16 meeting the Board also appointed three Council members to serve five-year terms as Directors in the Class of 2016, beginning July 1, 2011, and expiring June 30, 2016: Ann M. Fudge, Thomas H. Glocer, and Penny S. Pritzker.

IN MEMORIAM

The Council lost two former members of its Board of Directors this past year.

Richard C. Holbrooke died on December 13, 2010. A CFR member since 1970, Ambassador Holbrooke served three times on the Board of Directors: from 1991 to 1993, 1996 to 1999, and 2001 to 2009. He also chaired the advisory board of Foreign Affairs magazine from 1992 to 1993. Ambassador Holbrooke spent a career working on some of the most difficult areas of U.S. foreign policy, from Vietnam and the Balkans to Pakistan and Afghanistan. He will be additionally remembered for his work drawing international attention to global health issues, particularly HIV/AIDS.

Theodore C. Sorensen passed away on October 31, 2010. Known for his work as President John F. Kennedy's adviser and speechwriter, Mr. Sorensen led a long and distinguished career as both a public servant and prominent lawyer. A dedicated member of and active presence at CFR for close to forty-five years, Mr. Sorensen served on the Board of Directors from 1993 to 2004. In 1996, he established the Sorensen Distinguished Lecture on the United Nations at CFR to honor his wife, Gillian Martin Sorensen, for her work at the United Nations.

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Historical Roster of Directors and Officers

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	C) Tub Tu Vullet	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	1927–34	W. Michael Blumenthal	1972–77,	Charles McC. Mathias Jr.	
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1927–40	w. whenael blumenthal	1972–77,	Ruben F. Mettler	1986–92
Charles P. Howland	1929–31	Zbigniew Brzezinski	1979–84	Peter Tarnoff	1986–93
	1932–37	Elizabeth Drew	1972–77	James E. Burke	1987–95
Walter Lippmann				/	1987–93 1987–89,
Clarence M. Woolley Frank Altschul	1932–35	George S. Franklin Marshall D. Shulman	1972–83	Richard B. Cheney	,
	1934–72		1972–77	Dahant E. Eulanna	1993–95
Philip C. Jessup	1934–42		1972–82	Robert F. Erburu	1987–98
Harold W. Dodds	1935–43	Paul C. Warnke	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	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		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	8	2004-2009
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Karen N. Horn	1992–95	Fareed Zakaria	2004–	B. R. Inman	1992–93
James R. Houghton	1992–96	Peter Ackerman	2005-	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1993–94
Charlayne Hunter-Gault Donna E. Shalala		Charlene Barshefsky	2005–2010	Maurice R. Greenberg	1994–2002
	1992–93	Stephen W. Bosworth Tom Brokaw	2005–2009	Carla A. Hills	2001–2007
Paul A. Allaire	1993–2002		2005–	William J. McDonough	2002–2003
Robert E. Allen	1993–96	David M. Rubenstein	2005-	Robert E. Rubin	2003–2007
Richard N. Cooper	1993–94	Frank J. Caufield	2006–2010	Richard E. Salomon	2007–
E. Gerald Corrigan	1993–95	Ann M. Fudge	2006–	HONORARY	
Alton Frye	1993	Alberto Ibargüen	2006–	VICE CHAIRMAN	
Leslie H. Gelb	1993–2001,	Henry R. Kravis James W. Owens	2006-		2002
Rita E. Hauser	2002–2003	Colin L. Powell	2006– 2006–	Maurice R. Greenberg	2002–
Theodore C. Sorensen	1993–97 1993–2004	Christine Todd Whitman		PRESIDENTS	
			2007–		1021 22
Garrick Utley Carla A. Hills	1993–2003	Sylvia Mathews Burwell		John W. Davis	1921–33
	1994–	Stephen Friedman	2007– 2007–	George W. Wickersham Norman H. Davis	1933–36
Helene L. Kaplan Frank G. Zarb	1994–96	Jami Miscik Alan S. Blinder	2007–	Russell C. Leffingwell	1936–44
Robert B. Zoellick	1994–96 1994–2001	J. Tomilson Hill	2008–	Allen W. Dulles	1944–46 1946–50
	1994–2001	Shirley Ann Jackson	2008–	Henry M. Wriston	1940–30
Les Aspin Mario L. Baeza	1995–2001	George Rupp	2008–	Grayson Kirk	1951–04
Peggy Dulany	1995–2001	David G. Bradley	2009–	Bayless Manning	190 4 –71 1971–77
Jessica P. Einhorn	1995–2005	Donna J. Hrinak	2009–	Winston Lord	1977–85
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.	1995–2005	Penny S. Pritzker	2009–	John Temple Swing*	1985–86
Hannah Holborn Gray	1995–2003	Frederick W. Smith	2009–	Peter Tarnoff	1986–93
William J. McDonough	1995–2004	John P. Abizaid	2010-	Alton Frye	1980–93
George J. Mitchell	1995–2005	Mary McInnis Boies	2010–	Leslie H. Gelb	1993–2003
Frank Savage	1995–2002	Pamela Brooks Gann	2010–	Richard N. Haass	2003–
George Soros	1995–2004	Thomas H. Glocer	2011–	rdenard i v. i idass	2003
Lee Cullum	1996–2006	Eduardo J. Padrón	2011–	PRESIDENT EMERI	TUS
Vincent A. Mai	1997–2003	Eddardo J. Fadron	2011	Leslie H. Gelb	2003-
Warren B. Rudman	1997-2005	CHAIRMEN OF THE	BOARD		
Laura D'Andrea Tyson	1997-2007	Russell C. Leffingwell	1946-53	HONORARY PRESIL	DENTS
Roone Arledge	1998-2002	John J. McCloy	1953-70	Elihu Root	1921-37
Martin S. Feldstein	1998–2008,	David Rockefeller	1970-85	Henry M. Wriston	1964–78
	2009-	Peter G. Peterson	1985-2007	•	
Bette Bao Lord	1998-2003	Carla A. Hills		EXECUTIVE	
Michael H. Moskow	1998-2008	(Co-Chairman)	2007-	VICE PRESIDENTS	
Diane Sawyer	1998–99	Robert E. Rubin		John Temple Swing	1986-93
John Deutch	1999–2004	(Co-Chairman)	2007-	Michael P. Peters	2002-2005
Robert E. Rubin	2000-		T. I. C.	CHIEF FINANCIAL	AND
Andrew Young	2000-2005	CHAIRMAN EMERI'	TUS	CHIEF FINANCIAL	
Henry S. Bienen	2001-2011	Peter G. Peterson	2007-	ADMINISTRATIVE	OFFICER
Kenneth M. Duberstein	2001-	HONOD ADVICUATO	MEN	Kenneth Castiglia	2010-
Joan E. Spero	2001–2011	HONORARY CHAIR		CHIEF INCODMATI	ON
Vin Weber	2001–2011	John J. McCloy	1970–1989	CHIEF INFORMATI	
Fouad Ajami	2002-	David Rockefeller	1985–	OFFICER AND PUBI	LISHER
Jeffrey L. Bewkes	2002–2006	VICE CHAIDMEN		David Kellogg	2010-
Ronald L. Olson	2002–2010	VICE CHAIRMEN		CENIOD VICE DDEC	IDENTE
Thomas R. Pickering	2002–2007	OF THE BOARD		SENIOR VICE PRES	
Helene D. Gayle	2003–2008	Grayson Kirk	1971–73	Alton Frye	1993–98
Richard N. Haass	2003–	Cyrus R. Vance	1973–76,	Kenneth H. Keller	1993–95
Richard E. Salomon	2003-	- 1 - ···	1985–87	Larry L. Fabian	1994–95
Anne-Marie Slaughter	2003–2009	Douglas Dillon	1976–78	Michael P. Peters	1995–2002
Madeleine K. Albright	2004–	Carroll L. Wilson	1978–79	Paula Dobriansky	2001
Richard N. Foster	2004–2009	Warren Christopher	1987–91		
Joseph S. Nye Jr.	2004–	Harold Brown	1991–92	* pro-tempore	

Charles G. Boyd 2001–2002		EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS		Kenneth R. Maxwell	1996
David Kellogg	2002–2009	Hamilton Fish		Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98
Janice L. Murray James M. Lindsay	2002–2009 2009–	Armstrong	1922–28	Lawrence J. Korb Michael P. Peters	1998–2002 2002–2003
James W. Linusay	2009-	Malcolm W. Davis	1925–27	James M. Lindsay	2002–2003
CHIEF FINANCIAL		Walter H. Mallory George S. Franklin	1927–59 1953–71	•	2009–
Kenneth Castiglia	2009–2010			Gary Samore	2006–2009
VICE PRESIDENTS		SECRETARIES Edwin F. Gay	1921–33	DIRECTORS OF ME	ETINGS
Paul D. Cravath	1921-33	Allen W. Dulles	1933–44	George S. Franklin	1949-50
Norman H. Davis	1933-36	Frank Altschul	1944–72	William Henderson	1952–54,
Edwin F. Gay	1933–40	John Temple Swing	1972–87		1955–56
Frank L. Polk	1940–43	Judith Gustafson	1987-2000	Melvin Conant	1954–55,*
Russell C. Leffingwell	1943–44	Lilita V. Gusts	2000-2010		1956–57,*
Allen W. Dulles	1944–46	Jeffrey A. Reinke	2010-	C WILM I III	1957–59
Isaiah Bowman David Rockefeller	1945–49	HONODADVCECDE	TADV	George V.H. Moseley III	1959–62
	1950–70	HONORARY SECRE		Harry Boardman	1962–69
Henry M. Wriston Frank Altschul	1950–51 1951–71	Frank Altschul	1972–1981	Zygmunt Nagorski Jr. Marilyn Berger	1969–78 1978–79
Devereux C. Josephs	1951–71	TREASURERS		Margaret	19/0-/9
David W. MacEachron	1972–74		1021 22	Osmer-McQuade	1979–93
John Temple Swing	1972–86	Edwin F. Gay	1921–33	Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98
Alton Frye	1987–93	Whitney H. Shepardson Clarence E. Hunter	1933–42 1942–51	Anne R. Luzzatto	1998–2005
William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89	Devereux C. Josephs	1942–31	Nancy D. Bodurtha	2005-
John A. Millington	1987-96	Elliott V. Bell	1952–64	,	
Margaret		Gabriel Hauge	1964–81		
Osmer-McQuade	1987–93	Peter G. Peterson	1981–85		
Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94	C. Peter McColough	1985–87		
Karen M. Sughrue	1993–98	Lewis T. Preston	1987–88		
Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96	James E. Burke	1988–89		
Abraham F. Lowenthal	1995–2005	David Woodbridge	1989–94		
Janice L. Murray	1995–2002	Janice L. Murray	1994–2009		
David J. Vidal Frederick C. Broda	1995–97 1996–97	Kenneth Castiglia	2010–		
Kenneth R. Maxwell	1996–97	EDITORS OF			
Paula J. Dobriansky	1997–2001	FOREIGN AFFAIRS			
Gary C. Hufbauer	1997–98				
David Kellogg	1997–2002	Archibald Cary Coolidge Hamilton Fish	1922–20		
Lawrence J. Korb	1998-2002	Armstrong	1928–72		
Anne R. Luzzatto	1998-2005	William P. Bundy	1972–84		
Elise Carlson Lewis	1999–2008	William G. Hyland	1984–92		
Irina A. Faskianos	2002-	James F. Hoge Jr.	1992-2010		
Robert C. Orr	2002–2003	Gideon Rose	2010-		
James M. Lindsay	2003–2006		IDIEC		
Lisa Shields	2003-	DIRECTORS OF STU			
Nancy E. Roman Nancy D. Bodurtha	2004–2007 2005–	Percy W. Bidwell	1937–53		
Suzanne E. Helm	2005–	Philip E. Mosely	1955–63		
Gary Samore	2006–2009	Richard H. Ullman	1973–76		
Kay King	2007–2011	Abraham F. Lowenthal John C. Campbell	1976–77 1977–78		
L. Camille Massey	2008–	Paul H. Kreisberg	1977–78 1981–87		
Jan Mowder Hughes	2010-	William H. Gleysteen Jr.	1987–89		
		Nicholas X. Rizopoulos	1989–94		
		Kenneth H. Keller*	1994–95		
		Ethan B. Kapstein	1995–96		
* pro-tempore					

Membership

MEMBERSHIP

The Council on Foreign Relations is first and foremost a membership organization. With over 4,500 members, CFR's ranks include top government officials, renowned scholars, business leaders, acclaimed journalists, prominent lawyers, and distinguished nonprofit professionals. The current membership is divided almost equally among New York, Washington, DC, and across the country and abroad.

Unmatched in accomplishment and diversity in the field of international affairs, 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. Members have unparalleled access to world leaders, senior government officials, members of Congress, and prominent thinkers.

STEPHEN M. KELLEN TERM MEMBERSHIP PROGRAM

In 1970, a term membership program was established to cultivate the next generation of foreign policy leaders. The Stephen M. Kellen Term Member Program encourages promising young leaders 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, between the ages of thirty and thirty-six, is elected to serve a five-year term. The term member program has grown considerably since it was established more than forty years ago, with the number of term members now indexed 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 of the following year from the application deadline.

For more information on term membership, please visit www.cfr.org/about/term_member_program.

APPLYING FOR MEMBERSHIP

The Council on Foreign Relations seeks quality, diversity, and balance in the composition of its membership. 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 five 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 at the end of this annual report 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 encouraged, and it is recommended that at least one letter is from a current or former professional colleague.

All candidates must complete an online application, which can be accessed only by contacting Membership Affairs at applications@cfr.org or 212.434.9484. All materials, including sponsor letters, must be submitted using the online application.

Membership is restricted to citizens of the United States or permanent residents who have made formal application to become a citizen. If foreign born, the candidate must submit a written statement that he or she has met this requirement.

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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 propose 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 supporting a candidacy only when they can fairly meet the requirements of the process and the expectations of the candidates who depend on them for assistance.

Members should write only in support of candidates whom they know well. Additionally, members are encouraged to make comparative judgments about candidates where appropriate. The committee also advises members to write no more than two letters per round (either one nominating 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 of candidates. 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 work of CFR;
- desire and ability to participate in CFR activities; and
- standing among his or her peers.

SECONDING LETTERS

Seconding letters need not be as comprehensive but should amplify why, in the opinion of the writer, a given candidate should be considered for CFR membership. In seconding letters particularly, writers should express why a given candidate should be considered for CFR membership for reasons beyond the basic criteria cited and should draw comparisons, when possible, to other individuals. 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 also include a clear and comprehensive statement about the nature of the relationship between the candidate and the letter writer.

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 member who is a spouse, close relative (a 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 REAPPLICATION

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

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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 unsuccessful at any given meeting may remain eligible for consideration at subsequent meetings of the committee if the criteria are met. An application may be reactivated by submitting an updated CV and basic information using the online application along with a minimum of one and a maximum of three additional letters of support, providing new insight that would be helpful in the selection process. 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 reapply for membership. For term membership applicants, the hold period does not apply if a candidate would be ineligible to reapply because of age.

The process is entirely one of affirmative selection from the large and evolving pool of nominees.

PROFILE OF THE MEMBERSHIP

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
	OF MEMBERS	OF MEMBERSHIP
Location		
New York Area	1,479	32
Washington, DC, Area	1,447	32
National/International	1,665	36
Total	4,591	100
Profession		
Business	1,454	32
Professors, Fellows,		
and Researchers	832	18
Nonprofit	635	14
Government	529	12
Law	245	5
University and College		
Administrators	266	6
Journalists, Correspondents,		
and Editors	202	4
Other	428	9
Total	4,591	100

For more information on nominating a candidate or to learn more about applying for membership, please contact L. Camille Massey, vice president of membership, corporate, and international, at 212.434.9797 or applications@cfr.org.

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Membership Roster

AAaron, David L. Abbot, Charles S. Abbott, Kimberly M. Abbott, Wilder K. Abboud, A. Robert Abboud, Labeeb M. Abdalla, Alyce N.† Abell, Keith W. Abercrombie-Winstanley, Gina K. Abernethy, Robert John Abizaid, John P. Aboelnaga Kanaan, Mona Abraham, David Abramowitz, Michael J. Abramowitz, Morton I. Abrams, Elliott Abrams, William M. Abshire, David M. Abuaf, Niso Aburdene, Odeh F. Acharya, Nish Hemendra Ackerly, John Maxon Ackerman, Peter Acosta, Daniel J. Jr. 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* Adkins, Travis L. Adler, Allen R. Afkhami, Amir Agarwal, Sara R.

July 1, 2011.

Agarwal, Sumit Aggarwal, Vinod K. Agostinelli, Robert F. Aguiar, Eric* Ahuja, Sanjiv* Aidinoff, M. Bernard Ajami, Fouad 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, Jodie T. Allen, John R.* Allen, Jonathan 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. Amirfar, Catherine 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. 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. 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. Athreya, Bama Atkin, Rebecca† Atkins, Betsy S. Atkinson, Caroline Atuahene, Bernadette Atwood, J. Brian Auer, James E. Auerbach, Paul S.

Aufhauser, David D.

Auguste, Byron Gerald Augustine, Norman R. Auspitz, Josiah Lee Ausubel, Jesse H. Avedon, John F. Avery, John E. Avery, William H. Avni, Ronit Awuah, Patrick G. Jr. Axelrod, Robert M. Ayers, H. Brandt Ayón, David R. Ayres, Alyssa Ayyar, Balan Rama* Azim, Khalid Azimi, Shad†

Babbitt, Bruce Babbitt, Eileen F. Babbitt, Harriet C. Bacchus, James L. Bacevich, Andrew J. 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. Baker, James A. III Baker, James H. Baker, John R. Baker, Nancy Kassebaum Baker, Pauline H. Baker, Stewart A. Baker, Thurbert E. Bakhash, Shaul Bakstansky, Peter

Balaran, Paul

^{*} Elected to membership in 2011. † Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011. Note: Membership shown as of

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 Banner, Jonathan S. Bansal, Preeta D. Bapna, Manish Barany, Zoltan Barber, Benjamin R. Barber, James Alden Barbour, Haley Barcott, Rye† Bardel, William G. Barger, Teresa C. Barkan, Joel D. Barkey, Henri J. 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 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

* Elected to membership in 2011.

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 Beck, Douglas 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, 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. Bender, Gerald J. Bender, Lawrence 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, Jonathan E. Bernard, Kenneth W. Berndt, John E. Bernstein, David Scott Bernstein, Peter W. Bernstein, Robert L. Bernstein, Tom A. Berresford, Susan Vail Berris, Jan Bersin, Alan D. Bertini, Catherine Ann Bertsch, Garv K. Bery, Priya† Beshar, Peter J. Beshara, Adam Bestani, Robert M. Bestor, Theodore C. 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. Biglari, Hamid Billingsley, Lucy C. Bilmes, Linda J.* Bindenagel, James D. Bingle, Michael J. Binkley, Nicholas Burns 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.

Blanc, Jarrett N. Blank, Jonah Blank, Stephen Blankfein, Lloyd C. Blechman, Barry M. 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 Blyth, Mark* Bob, Daniel E. Bobbitt, Philip Chase Bodansky, Daniel M. Bodea, Andy S. Bodnar, Seth A. Bogert, Carroll R. Bohen, Frederick M. Bohigian, David S. Bohlen, Avis T. Bohn, John A. Boies, Mary McInnis Bolling, Landrum R. Bollinger, Lee C. Bollyky, Thomas J. Bolton, John R. Bommer, Ashley Faye Bond, Robert D. Bondurant, Amy L. Bonime-Blanc, Andrea Bonine, David Bonner, Jacquelyn Rebekka Bonner, Robert C. Bonney, J. Dennis Booth, Carter Bordoff, Jason E. Boren, David L. Borgerson, Scott G. Bork, Ellen E. Boschwitz, Rudy

Bosworth, Stephen W.

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Membership Roster

Blake, Robert O.

[†] Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

Botts, John C. Boufford, Jo Ivey Boughner, Devry S. Bouis, Antonina W. Boulware-Miller, Kav Boustany, Charles W. Jr. Bouton, Marshall M. Bovin, Denis A. Bower, Joseph Lyon Bower, Whitney Bowles, Erskine B. Bown, Chad Boyd, Charles Graham Boyer, Spencer Phipps Bracken, Paul 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.* Breslauer, George William Brewer, John D. Breyer, Stephen G. Briger, Peter L. Jr. Brigety, Reuben Earl II Brill, Alexander Brill, Steven D. Brilliant, Larry Brimmer, Andrew F. Brimmer, Esther Diane Brinkley, Douglas G. Britt, David V.B. Britt, Glenn A. Broad, Robin

Broadwell, Paula D. Brock, Steven Vernon 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.* Brower, Charles N. Brown, Alice Lynn Brown, Bartram S. Brown, Binta Niambi Brown, Carroll Brown, Frederic J. Brown, Gwendolyn A. Brown, Harold Brown, John P. 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 Buchman, Mark Edward Bucknam, Mark A. Budinger, Bill* Budinger, Zoe Baird Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce Buergenthal, Thomas Bulkeley Staats, Jennifer† Bull, Bartle Breese

Broadman, Harry G.

Bullock, Mary Brown Bumpas, Stuart Maryman Bundy, William D. Bunzel, Jeffrey H. Burand, Deborah K. Burgess, John A. Burke, James E. Burks, Jonathan W.† Burnett, Dale A.† Burnett, Erin Isabelle Burnham, Christopher Bancroft Burns, Patrick Owen Burns, R. Nicholas Burns, William F. 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 Bushner, Rolland H. Bussey, John C. Butler, Paul W. Butler, Samuel C. Butler, William J. Butte-Dahl, Jennifer Buultjens, Ralph Buxbaum, Richard M. Buyske, Gail Byrne, Patrick M. Byrnes, Maureen K. Byrom, Jonathan C.

C

Cabrera, Ángel Cáceres, Diane Alleva Caesar, Camille M. Caggins, Myles Barry III Cahill, Kevin M. Cahn, Jonathan D. Calabia, Dawn T. Calabia, F. Christopher Calabresi, Massimo F.T. Calder, Kent Eyring Caldera, Louis E. Caldwell. Dan Edward 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, F. Gregory Campbell, Kurt M. Campbell, Thomas J. Cannella, Margaret Canton, Mikki* Caperton, William Gaston III Caplan, Gregory A. Cappello, Alexander L. Cappello, Juan Carlos Capus, Stephen A.* Caputo, David A. Caputo, Lisa M. Carbonell, Néstor T. Cárdenas, José A. Carey, John Carey, William P. Cari, Joseph A. Jr. Carlos, Manuel Luis Carlson, Neal D.† Carlson, Scott A. Carlucci, Frank C. Carmichael, William D. Carnesale, Albert Carothers, Thomas Carpenter, R. Charli Carpenter, Ted Galen Carr, John W. Carrington, Walter C. Carroll, J. Speed Carruth. Reba Anne Carson, Charles William Jr. Carson, Johnnie Carswell, Robert Carter, Aimee D. Carter, Ashton B. Carter, Barry E. Carter, Hodding III Carter, James Earl Carter, James H. Carter, Mark Andrew Carter, Marshall Nichols Carter, Phillip E. Casey, Claire† Cashin, Stephen D.* Casper, Gerhard Cassel, Douglass W. Jr. Cassell, Gail H.* Cattarulla, Elliot R. Catto, Henry E. Caufield, Frank J.

Membership Roster 33

^{*} Elected to membership in 2011.

[†] Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

Caulfield, Matthew P. Cavanagh, Richard Edward Cavanaugh, Carey Cave, Ray Charles Caverley, Jonathan D. Cayten, Megan Reilly CdeBaca, Luis Celeste, Richard F. Cerian, Paul G. Cha, Victor D. Chadda, Maya Chai, Chuckra Chalasani, Rekha Challenor, Herschelle S. Chambers, Anne Cox Chambers, Reginald Alan 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, Ionathan A. Chao, Elaine L. Charap, Samuel† Charles, Robert Bruce Charnovitz, Steve Chartener, Robert Chase, Anthony R. Chase, Michael Chatterjee, Purnendu 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† Chickering, A. Lawrence

Chin, Sally† Chira, Susan D. Cho, Albert H.† Choffnes, Eileen R. Choi, Audrey Chollet, Derek H. Chon, Julie† Choubey, Deepti Choucri, Nazli Chretien, Jean-Paul Christensen, Guillermo Santiago Christensen, Stanley F. Christensen, Thomas J. Christenson, Michael J. Christianson, Geryld B. Christman, Daniel William Churchill, Bruce B. Cicerone, Ralph J. Ciorciari, John David Cirincione, Joseph Cisneros, Adriana† 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 James Clark, Wesley K. Clarke, Donald C. Clarke, Teresa Hillary Clark-Johnson, Susan J. Claure, Raul Marcelo Claussen, Eileen B. Clavel, Alex Bernard Clement, Peter A. Cleveland, Peter Matthews Clifford, Donald K. Jr. Clifford, Mark Lambert Cline, William R. Clinger, William F. Jr. Clinton, William Jefferson Cloherty, Patricia M. Cloonan, Edward T. Clooney, George Coatsworth, John H. Cobb, Charles E. Jr. Cobb, Sue McCourt Cobb, Tyrus W. 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 J. 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, Johnnetta B. 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, Marc A. 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. 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, Caroline N.

Cooper, Charles A. 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. Corgan, Colin Cornelius, Wayne A. Cornell, Henry Corsell. Peter Cortez, Christopher Cott, Suzanne Cotter, William R. Coulter, Michael Couric, Katherine A. Courtney, Alexandra† Courtney, Brooke Courtney, William H. Cousens, Elizabeth M. Covey, Jock Cowal, Sally Grooms Cowan, Geoffrey Cowhey, Peter F. Cox, Berry R. Cox, Edward F. Cox, Howard E. Jr. Cox, Larry Richard Coy, Craig P. Craddock, Bantz J. Crahan, Margaret E. Craner, Lorne W. Crawford, John F. Crebo-Rediker, Heidi E. 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, Rvan C. Croft, Helima L.* Cromwell. Adelaide McGuinn Cross, Devon G. Cross, June V. Cross, Mary S. Cross, Sam Y. Crossette, Barbara Crovitz, L. Gordon

Membership Roster 34

 $^{^{}st}$ Elected to membership in 2011.

[†] Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

Crow, Michael M.
Crowhurst, Tim
Crowley, Monica Elizabeth
Crown, Lester
Cruise, Daniel
Crumpton, Henry A.
Crystal, Lester M.
Cuellar,

Mariano-Florentino Cullum, Lee Culora, Thomas J. Cumming, Alfred Cumming, Christine M. Cummings, Alexander B. Jr. Cuneo, Donald Cunningham, James B. Cunningham, Nelson W. 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.

\mathcal{L}

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, Nancy* Dale, William B. Daley, William M. Dallara, Charles H. Dalley, George Albert Dallmeyer, Dorinda G. Dalton, James E. 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 DaSilva, Russell J. Daskal, Jennifer Caryn Daulaire, Nils M. 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 Dawes, Sara 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. Dean, Robert W. Dear, Alice M. 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. 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. Deal, Jacqueline Newmyer† Delph, Walter† 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, 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, Joan 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

Djerejian, Edward P. Dobbins, James F. Dobriansky, Paula J. Doctoroff, Daniel L. Dodd, Christopher J. Doebele, Justin W. Doerge, David J. Doi, Ayako Doley, Harold E. Jr. Dominguez, Jorge I. 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. Dormandy, Xenia B.M. Dory, Amanda Jean Doty, Grant R. Dougan, Diana Lady Dougherty, James P. Dougherty, Jill M.* 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. DuBrul, Stephen M. Jr. Dudley, William C.* Duelfer, Charles A. Duersten, Althea L.

Membership Roster 35

Distlerath, Linda M.

Diuk, Nadia

^{*} Elected to membership in 2011. † Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

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. Dunlop, Joan B. 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

Ear, Sophal† Earle, Ralph II East, Maurice A. Easterly, Jennie M. Eastman, John Lindner Easum, Donald B. Eberhart, Ralph E. Eberstadt, Nicholas Echols, Marsha A. Eck, Bailey Morris Economy, Elizabeth C. Ecton, Donna R. Eddleman, Linda Hiniker Eddy, Randolph P. III Edelman, Gerald M. Edelman, Marian Wright Edelman, Richard Winston Edington, Mark D.W. Edley, Christopher Jr. Edmond, Micah Edwards, George C. III Edwards, Howard L. Edwards, Mickey Edwards, Robert H.

Edwards, Robert H. Jr.

Effron, Blair Efros, Laura L. Egan, Julie M.† Eggers, Jeffrey Eggers, Thomas E. Ehrenkranz, Joel S. Eichengreen, Barry J. Eikenberry, Karl W. Einaudi, Luigi Roberto Einhorn, Jessica P. Einhorn, Robert J. Eisendrath, Charles R. Eizenstat, Stuart E. Elden, Richard Elders, Christopher† Elias, Christopher J. Ellenbogen, Henry M. Ellick, Adam B. Elliott, Dorinda Elliott, Inger McCabe Ellis, James Reed Ellis, Lisa R. Ellis, Mark S. Ellis, Patricia Ellis, Rodney Ellison, Keith Paty Ellsberg, Daniel El-Shazli, Heba F. Elson, Edward E. Ely-Raphel, Nancy Halliday Embree, Ainslie Thomas Emerson, John B. Emmert, Jonathan Adam Emmert, Mark A. Eng, Na S. Ensor, David B. Entwistle, L. Brooks Epstein, Jason Epstein, Joshua M. Erb, Guy F. Erb, Richard D. Erbsen, Claude E. Erburu, Robert F. Ercklentz, Alexander T. Erdmann, Andrew P.N. Erikson, Daniel Ervin, Clark Kent Escrogima, Ana A.† Esfandiari, Haleh Esper, Mark T. Esserman, Susan G. Estabrook, Robert H. Esty, Daniel C. Etzioni, Amitai

Evans, Gail H.

Evans, Harold M.

Evans, Peter C. Exum, Andrew

Factor, Mallory Fair, C. Christine Fairbanks, Richard Fairman, David M. Falco, Mathea Falk, Pamela S. Falk, Richard A. Fallon, Robert E. Fallows, James Fang, Bay Fanton, Jonathan Foster Farer, Tom I. Farhadian, Tali Farimah Farkas, Evelyn N. Farman-Farmaian, Elizabeth Worley Farmer, Thomas L. Farnum, Andrew L.† 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, 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 T. Ferré, Helen Aguirre

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. Finkelstein, Lawrence S. Finn, Edwin A. Jr. Finnemore, Martha Finney, Paul B. Fino, Steven A.† Finucane, Anne M.* Fionda, Kenneth Quinn Firestone, Charles M. Fisch, Jacob Fisch, Mark Fischbach, Gerald D. Fischer, Betsy Fischer, Stanley Fisher, Drosten Andrew Fisher, Julie Ann Fisher, Peter R. Fisher, Richard W. Fisher, Roger D. Fisher, Scott C. Fishlow, Albert 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. Flannery, Julian M. Fleischmann, Alan H. Fleming, Gregory James Fletcher, Phillip Douglas Flournoy, Michèle A. Fly, Jamie M.

Flynn, Carol

Flynn, George J.

Membership Roster 36

Ferré, Maurice A.

Ferré Ramirez, Antonio

Ferrell, Lisa Carolyn

^{*} Elected to membership in 2011.

[†] Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

Flynn, Mary Laurence Flynn, Stephen E. Fn'Piere, Patrick John Foggo, James G. III Fogleman, Ronald R. Foglesong, Robert H. 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 I. Ford, Celeste V.* Ford, Harold E. Jr. Ford, Paul B. Jr. Fore, Henrietta Holsman Forgacs, Andras Forman, Shepard L. Foroohar, Rana A. Forstmann, Theodore J. Forsythe, Rosemarie Fosler, Gail D. Foss, Michelle Michot Foster, Badi Garrett Foster, Brenda Lei Foster, Charles C. Foster, Kathleen† Foster, Richard N. Fourquet, José A. Fowler, Jeffrey L. Fowler, Wyche Jr. Fox, Christine H. Fox, Daniel M. Fox. Donald T. Fox, Eleanor M. Fox, Merritt Baker Fox, Nicole† Foxman, Abraham H. Fraga Neto, Arminio Francke, Albert Frank, Andrew D. Frank, Charles R. Jr. Frank, Richard A. 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, Ionathan M. Freedman, Alix M. Freedman, Michael Freeman, Bennett Freeman, Constance J. Freeman, Harry L. Freidheim, Cyrus F. Freidheim, Scott J. Freidheim, Stephen C. Freire, Maria C. Freyer, Dana H. Fribourg, Paul J. Friedberg, Aaron Louis Friedberg, Barry S. Friedman, Alexander Stephen Friedman, Andrea Friedman, Bart Friedman, Benjamin M. Friedman, Fredrica S. Friedman, Jordana D. Friedman, Stephen Friedman, Stephen J. Friedman, Thomas L. Frieman, Wendy Friend, Theodore W. Frist, William H. Fritz, Oliver III Froman, Michael B.G. Fromholz, Julia M. 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

G

Gacek, Stanley Arthur Gaddis, John Lewis Gadiesh, Orit B. Gaer, Felice D.

Fusco, Bradley

Futter, Ellen V.

Gaghan, Stephen W. Gaines, James R. Gaither, Kendra LeAnn† Galbraith, James K. 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. Jr. Gardels, Nathan P. Gardner, Anthony Luzzatto Gardner, James A. Gardner, Nina Luzzatto Gardner, Richard N. Garment, Suzanne R. Garnett, Sherman Garodnick, Daniel R. Garrett, Geoffrey M. Garrett, Laurie Garten, Jeffrey E. Gartner, David J. Garwin, Richard L. Garza, Antonio Oscar Jr. 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 Genser, Jared M. George, Robert P. Georgescu, Peter Andrew

Gerber, Burton L. Gerber, Louis Gergen, David R. Gerhart, Gail M. Germain, Adrienne Gerschel, Patrick A. Gershman, Carl Samuel Gerson, Allan Gerson, Elliot F. Gerson, Ralph J. 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, Edmund P. Jr. Gibbs, Reggie Scott Giffen, James Henry Giffin, Gordon D. Gil. Andrés Valerio Gilbert, G. S. Beckwith Gilbert, Jackson B. Gilbert, Steven J. Gill. Bates Gillette, Michael James Gilmore, James S. III Gilmore, Richard Gimelli, Noa† Gingrich, Newton L. Ginsberg, Gary L. Ginsberg, Marc Charles Ginsburg, Jane C. Ginsburg, Ruth Bader Girald, Catalina† Givhan, Walter D. Gjelten, Thomas G. Glaser, Bonnie S. Glauber, Robert R. Glennon, Michael J. Gleysteen, Peter Glickman, Daniel R. Glin, C. D. Jr. Globerman, Norma Glocer, Thomas H. Gluck, Carol Gluck, Frederick W. Godchaux, Frank A. III Goel, Anish Goeltz, Richard Karl

Membership Roster 37

Gephardt, Richard A.

^{*} Elected to membership in 2011.

[†] Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

Goins, Charlynn Goldberg, Nicholas Goldberg, Ronnie L. Golden, James R. Golden, Jennifer E. 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, Jack A. Goldwyn, David L. Goldzimer, Aaron Golhar, Shawn P.M.† Golob, Paul D. Golston, Allan* 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, Matthew P. Goodman, Roy M. Goodman, Ryan* 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† Gotbaum, Victor

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 Graczewski, Timothy John Grady, Robert E. Graff, Henry Franklin Graham, Bob Graham, Carol Lee Graham, Thomas Edward Graham, Thomas Ir. Graham, Thomas W. Granger, Kay Granoff, Michael D. Grant, James D. Graubard, Stephen Richards Graves, Christopher J. Gray, C. Boyden Gray, Hanna Holborn Greathead, R. Scott Greco, Richard Jr. Green, Carl J. Green, Eric F. Green, Ernest G. Green, Jerrold D. Green, Josh 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, Joseph N. Jr. Greene, Margaret L. 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 Griffin, Nicholas Griffiths, Phillip A. Grimes, Joseph A. Jr. Grimes, William W.* Grissom, Janet Mullins Grondine, Robert F. 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. Guenov, Tressa Steffen Guff, Andrew J. Gugliotta, Brian Gund, Agnes Gundlach, Andrew S. Gupte, Pranay Gustafson, Ellen† Gutfreund, John H. Guth, John H.J. Gwertzman, Bernard M.

Н

Haas, Mimi L. Haas, Robert D. Haass, Richard N. Haave, Christopher E. Hachigian, Nina L. Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck Hadley, Stephen J. Hafner, Joseph A. Jr. Haft, Jeremy R. Hagel, Chuck Hagen, Katherine A. Haggard, Stephan Hahn, Natalie D. Hailston, Earl B. Hajari, Nisid J. Hajjar, David Phillip* Hakakian, Roya Hakim, Peter Hale, David D. Hale, Lyric Hughes Hall, C. Barrows Hall, John P. Hall, Kathryn Walt

Hall, Laura A. 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 Harari, Maurice Hardin, Edward J. Hardin, Katherine A. Harding, Deborah A. Harding, Harry 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 Harpel, James W. Harper, Conrad K. Harris, David A. Harris, Grant T. Harris, Jay T. Harris, Jessica Harris, Joshua J. Harris, Martha Caldwell Harrison, Hope M. Harrison, Selig S.

Harrison, William B. Jr.

Hart, Gary

^{*} Elected to membership in 2011.

[†] Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

Hart, Robert C. Hart, Todd Christopher Hartley, Jane D. Hartman, Arthur A. Haseltine, William Alan Haskell, John H.F. Jr. Hathaway, Oona A.* Hathaway, Robert M. Hau, Sandor Hauge, John Resor Hauser, Rita E. Hauser, William Locke Havell, Theresa A. Hawkins, Ashton Hawley, F. William Hayden, Michael V. Hayek, Alexandre P. Hayes, Jeff W. Hayes, Margaret Daly Hayes, Michael Edward Hayes, Rita Derrick Haykel, Bernard A.* Haynes, Lukas Harrison Haynes, Ulric Hays, Laurie Hayward, Thomas B. Healey, Kerry Murphy 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 Heifetz, Stephen 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, Richard M. Hellman, F. Warren Hellman, Steven E. Hellmann, Donald Charles Helm, Robert W. Helm, Suzanne Helman, Joseph J. Helman, Robert A. Helprin, Mark Helvey, David Farr Hemphill, C.Scott 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. Hen-Tov. Elliot† Heppner, Donald Gray Jr. Herberger, Roy A. Jr. Herbst, Jeffrey I. Herman, Laura S. Hermann, Charles F. Hernandez, Antonia Herrnstadt, Owen Edward Herskovits, Jean Hersman, Rebecca K.C. Herspring, Dale R. Hertog, Roger Hertzberg, Hendrik Hertzberg, Robert M. Herz, Barbara Herz, J. C. Herzfeld, Charles M. Herzstein, Jessica A. Herzstein, Robert E. Hesburgh, Theodore M. Hess, John B. Hess, Marlene Hessler, Curtis A. Hessman, Robin Hewlett, Sylvia Ann Hexter, James R. 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 Hockfield, Susan Hodes, Matthew L. 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. Holtschneider, Dennis H. Holtzman, Elizabeth Holum, John D. Hooda, Sheila Hooker, Richard D. Jr. Hope, Judith Richards Hope, Richard O. Horlick, Gary N. Hormats, Robert D. Horn, Karen N. Horn, Sally K. Horner, Matina Souretis Hornig, George R. Hornik, Richard H. Hornthal, James Horowitz, Irving Louis 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 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 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

^{*} Elected to membership in 2011. † Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

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 Hutchings, Robert L. Hutchins, Glenn H. Huyck, Philip M. Hyatt, Joel Z. Hyland, Richard

Iadonisi, Jon A. Ibargüen, Alberto Ibargüen, Diego Ignatius, Adi Ignatius, David R. Ijaz, Mansoor Ikenberry, G. John Iklé, Fred C. Immergut, Mel M. Inderfurth, Karl F. 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.

Hyman, Allen I.

Isham, Christopher

Iskenderian, Mary Ellen Ispahani, Mahnaz Istel, Yves-André Itoh, William H. Ivester, M. Douglas Izlar, William H. Jr.

Iabber, Paul

Jackelen, Henry R.

Jackley, Jessica Jacklin, Nancy P. Jackson, Bruce Pitcairn Iackson, Iesse L. Sr. Jackson, John H. Iackson, Lois M. Jackson, Sarah Jackson, Shirley Ann Jacobs, Kenneth Iacobs, Lawrence A.* Jacobson, Mark R.* Jacoby, Charles H. Jr.* Jaffe, Amy Myers James, Francis John Janes, Jackson Janis, Mark Weston Janke, Aleksandra† Janklow, Morton L. Janow, Merit E. Jaquette, Jane S. Jarvis, Nancy A. Jebb, Cindy R. Jeffery, Reuben III Jenevein, E. Patrick III Jenkins, Bonnie D. Iensen, Kenneth M. Jervis, Robert Jessup, Philip C. Jr. Jeter, Howard F. Iett. Dennis C. Joel, Jennifer John, Eric G. Johns, Lionel Skipwith Johns, Raymond E. Jr.* Johnson, Darin E.W. Johnson, James 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 Jolie, Angelina Jones, Alan Kent Iones, Anita K. Jones, David L. Jones, James L. Jr. Jones, James R. Jones, Kerri-Ann **Ioost**, Peter Martin Jordan, Boris Alexis Iordan, Eason T. Jordan, Robert W. Jordan, Vernon E. Jr. Jorisch, Avi Joseph, James A. Joseph, Richard A. Josephson, William 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. 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. Kann, Peter R. Kansteiner, Walter H. III Kanter, Rosabeth Moss

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 Karalekas, Anne Karamanian, Susan L. Karatnycky, Adrian Karatz, Bruce E. Karis, Thomas G. Karl, Jonathan David Karl, Terry Lynn Karnow, Stanley Karns, Margaret P. Karol, Adam† Karp, Jonathan D. Karp, Richard S. Karsner, Andy* Kasdin, Robert Kass, Stephen L. Kassalow, Jordan S. Kassinger, Theodore W. Kassof, Allen H. Kathwari, Farooq 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.

Membership Roster 40

Kantor, Mickey

^{*} Elected to membership in 2011.

[†] Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

Keenan, Kevin Michael Keene, Lonnie Keeny, Spurgeon M. Jr. Keidan, Jonathan Kelleher, Catherine M. Keller, Edmond J. Keller, Kenneth H. Kellerman, Barbara L. Kellev, Paul X. Kellner, Peter Bicknell Kellogg, David Kelly, Alfred F. Jr. Kelly, Arthur L. Kelly, Brendan S. Kelly, Francis J. Kelly, James P. Kelly, John H. Kelman, Herbert C. Kemble, Eugenia Kemp, Geoffrey Kempe, Frederick S. Kempner, Maximilian W. Kendall, Donald McIntosh Kenen, Peter B. Keniston, Kenneth 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, John F. Kerry, Peggy Kerry, Vanessa Kessler, Glenn Andrew Kessler, Martha Neff Kester, W. Carl Khalidi, Rashid I. Khalilzad, Zalmay M. Khanna, Parag Khanna, Vikramaditya Khatchadourian, Raffi Khator, Renu* Khrushcheva, Nina L. Khuri, Nicola N. Kiernan, Robert Edward III

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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. 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. Kuenstner, Nancy Jo Kuiken, Mike† Kull, Steven G. Kumar, Anil Kumar, Maria Teresa Kumar, Nisha Kumar, Raj Udiaver Kumar, Vinav Kumar-Sinha, Punita

Kumin, Michael A.

Kundra, Vivek†

Kuniholm, Bruce Robellet Kunstadter, Geraldine S. Kupchan, Charles A. Kupchan, Clifford A. Kurth, James R. Kurtzer, Daniel C. Kushen, Robert A. Kux, Dennis Kwoh, Stewart

L

Laber, Jeri L. Labin, Daniel B. Labott, Elise* Ladd, Edward Lader, Philip Ladislaw, Sarah Olivia Ladner, Drew J. LaFleur, Vinca Lagomasino, Maria Elena Lagon, Mark P. Lai, Joseph G.† Laipson, Ellen Lajeunesse, Gabriel C. Lake, David A. Lamb, Denis Lambert, Brett B. Lambeth, Benjamin S. Lamont, Lansing Lampton, David M. Lancaster, Carol J. Land, Richard D. Landau, George W. Lane, Charles M. Lane, David J. 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.

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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. Laventhol, David A. Lawrence, Richard D. Lawrence, Robert Z. Lawson, Eugene K. Lawson, Sandra Guylay Layne, Christopher Lazarus, Shelly B. Lazarus, Steven Le Melle, Tilden J. Leach, James A. Leader-Chivee, Lauren† Leaman, J. Welby LeClerc, Paul Lederman, Gordon Nathaniel Lee, Anthony P. 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 Leghorn, Richard S. Legro, Jeffrey W. Legvold, Robert Lehman, John F. Lehman, Ronald Frank II Lehner, Peter H. Lehrer, Iim Lehrman, Thomas D. Leich, John Foster Leiter, Michael E.* Leland, Marc E. Leland, Olivia M. Lemack, Carie LeMelle, Gerald A. Lemery, Jay Lemkin, Bruce Stuart Lemle, J. Stuart

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Lifton, Robert K.

Light, Timothy Lighthizer, Robert E. Lin. Robert Lincoln, Edward J. Lindberg, Tod Lindborg, Nancy Elizabeth Linden, Josephine Lindsay, Beverly Lindsay, Franklin A. Lindsay, James M. Linen, Jonathan S. Link, Troland S. Lipman, Ira A. Lipman, Joanne Lipper, Kenneth Lippey, Brian C. Lippman, Thomas W. Lipsitz, Rochelle J. Lipsky, John P. Lipsky, Seth Lipton, Jonathan A. 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, 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 Lorentzen, Oivind III Lotrionte, Catherine B.

Lovejoy, Thomas E. Lowenfeld, Andreas F. Lowenkron, Barry F. Lowenstein, James 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. 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. Lyall, Katharine C. Lyman, Princeton N. Lyman, Richard W. Lynch, Thomas F. III Lynk, Myles V. Lynn, Laurence E. Jr. Lynton, Michael M. Lyon, David W. Lyons, Eugene M. Lyons, James E. Lyons, Richard Kent

M

Ma, Christopher
Ma, Ying
Mabry, Marcus B.
Mabus, Raymond E.
MacCormack, Charles
Frederick
MacDonald, Bruce Walter
MacDougal, Gary E.
Mack, Consuelo Cotter
Mack, J. Curtis II
Mackay, Leo Sidney Jr.
MacKenzie, Gillian
Hamilton
Mackevich, Eileen R.

Membership Roster 42

Louis, William Roger

Loury, Glenn Cartman

[†] Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

Macmillan, Graham III Macy, Robert M. Jr. Madhany, al-Husein N. Maguire, John David Mahajan, Raj Amit Mahmoud, Adel Mahnken, Thomas G. Mahoney, Margaret E. 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† Mamdani, Mahmoud A. Manatt, Charles T. 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. Manzi, Jim Marans, Joel Eugene Marchick, David M. Marcom, John E. Ir. 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 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. 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. Matthews, Eugene A. Mattox, Gale A. Matuszewski, Daniel C. Matzke, Richard H. 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, Iane 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* McCaw, Craig O. McCaw, Susan R. McChrystal, Stanley A. McClure, Kimberly M. McClure, Robert L. McCluskey, Jerome P. McClymont, Mary E. 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. McFarland, Kathleen Troia McFarland, Maria McFarlane, Jennifer A. McFarlane, Robert C. McFate, Patricia Ann McFaul, Michael A. McGarr, Cappy R. McGowan, Alan H. McGowan, Kathleen A. McGregor, James L. McGurn, William McHenry, Donald F. McKean, David 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 Medley, Richard Meers, Sharon I. Meertens, Michelle A. Meese, Michael J. Mehlman, Kenneth B. Mehra, Sanjeev K.* Mehreteab, Ghebre Selassie Mehta, Ved Meigs, Montgomery C. Meiman Hock, Kellie* Meissner, Doris M. Meister, Irene W. Melby, Eric D.K. Melloan, George R. Melton, Carol A. Melwani, Anish Mendelson, Sarah E. Mendelson Forman. Johanna Mendlovitz, Saul H. Mendonca, Lenny* Mendoza, Roberto G. Menges, Carl B. Menon, Rajan Menschel, Robert B. Merkel, Claire Sechler Merkel, David Austin

^{*} Elected to membership in 2011.

† Elected to a five-year term membership.

[†] Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

Meron, Theodor Merow, John E. Merritt, Jack Neil Merszei, Zoltan Mesdag, Willem Meselson, Matthew S. Messmer, Michael Mestres, Ricardo A. Jr. Metzger, Barry Metzl, Jamie Frederic Meyer, Edward C. Meyer, John Robert 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 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, Judith Miller, Ken Miller, Leland Rhett Miller, Linda B. 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.

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Mintz, Daniel R. Mir, Aimen N.† Miranda, Lourdes R. 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 Moe, Sherwood G. Moffett, George D. Molano, Walter Thomas Mondale, Walter F. 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, John J. Jr. Moore, John M. Moore, John Norton Moore, Jonathan Moore, Iulia 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 Morrissey, Arthur C.

Morse, Andrew L.

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, 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 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. Munyan, Winthrop R. Murase, Emily Moto Murdoch, Rupert Murdock, Deroy Murdy, William F. 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, Bettve Martin Muthiah, Radha Mutua, Makau W. Muzinich, Justin George Myers, Richard B. Myerson, Roger B.* Myerson, Toby S. Myrow, Stephen A.

N

Nachman, David Eli Nacht, Michael Nadiri, M. Ishaq Nagl, John A. Nagorski, Andrew 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. 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, Lvnn Neuberger, Anne Neuger, Win J. Neuman, Stephanie G. Neureiter, Norman P. Newberg, Esther R. Newburg, Andre Newcomb, Nancy S. 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, 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 Noland, Marcus Nolte, William M. Nonacs, Eric Steven Noonan, Peggy Nooter, Robert Harry 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 Nusratty, Timur Nussbaum, Bruce Nye, J. Benjamin H. Nye, Joseph S. Jr. Nye, Seth†

Oakley, Phyllis E. Oberdorfer, Don Ocampo, Juan Ochoa-Brillembourg, Hilda O'Cleireacain, Carol Odeen, Philip A. Odell, John S. 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† Oliva, L. Jay Oliver, April A. Oliver, Jack L. III* Ollivant, Douglas A. Olson, Jane T. Olson, Lyndon L. Jr. Olson, Ronald L. O'Malley, Cormac K.H. Omestad, Thomas E. O'Neal, E. Stanley O'Neil, Kathleen A. O'Neil, Michael J. O'Neil, Shannon K. O'Neill, Brian Deveraux O'Neill, Mark O'Neill, Matthew O'Neill, Michael J. Onek, Joseph N. Onyeagoro, Obinna A. Jr. Oppenheimer, Andres M. Oppenheimer, Franz Martin Oppenheimer, Michael F. O'Prey, Kevin P. Orbach, Ashley† Orbach, Benjamin† Ordway, John M. O'Reilly, David J. Orentlicher, Diane Orlins, Stephen A. Ornstein, Norman J. O'Rourke, Patrick J. Orr, Robert C. Orrenius, Pia M. Orszag, Peter R. Osborn, John E. Osborne, Richard de J. Osius, Margaret Elizabeth Osman, Hoda K. Osmer McQuade, Margaret

Osnos, Peter L.W.

Osnos, Susan Sherer Osterholm, Michael T. Osterling, Scott† Ostrander, F. Taylor O'Sullivan, Meghan L.

Otero, Maria O'Toole, Tara Jeanne

Otto, Eric H. Ovitz, Michael S. Owen, Henry David Owen, Roberts Bishop Owens, James W. Owens, William A.

Oxman, Bernard H. Oxman, Stephen A.

Oxnam, Robert B. Oye, Kenneth A.

Paal, Douglas Haines Pachios, Harold C. Pachon, Harry P. Packard, George R. Padrón, Eduardo J. Page, Carter W. Paine, George C. II Paisner, Bruce Lawrence Pakula, Hannah C. Palmer, Mark Palmer, Matthew A. Palmer, Ronald D. Pan Sloane, Esther Pandith, Farah Anwar* Paperin, Stewart J. Pardee, Scott E. Pardes, Herbert Pardew, James W.

Paris, Ionathan Parker, Elizabeth Rindskopf

Parker, Emily D. Parker, Jay M. Parker, Michelle S.† Parker, Penny L. Parker Feld, Karen Parkinson, Roger P.

Parekh, Sanjay M.

Parent, Louise M.

Parks, Michael Christopher Parsky, Gerald L.

Parsons, Richard D. Pascal, Alexander J. Pascual, Carlos E. Passer, Juliette M. Passman, Pamela S. Paster, Howard G. Pastor, Robert A. Patel, Ebrahim S. Patrick, Hugh T. Patrick, Stewart M.

Patrick, Thomas Harold Patricof, Alan Joel Patricof, Jonathan Patricof, Susan E.

Patrikis, Ernest T. Patron, Michelle N. Patterson, Eric D. Patterson, Nicholas

Patterson, Patricia M. Patterson, Rebecca

Pattiz, Norman J. Paul, Douglas L.

Paul, Roland A. Paulson, Henry M. Jr. Paulson, John* Paulus, Judith K. Paumgarten, Nicholas

Biddle Pavel, Barry Pearl, Frank H. Pearlstine, Norman Peckham, Gardner G. Pedersen, Richard Foote Pederson, Rena M. Pelletreau, Robert H. Jr. Peña. Federico F.

Penn, Lawrence Edward III

Penn, Mark Jeffrey Pereira, Dylan C. Perella, Joseph R. Peretz, Don Perez, Antonio F. Perez, David Perez, Luis J. Pérez-Stable, Marifeli

Perkin, Linda J.

Perkins, Edward I. Perkins, Roswell B. Perkovich, George R. 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. Pham, Minh-Thu Duong

Phan, Dang Tan Pharr, Susan J. Phelan, John J. Jr.

^{*} Elected to membership in 2011.

[†] Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

Phelps, Edmund S. Phillips, Cecil M. Phillips, David L. Phillips, Jeanne L. Phillips, Katherine† Phillips-Barrasso, Kate Phu, Elizabeth M. Pickering, Thomas R. Pieczenik, Steve R. Piedra, Alberto M. Jr. Pierce, Eric 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 Pincus, Walter H. Pipes, Daniel Pipes, Richard Pisano, Anthony Robert Pisar, Leah Pitts, Joe W. III 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. Polk, William R. Pollack, Carol A. Pollack, Gerald A. Pollack, Jonathan D. Pollack, Kenneth Michael Pollack, Lester Pollock, Robert Lansing

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Pond, Elizabeth Poneman, Daniel Bruce Pool-Eckert, Marquita J. Popadiuk, Roman Popkin, Anne B. Popoff, Frank 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. Powell, Colin L. Powell, Dina Habib Powell, Jerome H. Powell, Nancy J. Powell Jobs, Laurene* Powers, Averill L. Powers, Thomas Powers, Timothy E. Pozen, Robert C. Pranger, Robert J. Prasso, Sheridan T. Pregenzer, Arian L. Press, William H. Pressler, Larry Preston, Stephen W. Prewitt, Kenneth Price, Bryan C. Price, Daniel M. Price, John R. Jr. Price, Raymond K. Jr. Price, Robert Price, Steven Priest, William W. Jr. Prieto, Daniel B. III Prince, Charles O. III Pritzker, Penny S. Pritzker, Thomas J. Proenza, Luis M. Prueher, Joseph Wilson Pryce, Jeffrey F. Puchala, Donald James 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 Quester, George H. Quigley, Kevin F.F. Quinn, Jane Bryant

Raab, Jennifer J. Rabb, Bruce Radtke, Robert W. Rahman, Anika Rahman, Zeenat Raines, Franklin D. Raisian, John Ramakrishna, Kilaparti Ramaswamy, Sangeetha† Ramchandani, Sunny† Ramer, Bruce M. Ramer, Lawrence J. Ramirez, Lilia L. Ramo, Simon Ramsay, Alston B.† 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. Raul, Alan Charles Raustiala, Kal 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. Rehman, Asim Reichert, William M. Reid, Ogden Reiling, Peter A. Reilly, Saskia Shane Reilly, William K. 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. Rethmeier, Blain K. 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.

[†] Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

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Rosenthal, Mitchell S.

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S

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Rupp, George

Ryan, Arthur F.

Ryan, Evan M.

Ryan, Kevin P.

Ryan, John T. III

Ryan, Jordan Dimock

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[†] Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

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Stonesifer, Patricia Q.

Strauss, Robert S.

Streeb, Gordon L.

Stremlau, John J.

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[†] Elected to a five-year term membership in 2011.

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V

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von Lipsey, Roderick K.

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Welling, Curtis R.

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Wohlforth, William C. Wolf, Benjamin D.† Wolf, Charles Jr. Wolf, Ira Wolf, Robert Wolfe, Josh†

Wolfensohn, James D.

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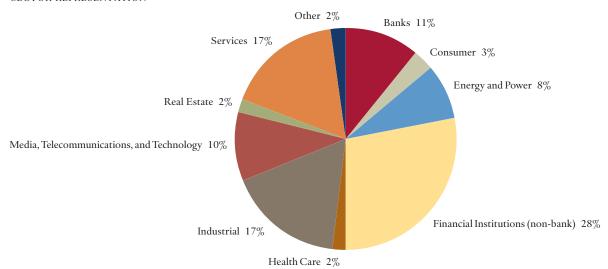
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Commerce

CORPORATE PROGRAM MEMBERSHIP

SECTOR REPRESENTATION



Caterpillar Inc. Caxton Associates

Chartis

Cisneros Group of Companies

CIT Group Inc.

Clarium Capital Management, LLC Cleary Gottlieb Steen & Hamilton LLP

CNA

The Coca-Cola Company ConocoPhillips Company

Continental Properties
Control Risks Group
Corsair Capital
Covington & Burling
Craig Drill Capital Corporation

Crédit Agricole Corporate and

Investment Bank

De Beers

Deere & Company

Deloitte.

Deutsche Bank AG

Duke Energy Corporation DynCorp International Economist Intelligence Unit

Energy Intelligence Group, Inc.

Equinox Partners, L.P.
Estee Lauder Companies Inc.
Federal Express Corporation
Freeport-McMoRan Copper

and Gold Inc.

Future Pipe Industries, Inc. General Atlantic LLC General Electric Company

Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher, LLP GlaxoSmithKline

GlaxoSmithl Google, Inc.

Granite Associates LP Greenberg Traurig LLP Harbinger Capital Partners

Hitachi, Ltd.

IBM Corporation Indus Capital Partners, LLC

Intesa Sanpaolo Invus Group, LLC ITOCHU International

Jacobs Asset Management, LLC

Kroll

MacAndrews & Forbes Holdings Inc.

Mannheim LLC

Marsh & McLennan Companies, Inc. Marubeni America Corporation MBIA Insurance Corporation MeadWestvaco Corporation

Merck & Co., Inc. Microsoft Corporation

Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy LLP Mitsubishi Heavy Industries America,

Mitsubishi International Corporation

Mitsui & Co. (U.S.A.), Inc.

Moore Capital Management LLC New York Life Insurance Company

The News Corporation Northrop Grumman NYSE Euronext

Occidental Petroleum Corporation

The Olayan Group PepsiCo, Inc. Pfizer Inc. PricewaterhouseCo

PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP Principal Financial Group Prudential Financial Raytheon Company Rho Capital Partners

Rothschild North America, Inc. Sandalwood Securities, Inc. Siguler Guff & Company L.P.

Silver Lake Partners

Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP Sony Corporation of America

Standard & Poor's

Sullivan & Cromwell LLP T. Rowe Price Group The Tata Group

Telefónica Internacional U.S.A.

Thomson Reuters Time Warner Inc.

Tishman Speyer Properties, Inc.

TOTAL S.A.

United Technologies Corporation U.S. Chamber of Commerce Verizon Communications

Visa Inc.

Volkswagen Group of America, Inc.

Vornado Realty Trust

Walmart

Warburg Pincus LLC
Wyoming Investment LLC
Xerox Corporation
Zephyr Management, L.P.
Ziff Brothers Investments LLC

ASSOCIATES

AARP Banca d'Italia

Hemispheric Partners

Japan Bank for International

Cooperation
Oxford Analytica Inc.

Thunder 11

Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association Note: This list of Corporate members is current as of

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

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
- 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
- Multiple executives may take part in the Corporate Conference, a yearly summit on geopolitical and geoeconomic challenges
- Executives and designated employees of your organization may log in to the members-only section of CFR.org, containing information on upcoming meetings, advance access to *Foreign Affairs*, 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 for the CFR Board of Directors
- Professional development opportunities 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 attend the CFR monthly roundtable series with fellows
- Invitations for senior executives to attend the annual winter dinner with CFR leadership
- Complimentary use of the prestigious Harold Pratt House ballroom and library for a single corporate event (based on availability)

Endowed and Named Chairs, Fellowships, and Lectureships

ENDOWED CHAIRS, 2010-2011

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 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 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 different 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 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.

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 Colonel Randy A. George, U.S. Army; Colonel Blaine D. Holt, U.S. Air Force; Captain Stacy A. Pedrozo, U.S. Navy; and Colonel Daniel D. Yoo, U.S. Marine Corps.

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 2010–2011 Murrow Fellow was Matt Pottinger, former reporter, Wall Street Journal, and captain, U.S. Marine Corps in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Japan.

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 2010–2011 National Intelligence Fellow was Sue M. Terry.

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 2010–2011 fellows were Matthew Fuhrmann, Emma Belcher, and Jonathan Pearl.

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 2010–2011 Vance Fellow was E. Candace Putnam, former consul general in Peshawar, Pakistan.

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.

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 information officer and managing partner at Cyrus Capital Partners. This year's symposium featured Lawrence Summers, director of the National Economic Council and former secretary of the treasury.

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 Harold Koh, legal adviser, U.S. Department of State.

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 A. Michael Spence, Distinguished Visiting Fellow, CFR, and author of The Next Convergence: The Future of Economic Growth in a Multispeed World.

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. This year's lecturer was William Hague, secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, United Kingdom.

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 General James Conway, commandant, U.S. Marine Corps; General George Casey, chief of staff, U.S. Army; Admiral Gary Roughead, chief of naval operations, U.S. Navy; Admiral Robert J. Papp Jr., commandant, U.S. Coast Guard; and General Norton A. Schwartz, chief of staff, U.S. Air Force.

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 **Yukiya Amano**, director-general, International Atomic Energy Agency.

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 lectureship 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 a panel discussion on counterterrorism with Jessica Stern, writer and former director for Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian affairs, National Security Council; Richard Falkenrath, Shelby Cullom and Kathryn W. Davis Adjunct Senior Fellow for Counterterrorism and Homeland Security, Council on Foreign Relations; and Leslie H. Gelb, President Emeritus and Board Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations.

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 Russian-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 Randall Stephenson, chairman and chief operating officer, AT&T.

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. This year's lecture featured Helen Clark, administrator, United Nations Development Programme.

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 Senator Jack Reed (D-RI).

International Affairs Fellowship Program

Launched in 1967, the <u>International Affairs Fellowship (IAF) program</u> seeks to bridge the gap between analysis and action in foreign policy by inviting individuals from the academic, business, government, media, and religious communities to engage in a variety of policy studies and actively participate in policymaking. The distinctive character of the program lies in the contrasting experiences it provides at the juncture of policy research and policy formulation. Academics and private-sector professionals spend fellowship tenures in public service or a policymaking setting, while government officials have the opportunity to study foreign policy issues in a scholarly atmosphere free from operational pressure. Generally, fellows are placed at institutions in New York and Washington, DC, for one year.

The Council on Foreign Relations also offers a country-specific fellowship that is open to U.S. citizens between the ages of twenty-seven and forty-five.

IAF in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd., seeks to strengthen the U.S.-Japan relationship by expanding America's understanding of Japan and enhancing communication between Americans and Japanese on various common issues. Founded in 1997, the program provides fellows with the opportunity to carry out research for a period of up to one year while affiliated with an institution in Tokyo.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWS 2010–2011 PLACEMENTS

- C. Spencer Abbot,* U.S. Navy. Placed at the Japan Institute for International Affairs, Tokyo.
- David S. Abraham,* ClearWater Initiative. Placed at Tokyo University, Tokyo.
- **Travis L. Adkins**, International Foundation for Electoral Systems. Placed at the U.S. Institute of Peace.
- Peter M. Beck,* Stanford University. Placed at Keio University.
- Joel D. Hirst, U.S. Agency for International Development. Placed at the Council on Foreign Relations.
- Payton L. Knopf, U.S. Department of State. Placed at the Council on Foreign Relations.
- Matthew H. Kroenig, Georgetown University. Placed at the U.S. Department of Defense.
- Terra Lawson-Remer, The New School. Placed at the U.S. Department of the Treasury.
- Kimberly M. McClure, U.S. Department of State. Placed at Global Kids, Inc.

Jeffrey Mankoff, Yale University. Placed at the U.S. Department of State.

Mark E. Manyin,* Library of Congress. Placed at the Japan Center for International Exchange, Tokyo.

Emily D. Parker, Asia Society. Placed at the U.S. Department of State.

Rebecca D. Patterson, U.S. Army. Placed at the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation and the World Bank.

Jessica Seddon, Institute for Financial and Management Research. Placed at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

Richard M. Wrona, U.S. Army. Placed at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

International Affairs Fellowship Program

 $^{^{}st}$ 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 50 miles of the Capitol in the District of Columbia. All other members are National. All members other than honorary members shall be citizens of the United States or permanent residents of the United States who have made application to become citizens.

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

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

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

	BUSINESS	NONBUSINESS
New York Area		
Under 40	\$1,745	\$415
40 and Over	3,390	760
Washington, DC, Area		
Under 40	\$1,480	\$355
40 and Over	2,880	645
National		
Under 40	\$945	\$230
40 and Over	1,830	415

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

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 and Administrative Officer and the

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

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

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

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

ARCHIVAL PRACTICE

By resolution of the Council's Board of Directors, adopted June 3, 1999, all substantive records of the Council more than 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."

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Beth Harris **Event Sales Coordinator** Madison Meyer Special Events Assistant

HUMAN RESOURCES

Margot Morey Director Nancy Cho Deputy Director Ethel Baril Assistant Director

Linda Madueme Assistant Director, Benefits

and Compensation

Angela Yturri Assistant Director

Barrett Austin Human Resources Associate Sasha Gordon Human Resources Assistant Amy Cunningham Interdepartmental Program

Associate

Nellie Dunderdale Interdepartmental Program

Associate

Mohamed Jallow Interdepartmental Program

Associate

RECEPTION SERVICES

Manager Radmila Jackovich Melanie Neergaard Manager

Patrice Sullivan Reception Services Coordinator and

Human Resources Assistant

FACILITY AND EVENT OPERATIONS

Neftali Frank Alvarez Director, Facility, Event, and

Security Management

New York

Ian Noray Deputy Director, Facility

Operations

William Cornell Associate Director, Event

Operations

Edwin Santiago Facility Operations Manager **Justin Bilski** Assistant Event Manager Robert Prinzi Assistant Event Manager Julissa Sarabia Assistant Manager

Jose Vargas Assistant Building Engineer Edgar Rivera Facility and Event Operations

Associate

Christopher Bostick Facility Operations Assistant Trent Caldwell **Event Operations Waiter** Dwitte Campbell **Evening Facility Operations**

Assistant

Carlos Correa Facility Operations Assistant Gilbert Falcon **Evening Facility Operations**

Assistant

Herbert McLaughlin Facility Operations Assistant Marcos Velazquez Facility Operations Assistant Glen Goldman Audio Visual Technician

Washington

Jayson Frum **Director of Operations**

and Project Management

Rachel Peterson Director, Event Management

and Special Events

Eric Voss Deputy Director of Facility

Operations

Vanessa Robertson Office Manager

Karen Garnick

James Johnson

Rafael Magana

Felipe Vaquerano

Kimi Xaisanasy-Baylon

Maureen Hughes Assistant Event Manager Amber Kirtley Special Events Coordinator David De La Fleur Facility Operations Assistant

Event Assistant

Facility Operations Assistant **Event Operations Waiter** Facility Operations Assistant Assistant to the Director of

Operations and Project Management

Financial Statements

STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION

AS OF JUNE 30, 2011 (WITH COMPARATIVE TOTALS FOR JUNE 30, 2010)

	2011	2010
Assets		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 17,835,000	\$ 20,516,000
Accounts receivable, net, and prepaid expenses	1,848,200	2,124,300
Grants and contributions receivable, net	12,115,900	12,219,100
Contributions receivable for endowment, net	19,363,900	17,167,200
Inventory	94,800	127,600
Investments	303,830,700	263,488,700
Land, buildings and building improvements,		
and equipment, net	80,224,700	81,089,300
Deferred financing costs, net	2,924,700	3,034,600
Total assets	\$438,237,900	\$399,766,800
Liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 5,507,500	\$ 6,679,900
Deferred revenue	3,331,600	3,332,900
Accrued postretirement benefits	4,352,000	3,780,000
Interest rate swap agreement	5,195,800	5,490,500
Bonds payable	62,680,000	62,680,000
Total liabilities	81,066,900	81,963,300
Net assets		
Unrestricted	129,810,500	112,270,400
Temporarily restricted	61,953,300	53,613,500
Permanently restricted	165,407,200	151,919,600
Total net assets	357,171,000	317,803,500
Total liabilities and net assets	\$438,237,900	\$399,766,800

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STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES

FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 2011 (WITH COMPARATIVE TOTALS FOR JUNE 30, 2010)

		TEMPORARILY	PERMANENTLY		
Operating revenue and support	UNRESTRICTED	RESTRICTED	RESTRICTED	2011 TOTAL	2010 TOTAL
Membership dues	\$ 5,199,400	\$ —	\$ —	\$ 5,199,400	\$ 4,654,800
Annual giving	6,739,900	ф —	Φ —	6,739,900	6,504,900
Corporate memberships and related income	6,695,000			6,695,000	6,482,100
NY meetings	14,100	137.100		151,200	131,200
Grants and contributions	210,300	15,163,400		15,373,700	8,563,100
Foreign Affairs publications	7,106,800	15,105,100		7,106,800	6,468,100
Book publications	35,000			35,000	36,100
Investment return used for current operations	8,359,300	3,655,300	_	12,014,600	10,223,200
Rental income	1,866,300		_	1,866,300	1,765,900
Miscellaneous	69,600	_	_	69,600	66,200
Net assets released from restrictions	13,489,900	(13,489,900)	_		-
Total operating revenue and support	49,785,600	5,465,900	_	55,251,500	44,895,600
Operating expenses		, ,		· · ·	
Program expenses:					
Studies Program	18,958,600	_	_	18,958,600	18,401,800
Task Force	687,400	_	_	687,400	591,200
NY Meetings	1,229,200	_	_	1,229,200	1,212,000
DC programs	2,187,000	_		2,187,000	2,681,900
Term member	405,400			405,400	263,100
Special Events	962,700	_	_	962,700	879,400
Foreign Affairs publications	7,633,200	_		7,633,200	7,504,500
Book publications	473,800			473,800	391,900
National Program	854,300	_	_	854,300	826,900
Outreach Program	653,800	_		653,800	605,900
Websites	2,619,300			2,619,300	2,177,500
Communications	1,749,800	_	_	1,749,800	1,485,300
Total program expenses	38,414,500	_	_	38,414,500	37,021,400
Supporting services:					
Fundraising:					
Development	1,392,000	_	_	1,392,000	1,177,000
Corporate Program	1,763,400	_	_	1,763,400	1,482,800
Total fundraising	3,155,400			3,155,400	2,659,800
Management and general	7,000,200			7,000,200	7,304,600
Membership	942,300	_	_	942,300	790,100
Total supporting services	11,097,900	_	_	11,097,900	10,754,500
Total operating expenses	49,512,400			49,512,400	47,775,900
	49,312,400			49,312,400	47,773,300
Excess of operating revenue and support over (under) operating expenses	273,200	5,465,900	_	5,739,100	(2,880,300)
Nonoperating revenue (loss)					
Investment gain/(loss) in excess of spending rate	17,480,900	5,984,100	(8,000)	23,457,000	22,226,400
Endowment contributions	_	_	13,495,600	13,495,600	1,549,500
Gain on interest rate swap agreement	294,700	_	_	294,700	(2,949,800)
Gain on sale of fixed asset	4,300	_	_	4,300	
Write-off of uncollectible contributions	_	(3,110,200)	_	(3,110,200)	_
Total nonoperating revenue (loss)	17,779,900	2,873,900	13,487,600	34,141,400	20,826,100
Change in net assets before postretirement changes		, ,	.,,	. , ,	.,,
other than net periodic costs	18,053,100	8,339,800	13,487,600	39,880,500	17,945,800
Postretirement changes other than net periodic costs	(513,000)	_	_	(513,000)	(502,000)
Change in net assets	17,540,100	8,339,800	13,487,600	39,367,500	17,443,800
Net assets, beginning of year	112,270,400	53,613,500	151,919,600	317,803,500	300,359,700
Net assets, end of year					
race assets, end or year	\$129,810,500	\$ 61,953,300	\$165,407,200	\$357,171,000	\$317,803,500

Please $\underline{\text{click here}}$ to view the full 2011 Financial Statements.

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