

A hand in a suit sleeve holds a globe of the Earth. Overlaid on the globe is a city skyline at night. A white geometric network of lines and dots is superimposed over the entire scene, with some lines glowing blue.

# **DIRECTING THE DISORDER**

The CFR is the Deep State powerhouse undoing and remaking our world.

---

by William F. Jasper

---

The whole world has gone insane and the lunatics are in charge of the asylum. At least it looks that way to any rational person surveying the escalating revolutions that have engulfed the planet in the year 2020. The revolutions to which we refer are the COVID-19 revolution and the Black Lives Matter revolution, which, combined, are wreaking unprecedented havoc and destruction — political, social, economic, moral, and spiritual — worldwide. As we will show, these two seemingly unrelated upheavals are very closely tied together, and are but the latest and most profound manifestations of a global revolutionary transformation that has been under way for many years. Both of these revolutions are being stoked and orchestrated by elitist forces that intend to unmake the United States of America and extinguish liberty as we know it everywhere.

In his famous “Lectures on the French Revolution,” delivered at Cambridge University between 1895 and 1899, the distinguished British historian and statesman John Emerich Dalberg, more commonly known as Lord Acton, noted: “The appalling thing in the French Revolution is not the tumult, but the design. Through all the fire and smoke we perceive the evidence of calculating organization. The managers remain studiously concealed and masked; but there is no doubt about their presence from the first.” One of those revolutionary managers was Duke of Orleans Louis Philippe, the wealthiest man in France, head of the Grand Orient masonic lodge, and cousin to King Louis XVI. Like George Soros, Bill Gates, Michael Bloomberg, and other billionaires of today, Louis Philippe operated through a Deep State network that provided the “calculating organization” that designed and caused the murderous chaos and tumult that engulfed revolutionary France. Since the 2016 U.S. presidential elections, the term “Deep State” has become a popular expression referring to the powerful, murky forces operating throughout the federal government, the major media, the political establishment (of both major

---

*William F. Jasper is senior editor of THE NEW AMERICAN.*

---

The nationalist vs. globalist conflict is not merely an ideological struggle between shadowy, unidentifiable forces; it is a struggle with *organized* globalists who have very real, identifiable, powerful organizations and networks operating incessantly to undermine and subvert our constitutional Republic and our Christian-style civilization.

---



**Comrades: Big Tech & Beijing** — Microsoft billionaire Bill Gates meets with China's communist leader Xi Jinping (right) at the Boao Forum in China's Hainan province in 2013. In 2017, Gates was inducted into the elite Chinese Academy of Engineering.

parties), the megabanks and corporations, the think tanks, and academia — all with the aim of sabotaging the pro-American agenda of Donald Trump and removing him as president of the United States by any means necessary.

President Trump has correctly described the opposing forces in this conflict as globalists vs. nationalists, and has publicly cast his lot with the nationalists, announcing his “America First” position and a refusal to yield America’s national sovereignty to the United Nations or any of its schemes for world government. However, the nationalist vs. globalist conflict is not merely an ideological struggle between shadowy, unidentifiable forces; it is a struggle with *organized* globalists who have very real, identifiable,

powerful organizations and networks operating incessantly to undermine and subvert our constitutional Republic and our Christian-style civilization. The premier organization leading this globalist effort is the New York City-based Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). It is the “brain trust” and public face of the shadowy Deep State internationalists who have been pushing to submerge the United States (and all other nation states) under a world government for the past century. As the accompanying charts on pages 18-27 demonstrate, the CFR has acquired unparalleled power and influence not only in our government, but also in virtually all of our society’s principal institutions. Unfortunately, many of the critics of the Deep State fail to mention



— whether out of ignorance or fear — the central role of the Council in the Deep State’s actions. But this is like whining about “organized crime” while refusing to mention the Mafia families by name. Or complaining about the evils of the narcotics trade while refusing to identify the drug cartels and their kingpins. We will return further on for a brief history of how the Deep State CFR achieved its deep — and wide — penetration and control. Before doing that, however, we will look at the two revolutions referred to above, and the starring role the Council on Foreign Relations has played in each to topple the American system of government in favor of a socialist order both nationally and globally.

### Tyranny Gone Viral

For the first time in human history, the entire world has been trapped in a global lockdown, at the behest of the United Nations’ World Health Organization. This unprecedented action came about due to the (supposedly unintentional) release of a novel coronavirus by Xi Jinping and the Communist Party leadership of the People’s Republic of China. The result has

been that in a few short months not only the United States of America but the entire world has lurched further into socialist-communist control than could have been imagined by even the most far-sighted political seers.

Governments at every level — local, state, national — have rushed to implement authoritarian (even totalitarian) measures that would be completely unthinkable, except for the claim that these actions are absolutely necessary to save humanity from a uniquely deadly “pandemic.”

Politicians, bureaucrats, and “public health officials” have enthusiastically embraced their new COVID-19 powers to close down virtually all normal human activity; destroy millions of businesses and hundreds of millions of jobs; close completely or greatly shackle religious worship; totally take over and control hospitals and healthcare; spend *trillions* of dollars; order everyone to adopt “social distancing,” “isolation,” face-mask rules, and other social regimentation; cancel or completely reorder elections; hire hundreds of thousands of “contact tracers” and institute Orwellian monitoring and surveillance under the guise of

COVID contact tracing; mandate vaccinations and healthcare tracking in order to work, travel, or engage in any commerce; and much more.

This sweeping revolution would not have been possible without the orchestration provided by the CFR politicians and their academic, business, and media accomplices. They have relentlessly sown fear and hysteria to consolidate and perpetuate this huge power grab, even though the actual findings of science, the real medical facts, show that COVID-19 is nowhere near as deadly or contagious as the fearmongers claim, and certainly not serious enough to justify their dictatorial mandates.

In addition to lionizing Tedros Adhanom, director-general of the UN’s World Health Organization (and one of Beijing’s most dependable cheerleaders), and Dr. Anthony Fauci, lead spokesman of the White House Coronavirus Task Force, the CFR media minions have ceaselessly promoted the propaganda of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. Bill Gates, one of the world’s richest billionaires, is a close comrade of Chinese dictator Xi Jinping and has been inducted into the elite Chinese Academy of Engineering, an organ headed by “Premier” Li Keqiang, China’s “Number 2” communist boss.

Besides being the largest nongovernmental funder of WHO, the Gates Foundation has obtained unparalleled influence over global health issues by pouring billions of dollars into national health agencies, medical research centers, institutes, and universities around the globe that are promoting the COVID pandemic hysteria: Harvard, Johns Hopkins, University of Washington, Emory, Yale, Scripps, Cambridge, Oxford, and many more. The foundation claims to be committing “more than \$350 million for work on COVID-19 globally.” Current and former top Gates Foundation officials who are CFR members include Mark Suzman, Margaret Hamburg, and Christopher Elias. Bill Gates has written for the CFR journal *Foreign Affairs*, and his foundation endowed the CFR’s Senior Fellow Chair for Global Health, now occupied by former advisor to the Gates Foundation Thomas Bollyky. Gates is the principal funder of GAVI, the Global Alliance of Vaccines and Immunizations,



Anthony  
Fauci



Tedros  
Adhanom

**Global medical mafia:** Dr. Anthony Fauci, spokesman of the White House Coronavirus Task Force, and Tedros Adhanom, director-general of the UN’s World Health Organization (WHO) are the leading voices and faces of the CFR-UN-Beijing-Big Pharma pandemic dictatorship.



AP Images

headed by CFR member Seth Berkley. The Gates Foundation is also a key funder of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (aka Chatham House), the CFR's globalist sister institute in Britain, as are the Rockefeller, Soros, and Bloomberg foundations, all of which are joined at the hip with the CFR.

The tie-in between U.S. and Chinese universities goes far beyond the Gates health initiatives. As *THE NEW AMERICAN* has been reporting for years, CFR members and their corporations and hedge funds have been pouring billions of dollars into both Chinese and U.S. universities, while China's new Chinese Communist Party-approved billionaires have been doing the same, melding together a pro-China "convergence lobby" that promotes the Beijing line throughout academia.

The China Medical Board, founded and funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, is headed by Lincoln C. Chen (CFR), who, incredibly, told the U.S.-China Health Summit in March 2020, "It seems that China has done everything right so far," with regard to COVID-19. The U.S.-China Health Summit is chaired by William Haseltine (CFR). The CFR-Gates-WHO choir dutifully regurgitates and promotes the party line dispensed by Beijing's propagandists, especially concerning what America and the world "must" do to deal

with the virus that the communist regime unleashed on the planet. And, it just so happens, each of these must-dos take us ever closer to resembling the Maoist dictatorship of China's "People's Republic." The enormity and influence of this CFR propaganda operation defies exaggeration. In the space we have here, we can cite only a tiny fraction out of many examples that illustrate the "multiplier effect" of the CFR's strategic clout.

Take, for instance, Thomas J. Bollyky and Charles A. Kupchan, senior fellows at the CFR and professors at Georgetown University. Bollyky, a former advisor to the Gates Foundation and WHO, is much-quoted these days in the CFR-dominant mainstream media. In April 2020, Bollyky and Kupchan teamed up to pen an article for CNN entitled "Trump and Xi must team up to fight Covid-19." That piece echoes (and is echoed by) articles and media appearances by other CFR luminaries that insist the COVID "crisis" must be used to build "global health governance," in unison with communist China.

It is the same message sent by CFR senior fellow (and CCP hack) Yanzhong Huang, in an article for *Foreign Affairs* titled "The U.S. and China Could Cooperate to Defeat the Pandemic: Instead, Their Antagonism Makes Matters Worse." Same

**Revolution from above and below:** While the CFR-led corporate-political-media mob attack our freedoms from their suites, the BLM/Antifa mobs they fund and promote (shown here in Portland, Oregon) advance the agenda with violence in the streets.

also for the *Wall Street Journal* op-ed by mega-globalist Henry Kissinger (CFR) titled "The Coronavirus Pandemic Will Forever Alter the World Order." Ditto for Never-Trumper Max Boot, a CFR senior fellow and one of the Deep State *Washington Post's* window-dressing "conservatives."

Boot has used his *Post* column and his Twitter feed to pound President Trump relentlessly for his alleged leadership failures regarding the virus epidemic — and to promote the Beijing-Gates-WHO line. The same for CFR President Richard Haass, MSNBC commentators Joe Scarborough (CFR) and Mika Brzezinski (CFR), CNN's Dr. Sanjay Gupta (CFR), PBS's Judy Woodruff (CFR), George Soros (CFR), science writer Laurie Garrett (CFR senior fellow), media billionaire Michael Bloomberg (CFR), Blackstone CEO billionaire Stephen A. Schwarzman (CFR), Tom Frieden (CFR senior fellow for global health and former head of the CDC under President Obama), and dozens more of their CFR confreres, who flood the globalist-run media empires with anti-Trump/pro-Beijing COVID indoctrination.



Many of the critics of the Deep State fail to mention — whether out of ignorance or fear — the central role of the Council in the Deep State's actions. But this is like whining about "organized crime" while refusing to mention the Mafia families by name.



AP Images

**Communist-capitalist convergence:** Henry Kissinger (left), a David Rockefeller protégé and a luminary of the CFR-Trilateral Commission-Bilderberg Group globalists, at his secret 1971 meeting with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai to begin the transformation of Communist China into a global superpower.

### Pressure From Above and Below

While struggling with the fears, uncertainties, disruptions, and devastation brought on by the COVID revolution from above, America and the world were slammed with a second revolution from below: a racial conflagration that used as an igniting pretext the death of George Floyd, a black man, at the hands of a white Minneapolis police officer, on May 25. In response, across America cities burned. Day after day, week after week, in dozens of cities, "protests" turned into violent riots and looting. As usual, the main casualties of the burning, destruction, and looting are the black and minority residents, business owners, and employees of

the communities that the protesters/rioters claim to represent.

The CFR-compliant Fake News media conveniently ignore the fact that the founders and organizers of Black Lives Matter (BLM) boast of being "trained Marxists," have laced their demands and propaganda with Marxist slogans and theory, and have adopted communist terrorists/revolutionaries (Karl Marx, Mao Tse-tung, Vladimir Lenin, Che Guevara, Assata Shakur, Angela Davis, and Mumia Abu Jamal) as their heroic symbols. Together with their mostly white, violence-prone, anarcho-communist allies of Antifa (who claim to be anti-fascist, while employing textbook

fascist tactics), the BLM revolutionaries have hijacked the outrage they have fomented over America's alleged institutionalized racism to attack America's foundations of Christianity, free-enterprise capitalism, and limited government under a constitutional republic.

In the matter of but a few weeks, the rule of law has been replaced by mob rule, as cowardly and/or traitorous political leaders have ordered police to stand down and allowed riotous thugs to run roughshod over the rights of the law-abiding and threaten the liberty and safety of all. Far from mollifying the rioters, each capitulation before the mob has only encouraged new outrages, as they follow the advice of French Revolutionist Georges-Jacques Danton to his fellow terrorists of Paris in 1792: "We need audacity, and yet more audacity, and always audacity!" The audacious demands of the BLM/Antifa mobs rapidly escalated from "reform the police" to "defund the police" and "abolish the police." But it hasn't stopped there. Unappeased, the mobs intensified their frenzied attacks and demands: demanding trillions of dollars in race-based "reparations" and tearing down statues and monuments of everyone from Christopher Columbus to George Washington.

But, like the COVID revolution, the BLM revolution could not possibly have succeeded in so rapidly rending our society's fabric asunder without the crucial "calculating organization" of many Deep State operatives. To begin with, the BLM crowds would never have even gotten off the ground except for the tens of millions of dollars from George Soros (CFR) — and many millions more from CFR corporate and foundation spigots. Or consider, for instance, Stewart M. Patrick, who is a CFR senior fellow and director of the organization's International Institutions and Global Governance Program, as well as a prolific blogger, lecturer, and media commentator. In his June 15 article "Black Lives Matter — for Social Justice, and for America's Global Role," he asserts, "The success of the Black Lives Matter movement is critical, not only to achieve a more perfect union at home, but also to advance human liberty and dignity worldwide." Moreover, he cites anti-American socialist-communist spokesmen at the UN as if to legitimize

outlandish charges of racism and human-rights violations in the United States.

Or take CFR senior fellow David J. Scheffer, a law professor at Northwestern University and the Bill Clinton administration's main architect of the International Criminal Court, a UN institution aimed at stripping U.S. citizens of their constitutional protections and subjecting them to the "justice" of the UN. He repeatedly slams our country's allegedly ingrained "racism" and argues that we must accept "international law" under UN treaties to be good global citizens. These examples could be multiplied, literally, thousands of times.

One of the CFR's most potent (and disturbing) demonstrations of its clout has been its ability to bring out a string of retired generals and admirals to openly criticize (or outright condemn) President Trump, especially concerning his statements and actions in response to the BLM/Antifa rioting and revolution. Some of them even imply seditiously that they might favor a military coup to remove the president by force. One of the most outrageous appeals in this regard came from retired general John Allen (CFR, and now president of the leftist-globalist Brookings Institution), who wrote a scathing anti-Trump, pro-BLM screed for the CFR-aligned *Foreign Policy* journal. Another came from retired admiral William McRaven in the *New York Times*. More blasts have come from retired admiral James Stavridis (CFR, now an officer in the globalist, immensely wealthy Carlyle Group) in *Time*, as well as retired admiral Michael Mullen (CFR) and retired general Michael Hayden (CFR). Still more blistering attacks have come from generals James Mattis, Barry McCaffrey, and others who are not CFR members but have been given positions to fire their salvos from CFR media platforms. This level of unprecedented seditious and treasonous activity by general officers is beyond outrageous, and indicates that the insiders of the Deep State are pulling out all stops to scuttle not only Donald Trump but the American Republic as well.

### CFR, Club for Revolution

This incredible drama unfolding before our eyes has not come about overnight. It is the work of a "Deep State" cabal of ruling elites that has controlled both the Democratic and Republican parties for decades, and has embedded its operatives

CFR.org



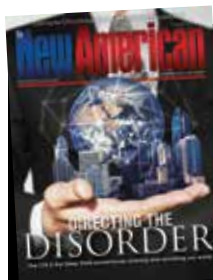
**Tell us what to do and think:** CFR President Richard Haass stands with Hillary Clinton (then secretary of state) in 2013 at one of her many appearances at the CFR, which, she said, is where she and other officials "go to be told what we should be doing and how we should think."

throughout our political, financial, industrial, educational, cultural, military, and intelligence institutions.

The Council began to take shape during World War I. Following that conflagration, the organized globalists attempted to foist the League of Nations on a war-weary world, as their "first try at World Order." When the U.S. Senate balked at ceding sovereignty to the League and refused to ratify the League treaty, the globalists set about the long-term project of creating the necessary organizational infrastructure that could gradually usurp control over America's political levers of power and provide the propaganda needed to overcome Americans' "obsession" with freedom and independence. Formally founded in 1921 with the financial backing of Wall Street titans and globalist ideologues, the CFR worked in the background and remained largely invisible to the general public until the 1970s. Although some of the most famous American fortunes bankrolled the Council (J.P. Morgan, Carnegie,

Rockefeller, Ford), the CFR was practically unknown outside of banking and political circles, even as its journal, *Foreign Affairs*, became the bible for government policy and its members assumed more and more control over our critical institutions. As the charts accompanying this article amply demonstrate, CFR members have disproportionately laid claim not only to our White House Oval Office, but also to our National Security Council, our Departments of State, Treasury, and Defense — and most other top Cabinet posts.

John J. McCloy, a friend and advisor to nine U.S. presidents and known as "the chairman of the Establishment," served as chairman of the CFR from 1953 to 1970. In an interview with the *New York Times*, he recalled the method by which he populated government ranks with CFR members. "Whenever we needed a man we



### EXTRA COPIES AVAILABLE

◆ Additional copies of this issue of *THE NEW AMERICAN* are available at quantity-discount prices. To place your order, visit [www.shopjbs.org](http://www.shopjbs.org) or see the card between pages 34-35.

thumbed through the roll of the Council members and put through a call to New York," McCloy said.

More recently, Hillary Clinton has paid homage to the CFR's influence. As President Obama's secretary of state, she was a featured speaker at the opening of the CFR's new Washington, D.C., headquarters in 2009. "I have been often to ... the mother ship in New York City, but it is good to have an outpost of the Council right here down the street from the State Department," she said. "We get a lot of advice from the Council," Clinton continued, "so this will mean I won't have as far to go to be told what we should be doing and how we should think about the future." Yes, the Council is much more than a mere "think tank," as it is usually described; it has been picking our public officials and telling them what to think and what to do for quite some time now.

But, gradually, Americans have been getting wise to the CFR's subversive, anti-American agenda. Books such as *Tragedy and Hope* by Georgetown historian Carroll Quigley, *The Invisible Government* by for-

mer FBI agent and constitutional scholar Dan Smoot, *None Dare Call It Conspiracy* by popular author Gary Allen, *The Insiders* by John F. McManus, *Kissinger on the Couch* by Phyllis Schlafly and Admiral Chester Ward, *The Shadows of Power* by James Perloff, and *In the Shadows of the Deep State* by Arthur R. Thompson have lifted the lid on the Council's activities, revealing its unstinting support for communist regimes abroad, as well as support for Big Government programs at home. In addition, the CFR has distinguished itself by dependably training all its big guns to attack and smear anti-communists, particularly Senator Joseph McCarthy, other members of the House and Senate who were investigating communist activities, and patriotic organizations such as The John Birch Society. These individuals and groups were being relentlessly smeared as "racists," "fascists," and "Nazis" long before Donald Trump was subjected to the same vicious label-lynching.

The election of President Trump and his announced intention to reverse the suicidal course on which the globalists had set

our nation has caused the CFR to mobilize all of its immense resources to derail him. Thus, its Fake News media armada (*New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Huffington Post*, *Time*, CNN, CBS, PBS, etc.) and its Big Tech social-media controllers (Google, YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, etc.) have kept up a nonstop hate fest against Trump, while the CFR's Deep State bureaucrats throughout the federal agencies sabotage the Trump agenda, and the huge CFR-aligned corporations and tax-exempt foundations lavish billions of dollars on left-wing AstroTurf organizations to give the appearance of popular support for the fanatical "protesters."

Freedom has never been in greater peril. The CFR revolution for world control is moving into its endgame phase, but the globalists do not have all of the aces they need. In fact, in their current haste and heavy-handedness they are stirring a sleeping colossus. If enough liberty-minded patriots throw all of their efforts, prayers, and resources into the battle now to awaken, educate, and activate their fellow citizens, we can yet save freedom. ■

Your family. Your community. Your country.

## DO YOU WANT TO INFLUENCE THEIR FUTURE?



You're not one to leave that responsibility to someone else. You're a leader. As a constitutionalist, you want an effective way to roll back the tide of socialism and restore American liberty. And you want to do so without wasting your time trying to reinvent the wheel.

### Climb Into Our Vehicle and Turn the Key

Your time is limited. You need a program that will maximize your efforts. With six decades of proven leadership experience and our NEW *Volunteer Leaders Accelerated Performance Series*, The John Birch Society has the turnkey program you need to grow your influence and secure the future.

Follow our comprehensive 10-point game plan and you'll obtain:

- The power of national concerted action
- Trustworthy and professional material to educate yourself and others
- Mentoring and training to quickly build your local organization
- Up-to-date news and action alerts to save you time and money and make you more effective and influential

**The John Birch Society**

### ACT TODAY TO GET STARTED!

Visit **JBS.org** or call **800-JBS-USA1** (800-527-8721) to contact your local coordinator, learn more, and apply for membership.



# SHADOWS ACROSS THE LAND

Current CFR dominance over government, media, think tanks, foundations, public health, and industry

## CFR MEMBERS IN EACH BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT

### EXECUTIVE

#### National Security Council

Secretary of Energy Dan R. Brouillette  
Deputy National Security Advisor Matthew Pottinger  
United States Trade Representative Robert E. Lighthizer  
Deputy Assistant to the President, Senior Director for African Affairs Elizabeth E. Walsh

#### Homeland Security Advisory Council

Chairman William H. Webster  
Member John R. Allen  
Member Thad W. Allen  
Member Norman R. Augustine  
Member Jane Harman  
Member James R. Jones  
Member Carrie A. Lemack  
Member Jeff Moss

#### Office of the United States Trade Representative

United States Trade Representative Robert E. Lighthizer

#### State Department

Deputy Secretary of State Stephen E. Biegun  
Under Secretary of State for Economic Growth, Energy, and the Environment Keith J. Krach  
Assistant Secretary of State for:  
• International Security and Nonproliferation Christopher A. Ford  
• Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations Denise Natali  
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Levant Affairs and Special Envoy for Syria Joel D. Rayburn  
U.S. Special Representative for Syria Engagement and Special Envoy to the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS James F. Jeffrey  
U.S. Special Representative for Venezuela Elliott Abrams

*"The whole world has gone insane and the lunatics are in charge of the asylum. At least it looks that way to any rational person surveying the escalating revolutions that have engulfed the planet in the year 2020. The revolutions to which we refer are the COVID-19 revolution and the Black Lives Matter revolution, which, combined, are wreaking unprecedented havoc and destruction — political, social, economic, moral, and spiritual — worldwide...."*

*The premier organization leading this globalist effort is the ... Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). It is the "brain trust" and public face of the shadowy Deep State internationalists.... The CFR has acquired unparalleled power and influence not only in our government, but also in virtually all of our society's principal institutions....*

*Freedom has never been in greater peril. The CFR revolution for world control is moving into its end-game phase, but the globalists do not have all of the aces they need. If enough liberty-minded patriots throw all of their efforts, prayers, and resources into the battle now to awaken, educate, and activate their fellow citizens, we can yet save freedom."*

— From the "Directing the Disorder" cover story by William F. Jasper on pages 10-16 of this issue

Bill Jasper has exposed the CFR's powerful influence behind this year's COVID-19 and Black Lives Matter revolutions in this issue's cover story. (See excerpts above.) Now we invite you to examine the following lists and charts and verify for yourself the rising influence and dominance of the New York-based, 5,100-member Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in government, the military, media, think tanks, consulting firms, nongovernmental organizations, and healthcare.

If we are to restore and secure our God-given rights, and once again live the American Dream, we must widely expose the CFR's freedom-destroying domination of our nation's leading governmental and cultural institutions!

**Note:** On the CFR chart for the various presidential administrations from Hoover to Trump (see pages 23-27), we marked people as CFR members if they ever were a member. For example, Herbert Hoover did not join the CFR until after his presidency; nevertheless, because of his later membership, we have chosen to mark him as a member.

U.S. Special Representative for Afghanistan Reconciliation Zalmay Khalilzad

#### Ambassadors

Comoros — Michael P. Pelletier  
Congo — Michael A. Hammer  
India — Kenneth I. Juster  
Kuwait — Alina L. Romanowski  
Madagascar — Michael P. Pelletier  
Saudi Arabia — John P. Abizaid  
South Korea — Harry B. Harris Jr.  
United Kingdom — Robert W. Johnson IV

#### United States International Trade Commission

Commissioner Rhonda K. Schmittlein

#### United States Institute of Peace

President and CEO Nancy Lindborg  
Chairman Emeritus J. Robinson West  
Chairman Stephen J. Hadley  
Vice Chairman George E. Moose  
Board Member Stephen E. Biegun  
Board Member Stephen D. Krasner  
Senior Advisor Johnnie Carson  
Senior Policy Analyst for China Patricia M. Kim

Senior Advisor for Middle East and Africa Mona Yacoubian

Senior Advisor on the USIP's Task Force on Extremism in Fragile States Reuben E. Brigety II

Senior Advisor on the USIP's Task Force on Extremism in Fragile States Paul B. Stares  
Director of East and Southeast Asia Programs Jennifer Staats

Director of Program on Nonviolent Action Maria J. Stephan  
Director of Gender Policy and Strategy Kathleen R. Kuehnast

Program Officer with the USIP's Center for South and Central Asia Colin Cookman  
Distinguished Scholar Robin Wright

#### Defense Department

Secretary of Defense Mark T. Esper  
Senior China Analyst, USAF Reserve, Oriana Skylar Mastro

#### Joint Staff

Air Force — Director for Strategy, Plans and Policy Lt. Gen. David W. Allvin

#### Navy

Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Warfighting Development, Vice Admiral Stuart B. Munsch  
Commander, Special Operations Command Central, Rear Admiral H. Wyman Howard III  
Commander, Expeditionary Strike Group Seven / Commander, Amphibious Force, U.S. Seventh Fleet, Rear Admiral Fred W. Kacher  
Commander, Patrol and Reconnaissance Group, Rear Admiral Peter A. Garvin  
Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Captain Kevin M. Brand

#### Air Force

Special Assistant to the U.S. Air Force Vice Chief of Staff, Brig. Gen. Robert S. Spalding III  
Vice Commander, U.S. Air Force Expeditionary Center, Brig. Gen. John M. Klein Jr.  
Director, Air Force Security Assistance and Cooperation Directorate, Brig. Gen. Brian R. Bruckbauer  
Deputy Commander, Pacific Air Forces, Maj. Gen. Brian M. Killough  
Commander of Second Air Force, Keesler Air

continued on page 19



# CFR MEMBERS IN EACH BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT (CONTINUED)

continued from page 18

Force Base, Biloxi, Mississippi, Maj. Gen. Andrea D. Tullios  
Senior China Analyst at the Pentagon and Political-Military Affairs Strategist at Pacific Air Force (PACAF), Captain Oriana Skylar Mastro

## Army

Assistant Professor of International Affairs at the United States Military Academy, West Point and Officer in Charge of the West Point Model United Nations team, Major Kerney Scott Perlik

## Other Cabinet Departments

### Treasury

Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Justin G. Muzinich  
Under Secretary for International Affairs Brent J. McIntosh  
Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Monica Crowley

## Energy

Secretary of Energy Dan R. Brouillette  
Under Secretary for Science Paul M. Dabbar  
Under Secretary for Nuclear Security Lisa E. Gordon-Hagerty  
Assistant Secretary for Preparedness and Response Dr. Robert P. Kadlec

## Transportation

Secretary of Transportation Elaine L. Chao

## Veterans

Secretary of Veterans Affairs Robert Wilkie

## Independent Agencies and Institutions

### Federal Reserve System

Chairman Jerome H. Powell  
Vice Chairman Richard H. Clarida  
Governor Lael Brainard

## Smithsonian Institution

Director of Smithsonian's Freer and Sackler Galleries Chase F. Robinson

## JUDICIAL

Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg  
Supreme Court Justice Stephen G. Breyer  
Supreme Court Justice Neil M. Gorsuch\*

## LEGISLATIVE

### U.S. Senate

Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.)  
Senator Amy Klobuchar (D-Minn.)  
Senator Jack Reed (D-R.I.)  
Senator Daniel R. Sullivan (R-Alaska)  
Senator Mark R. Warner (D-Va.)

### U.S. House of Representatives

Rep. Ami Bera (D-Calif.)  
Rep. Gerald E. Connolly (D-Va.)  
Rep. Susan Davis (D-Calif.)  
Rep. Eliot L. Engel (D-N.Y.)  
Rep. Tulsi Gabbard (D-Hawaii)  
Rep. Mike Gallagher (R-Wis.)\*  
Rep. Kay Granger (R-Texas)  
Rep. William B. Hurd (R-Texas)  
Rep. Nita M. Lowey (D-N.Y.)  
Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney (D-N.Y.)  
Rep. Brian J. Mast (R-Fla.)  
Rep. Seth Moulton (D-Mass.)  
Rep. Stephanie Murphy (D-Fla.)  
Rep. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.)  
Rep. Francis Rooney (R-Fla.)  
Rep. Donna E. Shalala (D-Fla.)  
Rep. Adam Smith (D-Wash.)  
Rep. Mac Thornberry (R-Texas)

# CFR MEMBERS IN THE MEDIA

## The American Interest

Chairman and Co-Founder Francis Fukuyama  
Editor-in-Chief Jeffrey Gedmin

### Editorial Board

- Anne E. Applebaum
- Eliot A. Cohen
- G. John Ikenberry
- Stephen D. Krasner
- Michael Mandelbaum
- Ruth Wedgwood

### Contributing Editors

- Larry Diamond
- Michael Mandelbaum
- Carla Anne Robbins

## American Spectator

Editor-in-Chief R. Emmett Tyrell Jr.  
Contributing Editor Grover G. Norquist

## Asian Affairs:

### An American Review

Editorial Board Member Jonathan D. Pollack

## Associated Press

Board Member Isaac Lee

## The Atlantic

Chairman David G. Bradley  
Founder and President Laurene Powell Jobs  
National Correspondent and Staff Writer James Fallows

### Staff Writers

- Anne E. Applebaum
- Barton Gellman

### Contributing Writers

- Eliot A. Cohen
- Zachary Karabel
- Yascha Mounk
- Norman J. Ornstein
- Kenneth M. Pollack

- Kori Schake
- Amy B. Zegart

## Bloomberg

Founder and CEO Michael R. Bloomberg  
Board Member Arthur Levitt Jr.  
Board Member Matthew Winkler  
Anchor David Westin  
Co-Anchor of *Bloomberg Surveillance* Tom Keene  
Co-Anchor of *Bloomberg Markets* Vonnie Quinn  
Co-Anchor of *Bloomberg Markets* Matt Miller  
Senior Editor Ethan Bronner  
Opinion Editor Nisid Hajari  
Opinion Editor Romesh Ratnesar  
*Bloomberg Businessweek* (magazine)  
Senior Editor Rose Brady

## BBC News

Election Analyst Norman J. Ornstein

## China Security

Editorial Board Member Jonathan D. Pollack

## Commentary

Editor-at-Large John Podhoretz

## Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Chairman Bruce M. Ramer  
*NewsHour* Anchor Judy Woodruff  
*NewsHour* Foreign Affairs and Defense Correspondent Nick Schiffrin  
*NewsHour* Political and Economic Analyst Edward Alden  
*Washington Week in Review* panelists:

- Margaret M. Brennan
- Susan Davis
- Jonathan Karl
- Mark A. Landler

- Andrea Mitchell
- David E. Sanger
- Jerry Seib
- Kayla Tausche

## The Daily Beast

Columnist Jonathan H. Alter  
Guest Contributor Kenneth M. Pollack

## Devex

Founding President and Editor-in-Chief Raj Kumar

## Discovery, Inc.

*On the Case with Paula Zahn* Producer and Host Paula A. Zahn

## Forbes

Chief Content Officer Randall A. Lane

## Foreign Affairs

CFR Vice President of Global Communications and Media Relations Lisa Shields  
Editor and Peter G. Peterson Chair Gideon Rose

### Book Reviewers

- Richard N. Cooper
- G. John Ikenberry
- Jessica T. Mathews
- Andrew Moravcsik

### Guest Contributors

- Thomas J. Bollyky
- G. John Ikenberry
- Zachary Karabel
- Kenneth M. Pollack

## Foreign Policy

Editor in Chief Jonathan Tepperman  
Former Editor in Chief Moisés Naim  
Senior Advisor Antoine Van Agtmael  
Deputy News Editor and Senior Correspondent Michael P. Hirsh

### Contributors

- Melissa Chan
- Laurie Garrett
- Michael J. Green
- Kenneth M. Pollack

## Fox Corporation (Fox News, Fox Business, Fox Nation)

Chairman Rupert Murdoch\*  
*Host of What Are the Odds?* Kristen Soltis Anderson

Anchor of *Mornings with Maria* and *Maria Bartiromo's Wall Street* Maria Bartiromo  
Political and Economic Analyst Edward Alden

### Contributors

- Kristen Soltis Anderson
- Newt Gingrich\*
- Dr. William Haseltine, Ph.D.
- Mara Liasson
- Judith Miller
- Deroy Murdock
- Kenneth M. Pollack
- Kiron K. Skinner
- Jessica Tarlov
- Robert Wolf

## The Globalist

Contributor Angela E. Stent

## Harper's Magazine

Editor Emeritus Lewis H. Lapham

## Harvard Business Review

Editor-in-Chief Adi Ignatius

## The Hill

Regular Contributor Daniel F. Runde

## Journal of Contemporary China

Editorial Board Member Jonathan D. Pollack

\*Justice Neil Gorsuch, Rep. Mike Gallagher, Rupert Murdoch, and Newt Gingrich are former CFR members and no longer appear on the CFR's membership roster.

continued on page 20

## **Journal of the American Medical Association**

Contributor Thomas J. Bollyky

## **Korean Journal of Defense Analysis**

Editorial Board Member Jonathan D. Pollack

## **Los Angeles Times**

Executive Editor Norman Pearlstine

Editor of the Editorial Pages Sewell Chan

Associate Editor and Op-Ed Columnist Nicholas Goldberg

Contributor Zachary Karabell

Columnist Doyle McManus

## **Miami Herald**

Columnist and *Oppenheimer Report* Host Andrés Oppenheimer

## **Middle East Quarterly**

Publisher Daniel Pipes

## **Motion Picture Association**

Chairman and CEO Charles H. Rivkin

## **The Nation**

United Nations Correspondent Barbara Crossette

## **National Association for Science Writers**

Member Laurie Garrett

## **National Public Radio (NPR)**

*All Things Considered* Host Mary Louise Kelly

*Weekend Edition Sunday* Host Lulu Garcia-Navarro

International Correspondent Deborah Amos

Religion and Belief Correspondent Tom Gjelten

Correspondent and Video Host Elise Hu

Correspondent Mara Liasson

Special Correspondent Dina Temple-Raston

Congressional Reporter Susan Davis

Political and Economic Analyst Edward Alden

## **The National Interest**

Publisher Dimitri K. Simes

Contributing Editor Kenneth M. Pollack

## **National Journal**

President Kevin Turpin II

Senior Vice President for Product Strategy & Consulting Luke Hartig

Political Analyst Charles Cook

Research Analyst Jackie Sirc

Contributing Editor and Columnist Norman J. Ornstein

## **National Review**

### **Board of Directors**

- John Hillen

### **Contributors**

- Eliot A. Cohen
- Vin Weber

## **NBCUniversal**

Chairman Cesar Conde

### **NBC**

Special Correspondent Tom Brokaw

Chief Foreign Correspondent Richard Engel

Senior Legal and Investigative Correspondent Cynthia McFadden

Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondent Andrea Mitchell

Political Analyst Jonathan H. Alter

Health Policy Analyst Vin Gupta, M.D.

### **MSNBC**

*Morning Joe* Co-Host Mika Brzezinski

*Morning Joe* Co-Host Joe Scarborough

*Morning Joe* Economic Analyst Steven L. Rattner

*Velshi & Ruhle* Co-Host Ali Velshi

*The 11th Hour with Brian Williams* Host Brian D. Williams

Political and Economic Analyst Edward Alden

Political Analyst Jonathan H. Alter

Health Policy Analyst Vin Gupta, M.D.

## **CNBC**

Washington Correspondent Kayla Tausche

*Squawk Box* Host Andrew Ross Sorkin

Contributor Zachary Karabell

## **News Corp**

### **Leadership**

- Founder and Executive Chairman Rupert Murdoch\*
- Chief Executive Robert Thomson

# CFR MEMBERS IN THE MEDIA

### **Board of Directors**

- James R. Murdoch

### **Wall Street Journal**

Senior Editor Warren Bass

Executive Washington Editor Jerry Seib

National Security Correspondent Michael R. Gordon

Global View Columnist Walter Russell Mead

### **The New Yorker**

#### **Contributors**

- Mattathias Schwartz
- Zachary Karabell

### **New York Post**

#### **Columnists**

- John Podhoretz
- Seth Lipsky

### **The New York Review of Books**

#### **Contributors**

Michael A. McFaul

### **The New York Times Company**

**New York Times** (newspaper)

Managing Editor Joseph Kahn

Assistant Managing Editor, International Michael Slackman

Editor, National Security and Foreign Policy Thom Shanker

Chief Washington Correspondent and National Security

Correspondent David E. Sanger

Foreign Affairs Op-Ed Columnist Thomas L. Friedman

Reporter & Editor-at-Large Andrew Ross Sorkin

London Bureau Chief Mark A. Landler

Editorial Board Member Carol Giacomo

Former Deputy National Editor Ethan Bronner

Former Military and Diplomacy Correspondent Michael R. Gordon

Columnist Nicholas D. Kristof

Columnist Steven L. Rattner

### **New York Times Magazine**

Contributing Writer Kwame Anthony Appiah

Contributing Writer Mattathias Schwartz

### **The New York Sun**

Founder and Editor Seth Lipsky

**NTN24** (Nuestra Tele Noticias 24), Colombian free-to-air television news channel

*Efecto Naim* Host Moisés Naim

### **Politico Magazine**

#### **Contributing Editors**

- Ian Bremmer
- David Greenberg
- Zachary Karabell

### **Proceedings/U.S. Naval Institute**

#### **Board Members**

- Chair Robert O. Work
- Chair Emeritus Admiral James G. Stavridis, USN (Ret.)
- Admiral Thad W. Allen, USCG (Ret.)
- Christine H. Fox
- Kathleen H. Hicks
- Michael M. Wiseman

### **Reuters**

President and Editor-in-Chief Stephen J. Adler

Global Editor Alix Freedman

### **South China Morning Post**

Guest Contributor David Shambaugh

### **Syndicated Columnists**

Max Boot

Thomas L. Friedman

Francis Fukuyama

Jesse Jackson

Andrés Oppenheimer

Daniel Pipes

Bill Press

Fareed Zakaria

### **Time**

Washington Bureau Chief and Senior Correspondent Massimo

Calabresi

Foreign Affairs Columnist and Editor-at-Large Ian Bremmer

### **Contributors**

- Melissa Chan
- Walter S. Isaacson
- Angelina Jolie
- Jon Meacham

### **Townsquare Media, Inc.**

Executive Chairman Steven Price

### **Univision**

Chief Legal and Corporate Affairs Officer Jonathan D. Schwartz

### **USA Today**

Member of the Board of Contributors David A. Andelman

### **U.S. News & World Report**

Publisher and Editor Mortimer B. Zuckerman

Executive Chairman Eric Gertler

### **ViacomCBS**

Political Contributor and former *Face the Nation* Anchor Bob Schieffer

CBS News Senior Foreign Affairs Correspondent and *Face the Nation* Moderator Margaret M. Brennan

CBS News Correspondent Jacqueline Adams

CBS News Contributor Nicholas Thompson

CBSN Anchor and Correspondent Reena Ninan

*CBS Sunday Morning* Correspondent Martha A. Teichner

*60 Minutes* Correspondent Lesley Stahl

*60 Minutes* Contributor Sanjay K. Gupta, M.D.

### **Walt Disney Company**

(Owner of ABC)

#### **Board Members**

- Michael Froman
- Maria Elena Lagomasino

### **ABC News**

Chief Anchor George R. Stephanopoulos

Chief White House Correspondent Jonathan Karl

### **The Washington Quarterly**

Editor-in-Chief Alexander T. J. Lennon

#### **Editorial Board**

- Michael E. Brown
- Karen Donfried
- Michael J. Green
- Kenneth M. Pollack
- G. John Ikenberry
- Michael A. McFaul
- Joseph S. Nye Jr.
- Meghan O'Sullivan
- Mitchell B. Reiss
- Ashley J. Tellis
- Fareed Zakaria

### **Warner Media, LLC.**

#### **CNN**

Senior Global Affairs Analyst Bianna Golodryga

Anchor and Chief Washington Correspondent Jake Tapper

*CNN Newsroom* Anchor Poppy Harlow

Chief National Security Correspondent and CNN Newsroom

Co-Anchor Jim Sciutto

Chief Medical Correspondent Sanjay Gupta, M.D.

*Fareed Zakaria GPS* Host Fareed Zakaria

CNN Opinion Columnist David A. Andelman

Political and Economic Analyst Edward Alden

Contributor Nicholas D. Kristof

#### **CNN en Español**

*Oppenheimer Presenta* Host Andrés Oppenheimer

#### **HBO**

Co-Executive Producer of HBO series *Veep* Billy Kimball

Co-Producer of *Too Big to Fail* Andrew Ross Sorkin

### **Washington Post**

Foreign Editor Douglas Jehl

Editorial Page Editor Fred Hiatt

Deputy Editorial Page Editor Jackson Diehl

Staff Writer Barton Gellman

#### **Contributors**

- Michael A. McFaul
- Zachary Karabell
- Fareed Zakaria

\*Rupert Murdoch is a former CFR member and no longer appears on the CFR's membership roster.

# CFR MEMBERS IN THINK TANKS, CONSULTING FIRMS, AND NGOS

## American Association for the Advancement of Science

Board Member Robert B. Millard

## American Enterprise Institute

### Board of Trustees

- Ravenel B. Curry III
- John V. Faraci
- Bruce S. Kovner
- John A. Luke Jr.

### Officers

- Director of Foreign and Defense Policy Kori Schake

### National Council

- Russell L. Carson
- Kerry Murphy Healey
- Kenneth A. Hersh
- H. Lee S. Hobson
- Allan B. Hubbard
- Daniel S. Loeb
- Charles M. Pigott
- Steven Price
- Craig McCaw
- Susan R. McCaw
- Robert Rosenkranz
- Steven A. Tananbaum
- James S. Tisch
- Glenn A. Youngkin

### Scholars

- Samuel J. Abrams
- Nicholas Eberstadt
- R. Glenn Hubbard
- Oriana Skylar Mastro
- Neil Narang
- Norman J. Ornstein
- Kenneth M. Pollack
- Vincent R. Reinhart
- Kori Schake
- Paul D. Wolfowitz
- Katherine Zimmerman

## Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

CEO Mark Suzman

President of Global Development Christopher Elias

President of U.S. Program Allan Golston  
Global Development Director of Family Planning Ann Starrs

## Brookings Institution

### Board of Trustees

- Co-Chair Glenn H. Hutchins
- Co-Chair Suzanne F. Johnson
- Secretary Tracy R. Wolstencroft
- President John R. Allen
- Robert J. Abernethy
- Abby Joseph Cohen
- Betsy Z. Cohen
- Bart Friedman
- Ellen V. Futter
- Helene D. Gayle
- David J. Grain
- Kenneth M. Jacobs
- Laxman Narasimhan
- Lee J. Stysling III
- Andrew H. Tisch
- Ercument Eric Tokat
- Antoine W. van Agtmael
- David B. Weinberg
- John H. White Jr.

### Senior Trustees

- Zoë Baird

- Alan R. Batkin
- Richard C. Blum
- Howard E. Cox
- Steven A. Denning
- Kenneth M. Duberstein
- Ann M. Fudge
- William A. Haseltine
- Donald F. McHenry
- Steven L. Ratner
- James D. Robinson III
- Daniel H. Yergin

### Lifetime Trustees

- Chairman Emeritus James A. Johnson
- Chairman Emeritus David M. Rubenstein
- Chairman Emeritus John L. Thornton
- Kenneth W. Dam
- Thomas E. Donilon
- Cyrus F. Freidheim
- Henry Louis Gates Jr.
- Teresa Heinz (Kerry)
- Shirley Ann Jackson Ph.D.
- Vernon E. Jordan Jr.

### Leadership

- President Gen. John R. Allen, USMC (Ret.)
- Vice President of Strategy and Operations Jennifer Berlin
- Vice President of Communications Emily Horne

### Experts

- Gen. John R. Allen, USMC (Ret.)
- Hady A. Amr
- Alan S. Blinder
- Ralph C. Bryant
- Richard C. Bush
- Thomas J. Christensen
- Susan M. Collins
- Peter M. Conti-Brown
- David T. Dreier
- Daniel W. Drezner
- William Drozdiak
- Robert J. Einhorn
- Vanda Felbab-Brown
- Paul Gewirtz
- James M. Goldgeier
- Ryan L. Hass
- Fiona Hill
- Benjamin F. Jones
- Richard A. Joseph
- Marvin Kalb
- Elaine C. Kamarck
- Mara E. Karlin
- Cameron F. Kerry
- Amit K. Khandelwal
- Elizabeth M. King
- James Kirchick
- Donald L. Kohn
- Steven R. Koltai
- Cheng Li
- Kenneth G. Lieberthal
- Robert E. Litan
- Abraham F. Lowenthal
- Thomas E. Mann
- John E. McLaughlin
- Molly Montgomery
- Richard M. Nephew
- Michael O'Hanlon
- Thomas R. Pickering
- Steven Pifer
- Jonathan D. Pollack
- Robert C. Pozen
- Douglas A. Rediker
- Evans J.R. Revere
- General Lori J. Robinson, USAF (Ret.)
- Angela E. Stent
- Todd D. Stern

- Jonathan R. Stromseth
- Strobe Talbott
- Caitlin Talmadge
- Daniel K. Tarullo
- Shibley Telhami
- Susan A. Thornton
- Zach Vertin
- David G. Victor
- John Villaseñor
- Tamara Cofman Wittes
- Janet L. Yellen

## Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

### Leadership

- President William J. Burns
- Vice President for Studies Evan A. Feigenbaum
- Vice President for Studies Andrew S. Weiss
- Chief of Staff Matan Chorev

### Experts

- Salman S. Ahmed
- Abigail S. Bellows
- Jarrett N. Blanc
- Martha Finnemore
- Rose E. Gottemoeller
- Christopher R. Hill
- Peter Kellner
- John F. Kerry
- Jessica T. Matthews
- Brett H. McGurk
- Evan S. Medeiros
- Aaron David Miller
- Moisés Naim
- Douglas H. Paal
- Jennifer R. Psaki
- Eugene B. Rumer
- Rexon Y. Ryu
- James C. Schwemlein
- Ashley J. Tellis

## Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University

Co-Director Colin H. Kahl  
Co-Director Amy B. Zegart

## Center for Media, Data and Society at Central European University

Advisory Board Member Ellen Hume

## Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS)

### Board of Trustees

- Chairman Thomas J. Pritzker
- Chairman Emeritus Sam Nunn
- President and CEO John J. Hamre
- Brendan P. Bechtel
- Erskine B. Bowles
- Sue M. Cobb
- William S. Cohen
- Lester Crown
- William M. Daley
- Helene D. Gayle
- Evan G. Greenberg
- Maurice R. Greenberg
- Benjamin W. Heineman Jr.
- John B. Hess
- Carla A. Hills
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Joseph S. Nye Jr.
- William K. Reilly

- Bob Schieffer
- Brent Scowcroft
- Frederick W. Smith
- Frances Fragos Townsend

### Corporate Officers

- President and CEO John J. Hamre
- Vice President and Director, Diversity and Leadership in International Affairs Project Talia Dubovi
- Senior Vice President, Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy, and Director, Middle East Program Jon B. Alterman
- Senior Vice President for Asia and Japan Chair Michael J. Green
- Senior Vice President, Simon Chair in Political Economy, and Senior Adviser for Asian Economics Matthew P. Goodman
- Senior Vice President, Henry A. Kissinger Chair, and Director, International Security Program Kathleen H. Hicks
- Senior Vice President and Director, Global Health Policy Center J. Stephen Morrison
- Senior Vice President, William A. Schreyer Chair and Director, Project on Prosperity and Development Daniel F. Runde

### Counselors

- William H. Frist
- Carla A. Hills
- Henry A. Kissinger
- Sam Nunn
- Brent Scowcroft
- John W. Warner

### Experts

- Jon B. Alterman
- Victor D. Cha
- Melissa Dalton
- Talia Dubovi
- Alice Hunt Friend
- Bonnie S. Glaser
- Matthew P. Goodman
- Michael J. Green
- Rebecca K. Hersman
- Kathleen H. Hicks
- J. Stephen Morrison
- Daniel F. Runde

## CSIS Commission on Strengthening America's Health Security

- U.S. Representative Ami Bera (D-Calif.)
- Steve Davis
- Tom Frieden, M.D.
- Gen. Carter F. Ham, U.S. Army (Ret.)
- Margaret Hamburg, M.D.
- Rebecca K. Hersman
- Laura S.H. Holgate
- Jimmy Kolker
- Juan C. Zarate

## Center for the National Interest

President and CEO Dimitri K. Simes

### Board of Directors

- Honorary Chairman Henry A. Kissinger
- Chairman Emeritus Maurice R. Greenberg
- Vice Chairman Drew J. Guff
- Vice Chairman Richard L. Plepler
- Vice Chairman Dov S. Zakheim
- Graham Allison
- Jeffrey Bewkes
- Richard R. Burt
- Admiral Michael G. Mullen, USN (Ret.)
- Grover G. Norquist
- J. Robinson West
- David W. Zalznick

continued on page 22



continued from page 21

**Advisory Council**

- Evan G. Greenberg
- Bob Kerrey
- John D. Negroponte
- Lee A. Feinstein
- R. Pickering

**Directors**

- Senior Director on China and the Pacific Lt. General Wallace C. Gregson Jr.
- Senior Director of Regional Security Programs Geoffrey Kemp

**The Century Foundation****Board of Trustees**

- Jonathan H. Alter
- Lewis B. Kaden
- Bob Kerrey
- Richard Ravitch

**Experts**

- Daniel P. Benaim
- Barton Gellman
- Stephen Schlesinger
- Daniel Weiss

**Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University**

Director and Senior Fellow Michael

A. McFaul

Director, Stanford Internet Observatory

Alex Stamos

**Faculty Lecturers/Professors**

- Michael H. Armacost
- Coit D. Blacker
- Mariano-Florentino Cuéllar
- Eileen C. Donahoe
- Rose E. Gottemoeller
- Stephen D. Krasner
- Brett H. McGurk
- Scott D. Sagan
- Jeremy M. Weinstein
- Amy B. Zegart

**Experts**

- Coit D. Blacker
- Larry Diamond
- James D. Fearon
- Francis Fukuyama
- Siegfried S. Hecker
- Colin H. Kahl
- Lt. General H.R. McMaster, U.S. Army (Ret.)
- Condoleezza Rice
- Jeremy M. Weinstein
- Amy B. Zegart

**George W. Bush Presidential Center****Board of Directors**

- Kenneth A. Hersh
- Jeanne L. Phillips

**Leadership**

- President and CEO Kenneth A. Hersh
- Director, Bush Institute-Southern Methodist University Economic Growth Initiative J. H. Cullum Clark

**Advisors and Fellows**

- Nicole M. Bibbins Sedaca
- Victor D. Cha

**Global Justice Center**

President Akila Radhakrishnan

**Hudson Institute****Leadership**

- Senior Vice President Lewis Libby

**Board of Trustees**

- Chairman Emeritus Walter P. Stern
- Chair Marie-Josée Kravis
- Jack David

**Experts**

- Director of the Center for Global Prosperity

Carol C. Adelman

- Jack David
- Douglas J. Feith
- Bruce P. Jackson
- Melanie Kirkpatrick
- Marie-Josée Kravis
- Andrew F. Krepinevich Jr.
- Tod Lindberg
- Director for Chinese Strategy Michael Pillsbury
- Mario Mancuso
- Japan Chair H.R. McMaster
- Russell Mead
- Heather Nauert
- William R. Rhodes
- Nadia Schadlow
- William Schneider Jr.
- Brig. Gen. Robert S. Spalding III (USAF)

**International Republican Institute****Board of Directors**

- Chairman U.S. Senator Daniel R. Sullivan (R-Alaska)
- U.S. Representative Kay Granger (R-Texas)
- James T. Kolbe
- Lt. General H. R. McMaster, U.S. Army (Ret.)
- Kristen Silverberg
- Frances Fragos Townsend
- Olin L. Wethington

**Experts**

- Chief Operations Officer Daniel W. Fisk

**International Advisory Council**

- Paula J. Dobriansky

**National Democratic Institute****Board of Directors**

- Chairman Madeleine K. Albright
- Vice Chair Thomas A. Daschle
- Vice Chair Marc B. Nathanson
- Chairman Emeritus Walter F. Mondale
- Secretary Tamara Cofman Wittes
- Bernard W. Aronson
- J. Brian Atwood
- Elizabeth Frawley Bagley
- Howard L. Berman
- Richard C. Blum
- Johnnie Carson
- Jim O'Brien
- Nancy H. Rubin
- Maurice Tempelsman
- Maureen White

**Senior Advisory Committee**

- Bill Bradley
- Christopher J. Dodd
- Richard A. Gephardt
- Donald F. McHenry
- Chuck Robb

**Headquarter Leadership**

- Director for Democracy and Technology Moira Whelan

**Ambassadors Circle**

- Jeffrey L. Bleich
- Mark F. Brzezinski
- Ertharin Cousin
- Charles H. Rivkin
- Tod Sedgwick

**United States Energy Security Council**

- Norman R. Augustine
- Gen. Wesley Clark, U.S. Army (Ret.)
- C. Boyden Gray
- Alan Greenspan
- John F. Lehman
- William J. Perry
- James G. Roche
- George P. Shultz

**Institute for the Analysis of Global Security**USC Co-Founder Robert C. McFarlane  
Adviser Kenneth M. Pollack**Kissinger Associates, Inc.**Chairman Henry A. Kissinger  
Vice Chairman Robert D. Hormats  
President Jami Miscik  
Vice President Alan R. Batkin**London Center for Policy Research**Senior Fellow Monica Crowley  
Senior Fellow Deroy Murdock**New America**

CEO Anne-Marie Slaughter

**U.S. Naval Institute****Board of Directors**

- Chair Robert O. Work
- Chair Emeritus Admiral James G. Stavridis, USN (Ret.)
- Admiral Thad W. Allen, USCG (Ret.)
- Christine H. Fox
- Kathleen H. Hicks

**Board of Trustees**

- Vice Chair Michael M. Wiseman

**Washington Institute for Near East Policy****Board of Directors**

- Chairman Emeritus Howard P. Berkowitz
- Chairman Emeritus Martin J. Gross
- Senior Vice President Walter P. Stern
- Executive Director Robert Satloff
- Roger Hertog

**Fellows**

- Simon Henderson
- Matthew A. Levitt
- David Makovsky

**Adjuncts**

- J. Scott Carpenter
- Sarah J. Feuer

**World Press Institute**Vice President and Director Claude Erbsen  
Board Member James Fallows**Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars****Board of Trustees**

- Peter J. Beshar

**Staff Leadership**

- President and CEO Jane Harman
- Senior Vice President and Director of International Security Studies Robert S. Litwak
- Director, Asia Program Abraham M. Denmark

**Experts**

- Daniel P. Ahn
- Peter I. Belk
- Ruth Greenspan Bell
- Alan D. Bersin
- Abraham M. Denmark
- Jill Dougherty
- Haleh Esfandiari
- Benjamin N. Gedan
- Sherri Goodman
- Jane Harman
- John Hamilton
- Jan H. Kalicki
- Robert S. Litwak
- Oriana Skylar Mastro
- Aaron David Miller
- Diana V. Negroponte

- Joshua Shiffrin
- Michael H. Van Dusen
- John Van Oudenaren
- Robin Wright
- Earl Anthony Wayne
- Samuel F. Wells Jr.
- Kenneth S. Yalowit
- Ricardo Zúñiga

**HEALTH AND MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS****ACCESS Health International****Executive Leadership**

Chair and President William Haseltine, Ph.D.

**Board of Directors**

- Chair and President William Haseltine, Ph.D.
- Margaret Crotty
- Robert D. Hormats

**American College of Physicians****Research Fellows**

- Adel A.F. Mahmoud, M.D.
- Margaret Hamburg, M.D.

**Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)**

Former Director (2009 – 2017) Tom Frieden, M.D.

**Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations**

Chair of the Joint Coordinating Group Margaret Hamburg, M.D.

**Global Health Policy Center at the CSIS**

Director J. Stephen Morrison

**Harvard Medical School**

Associate Professor of Medicine Vanessa B. Kerry, M.D.

**Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation at the University of Washington**

Assistant Professor of Health Metrics Sciences Vin Gupta, M.D.

**National Academic of Medicine**

Foreign Secretary Margaret Hamburg, M.D.

**Resolve to Save Lives**

President and CEO Tom Frieden, M.D.

**Seed Global Health**

Founder and CEO Vanessa B. Kerry, M.D.

**U.S. Food and Drug Administration**

Commissioner (2009 – 2015) Margaret Hamburg, M.D.

# NORTH AMERICAN MEMBERS OF THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION

## Executive Committee

North American Chairman Meghan O'Sullivan  
North American Deputy Chairman Herminio Blanco Mendoza  
North American Deputy Chairman Carole Taylor  
North American Honorary Chairman Paul Volcker  
North American Director Richard Fontaine  
Deputy North American Director Michael Greenwald

## North American Group

Bertrand-Marc Allen  
Graham Allison  
Rona Ambrose  
Bruce Andrews  
Doug Beck  
Michael Beckerman  
Catherine Bertini  
Herminio Blanco Mendoza  
Tony Blinken  
Michael Bloomberg  
Ian Bremmer  
Esther Brimmer  
Mark Brzezinski  
R. Nicholas Burns  
Steve Bunnell  
Ash Carter  
Jean Charest  
Michael Chertoff  
Raymond Chrétien

Jared Cohen  
Timothy Collins  
Richard N. Cooper  
Heidi Crebo-Rediker  
Helima Croft  
Lee Cullum  
Luis de la Calle  
Arthur A. DeFehr  
André Desmarais  
James T. Demetriades  
John M. Deutch  
Paula J. Dobriansky  
Wendy Dobson  
Gary Doer  
Thomas Donilon  
Kenneth M. Duberstein  
Michael Duffy  
Douglas Elmendorf  
Richard Falkenrath  
Dawn Farrell  
Diana Farrell  
Larry Fink  
Linda Frum  
Juan Gallardo  
David R. Gergen  
Gordon Giffin  
Donald Gogel  
Jamie S. Gorelick  
Bill Graham  
Donald Graham  
Peter Harder  
Jane Harman  
Linda Hasenfrazz  
Alexandra Haas-Paciuc

Kerry Healey  
Carlos Heredia  
Fiona Hill  
Carla A. Hills  
Karen Elliott House  
Joseph K. Hurd, III  
David Ignatius  
Merit E. Janow  
P. Thomas Jenkins  
Robert Johnston  
Lewis Kaden  
Andy Karsner  
Juliette Kayyem  
Timothy Keating  
Robert M. Kimmitt  
Henry A. Kissinger  
Scott Kleinman  
Nicholas D. Kristof  
Stephanie Kusie  
Fred Langhammer  
Monique Leroux  
Leonard Levie  
Marne Levine  
Santiago Levy  
David Lipton  
Linda Koch Lorimer  
John Manley  
James Manyika  
Judith A. McHale  
Thomas F. McLarty, III  
Lourdes Melgar  
Antonio Ortiz-Mena  
Jami Miscik  
Andrea Mitchell

Admiral Michael Mullen, USN (Ret.)  
Heather Munroe-Blum  
Lori Esposito Murray  
Scott Nathan  
John D. Negroponte  
Michelle Nunn  
Joseph S. Nye, Jr.  
Ben Nye  
Michael Olshan  
Meghan L. O'Sullivan  
Eric Pelletier  
David Petraeus  
John A. Quelch  
John Risley  
David M. Rubenstein  
Luis Rubio  
Wayne Saftro  
Indira Samarasekera  
David E. Sanger  
Eric Schmidt  
Susan Schwab  
Gerald Seib (Jerry Seib)  
Jaime Serra  
Rajiv Shah  
Wendy Sherman  
Jeffrey Simpson  
Olympia Snowe  
Cecilia Soto Gonzalez  
Nancy Southern  
James B. Steinberg  
Bret Stephens  
Jake Sullivan  
Carole Taylor  
Luis Téllez Kuenzler

G. Richard Thoman  
Michael Tiedemann  
Frances Fragos Townsend  
Louis Vega  
Melanne Verveer  
Guillermo F. Vogel  
Paul A. Volcker  
Yuen Pau Woo  
Robert Zoellick  
Daniel Yergin

## David Rockefeller Fellows

Alesha Black  
David Borcsok  
Jessica Brandt  
Elisa Lavore Fanjul  
Jessica Ji Eun Lee  
Laura McGee  
Tzitz Morán  
Latham Saddler  
Loren DeJonge Schulman  
Andrew Sweet  
Samantha Vinograd  
Joshua W. Walker  
Ali Wyne  
Juan Pablo Zorrilla

## Former Members in Public Service

Lael Brainard — U.S. Federal Reserve Board of Governors  
Ken Juster — U.S. Ambassador to India

# CORPORATE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

## Founders

AT&T  
Bank of America  
Chevron  
Citi Bank  
ExxonMobil  
Facebook  
Goldman Sachs  
Google  
Hess  
JPMorgan Chase & Co.  
Moody's  
Morgan Stanley  
Nasdaq  
Pepsico  
President's Circle  
American Express  
BlackRock  
Blackstone  
Bloomberg Philanthropies  
Bridgewater Associates, LP  
Dell Technologies  
Deutsche Bank AG  
DXC Technology  
Eni  
General Atlantic

GoldenTree Asset Management  
Lazard  
Luksic Group  
Mastercard  
McKinsey & Company  
PayPal  
Reliance Industries Limited  
S&P Global  
Shell  
Snap Inc.  
Standard Chartered Bank  
Terna  
Thomson Reuters  
Värde Partners  
Veritas Capital Fund Management LLC  
Warburg Pincus

## Affiliates

Acacia Partners  
Allen & Overy LLP  
American International Group  
Amgen, Inc.  
Apollo Management, LP  
Applied Materials, Inc.  
Baker, Nye Advisors, Inc.  
BASF Corporation

Beaumont Health  
BNY Mellon  
The Boeing Company  
Booz Allen Hamilton Inc.  
BP p.l.c.  
Centerview Partners  
Chesapeake Energy  
Chiomenti  
Chubb Limited  
Cigna  
Clayton, Dubilier & Rice, LLC  
CNA  
ConocoPhillips Company  
Corsair Capital  
Covington & Burling  
Craig Drill Capital Corporation  
Deere & Company  
Deloitte  
The D. E. Shaw Group  
Energy Intelligence Group, Inc.  
The Estée Lauder Companies Inc.  
EY Geostrategic Business Group  
FedEx Corporation  
Fidia Holding SpA  
First Eagle Investment Management  
Fitch Ratings

Freeport-McMoRan Inc.  
GardaWorld Federal Services  
Guidehouse  
Harman International Industries, Inc.  
Hellman & Friedman  
Hitachi, Ltd.  
Houlihan Lokey  
IBM Corporation  
Indus Capital Partners, LLC  
Investcorp International, Inc.  
Invus Group, LLC  
ITOCHU International Inc.  
Jacobs Asset Management, LLC  
Johnson & Johnson  
JunHe LLP  
Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.  
LionTree LLC  
MacAndrews & Forbes Incorporated  
Mannheim LLC  
Merck & Co., Inc.  
Microsoft Corporation  
Mitsubishi Corporation (Americas)  
Mitsui & Co. (U.S.A.), Inc.  
Moore Capital Management, LP  
Navab Capital Partners  
Northrop Grumman

Oak Hill Capital Partners  
The Olayan Group  
Palantir Technologies  
Pfizer Inc.  
Rassini  
Raytheon Technologies  
salesforce.com, inc.  
Siguler Guff & Company L.P.  
Silver Lake Partners  
Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP  
SK hynix America Inc.  
Standard Industries  
Stone Canyon Industries  
Sullivan & Cromwell LLP  
Suntory Holdings Limited  
Tata Sons Private Limited  
Tishman Speyer Properties, Inc.  
Total Washington DC Representative Office, LLC  
Toyota Motor Corporation  
Unipol Gruppo S.p.A.  
United Airlines  
U.S. Chamber of Commerce  
Walmart  
Wells Fargo  
Western Union  
White & Case LLP

# RISING CFR INFLUENCE: From 1929 to Present

The historic dominance of the Council on Foreign Relations over the government of the United States. CFR members in the last 15 presidential administrations are indicated below by bold italicized type.

	1929-1933	1933-1945	1945-1953	1953-1961		1961-1963	1963-1969	1969-1977	1977-1981	1981-1989	1989-1993	1993-2001	2001-2009	2009-2017	2017-Present
President	<b>Herbert Hoover</b>	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Harry S. Truman	<b>Dwight D. Eisenhower</b>		<b>John F. Kennedy</b>	Lyndon B. Johnson	<b>Richard M. Nixon ('69-'74)</b> <b>Gerald R. Ford ('74-'77)</b>	<b>James E. Carter</b>	Ronald W. Reagan	<b>George H. W. Bush</b>	<b>William J. Clinton</b>	George W. Bush	Barack H. Obama	Donald J. Trump
Vice President	Charles Curtis	John Nance Garner Henry Wallace Harry S. Truman	Alben W. Barkley	<b>Richard M. Nixon</b>		Lyndon B. Johnson	<b>Hubert H. Humphrey</b>	Spiro T. Agnew <b>Gerald R. Ford</b> <b>Nelson Rockefeller</b>	<b>Walter F. Mondale</b>	<b>George H. W. Bush</b>	Dan Quayle	Albert Gore Jr.	<b>Richard B. Cheney</b>	Joseph R. Biden Jr.	Michael R. Pence
CIA Director	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	Sidney W. Souers Hoyt S. Vandenberg Roscoe H. Hillenkoetter <b>Gen. Walter Bedell Smith</b>	<b>Gen. Walter Bedell Smith</b> <b>Allen W. Dulles</b>		<b>Allen W. Dulles</b> <b>John A. McCone</b>	<b>John A. McCone</b> Adm. William F. Raborn Jr. <b>Richard M. Helms</b>	<b>Richard M. Helms</b> <b>James R. Schlesinger</b> <b>William E. Colby</b> <b>George H. W. Bush</b>	<b>Adm. Stansfield Turner</b>	<b>William J. Casey</b> <b>William H. Webster</b>	<b>William H. Webster</b> <b>Robert M. Gates</b>	<b>R. James Woolsey</b> <b>John M. Deutch</b> <b>George J. Tenet</b>	<b>George J. Tenet</b> Porter J. Goss <b>Gen. Michael V. Hayden</b>	<b>Gen. Michael V. Hayden</b> Leon E. Panetta <b>Gen. David H. Petraeus</b> John Brennan	John Brennan Mike Pompeo Gina Haspel
National Security Advisor	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	Robert Cutler <b>Dillon Anderson</b> <b>William H. Jackson</b> <b>Gordon Gray</b>		<b>McGeorge Bundy</b>	<b>McGeorge Bundy</b> <b>Walt W. Rostow</b>	<b>Henry Kissinger</b> <b>Brent Scowcroft</b>	<b>Zbigniew Brzezinski</b>	Richard V. Allen William P. Clark <b>Robert C. McFarlane</b> John M. Poindexter <b>Frank C. Carlucci III</b> <b>Gen. Colin L. Powell</b>	<b>Brent Scowcroft</b>	<b>W. Anthony Lake</b> <b>Samuel R. Berger</b>	<b>Condoleezza Rice</b> <b>Stephen J. Hadley</b>	Gen. James L. Jones <b>Thomas E. Donilon</b> <b>Susan E. Rice</b>	Gen. Michael T. Flynn <b>Gen. Herbert R. McMaster</b> <b>John R. Bolton</b> Robert C. O'Brien Jr.
National Economic Advisor	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	<b>Edwin G. Nourse</b> Leon H. Keyserling	<b>Arthur F. Burns</b> Raymond J. Saulnier		Walter W. Heller	Walter W. Heller Gardner Ackley <b>Arthur M. Okun</b>	<b>Paul W. McCracken</b> Herbert Stein <b>Alan Greenspan</b>	<b>Charles L. Schultze</b>	<b>Murray L. Weidenbaum</b> <b>Martin Feldstein</b> Beryle W. Sprinkel	Michael J. Boskin	<b>Laura D'Andrea Tyson</b> <b>Joseph E. Stiglitz</b> <b>Janet L. Yellen</b> Martin N. Baily	<b>R. Glenn Hubbard</b> N. Gregory Mankiw Harvey S. Rosen Ben S. Bernanke Edward P. Lazear	Christina D. Romer Austan D. Goolsbee Alan B. Krueger <b>Jason Furman</b>	Kevin A. Hassett
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare/ Secretary of Health and Human Services	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	Ovetta Culp Hobby <b>Marion B. Folsom</b> Arthur S. Flemming		<b>Abraham A. Ribicoff</b> Anthony J. Celebrezze	Anthony J. Celebrezze <b>John W. Gardner</b> Wilbur J. Cohen	Robert H. Finch <b>Elliot L. Richardson</b> <b>Caspar W. Weinberger</b> F. David Matthews	<b>Joseph A. Califano Jr.</b> <b>Patricia Roberts Harris</b>	Richard S. Schweiker Margaret M. Heckler Otis R. Bowen	Louis W. Sullivan	<b>Donna E. Shalala</b>	<b>Tommy G. Thompson</b> Michael O. Leavitt	Kathleen Sebelius <b>Sylvia M. Burwell</b>	Thomas E. Price Alex Azar
Secretary of the Treasury	<b>Andrew W. Mellon</b> <b>Ogden L. Mills</b>	<b>William H. Woodin</b> <b>Henry Morgenthau Jr.</b>	<b>Henry Morgenthau Jr.</b> Fred M. Vinson John W. Snyder	George M. Humphrey <b>Robert B. Anderson</b>		<b>C. Douglas Dillon</b>	<b>C. Douglas Dillon</b> <b>Henry H. Fowler</b> Joseph W. Barr	<b>David M. Kennedy</b> John B. Connally <b>George P. Schultz</b> <b>William E. Simon</b>	<b>W. Michael Blumenthal</b> <b>G. William Miller</b>	<b>Donald T. Regan</b> James A. Baker III <b>Nicholas F. Brady</b>	<b>Nicholas F. Brady</b>	<b>Lloyd Bentsen</b> <b>Robert E. Rubin</b> <b>Lawrence H. Summers</b>	Paul H. O'Neill John W. Snow <b>Henry M. Paulson Jr.</b>	<b>Timothy F. Geithner</b> <b>Jacob J. Lew</b>	Steven T. Mnuchin
Federal Reserve Board Chairman	Roy A. Young <b>Eugene Meyer</b>	<b>Eugene Meyer</b> <b>Eugene R. Black</b> Marriner S. Eccles	Marriner S. Eccles <b>Thomas B. McCabe</b> <b>William McChesney Martin Jr.</b>	<b>William McChesney Martin Jr.</b>		<b>William McChesney Martin Jr.</b>	<b>William McChesney Martin Jr.</b>	<b>William McChesney Martin Jr.</b> <b>Arthur F. Burns</b>	<b>Arthur F. Burns</b> <b>G. William Miller</b> <b>Paul Volcker</b>	<b>Paul Volcker</b> <b>Alan Greenspan</b>	<b>Alan Greenspan</b>	<b>Alan Greenspan</b>	<b>Alan Greenspan</b> Ben S. Bernanke	<b>Janet L. Yellen</b>	<b>Janet L. Yellen</b> <b>Jerome H. Powell</b>
Secretary of Commerce and Labor/Secretary of Commerce	Robert P. Lamont Roy D. Chapin	Daniel C. Roper Harry L. Hopkins Jesse H. Jones Henry A. Wallace	Henry A. Wallace <b>W. Averell Harriman</b> Charles W. Sawyer	Sinclair Weeks Frederick H. Mueller		Luther H. Hodges	Luther H. Hodges <b>John T. Connor</b> <b>Alexander B. Trowbridge III</b> C. R. Smith	Maurice H. Stans <b>Peter G. Peterson</b> Frederick B. Dent Rogers C. B. Morton <b>Elliot L. Richardson</b>	<b>Juanita M. Kreps</b> Philip M. Klutznick	<b>H. Malcolm Baldrige Jr.</b> C. William Verity	C. William Verity <b>Robert A. Mosbacher</b> <b>Barbara H. Franklin</b>	<b>Ronald H. Brown</b> <b>Mickey Kantor</b> <b>William M. Daley</b> Norman Y. Mineta	Donald L. Evans Carlos M. Gutierrez	Gary F. Locke <b>John E. Bryson</b> <b>Penny S. Pritzker</b>	Wilbur L. Ross Jr.
U.S. Trade Representative	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST		<b>Christian A. Herter</b>	<b>Christian A. Herter</b> William M. Roth	Carl J. Gilbert <b>William D. Eberle</b> Frederick B. Dent	<b>Alan Wm. Wolff</b> <b>Robert S. Strauss</b> Reubin O'D. Askew	<b>William E. Brock III</b> Clayton K. Yeutter	<b>Carla A. Hills</b>	<b>Michael Kantor</b> <b>Charlene Barshefsky</b>	<b>Robert B. Zoellick</b> Rob Portman <b>Susan C. Schwab</b>	Ronald Kirk <b>Michael B. Froman</b>	<b>Robert E. Lighthizer</b>
Secretary of War/ Secretary of Defense	James W. Good Gen. Patrick J. Hurley	George H. Dern Harry H. Woodring <b>Henry L. Stimson</b>	<b>Henry L. Stimson</b> <b>Robert P. Patterson</b> Kenneth C. Royall <b>James V. Forrestal</b> Louis A. Johnson George C. Marshall <b>Robert A. Lovett</b>	Charles E. Wilson <b>Neil H. McElroy</b> <b>Thomas S. Gates Jr.</b>		<b>Robert S. McNamara</b>	<b>Robert S. McNamara</b> Clark M. Clifford	<b>Melvin R. Laird</b> <b>Elliot L. Richardson</b> <b>James R. Schlesinger</b> <b>Donald H. Rumsfeld</b>	<b>Harold Brown</b>	<b>Caspar W. Weinberger</b> <b>Frank C. Carlucci III</b>	<b>Richard B. Cheney</b>	<b>Leslie Aspin</b> <b>Joseph J. Perry</b> <b>William S. Cohen</b>	<b>Donald H. Rumsfeld</b> <b>Robert M. Gates</b>	<b>Robert M. Gates</b> Leon E. Panetta Chuck Hagel <b>Ashton B. Carter</b>	Gen. James N. Mattis <b>Mark T. Esper</b>
Assistant Secretary of War/Deputy Secretary of Defense	Gen. Patrick J. Hurley <b>Frederick H. Payne</b>	Harry H. Woodring Louis A. Johnson <b>Robert P. Patterson</b> <b>John J. McCloy</b> <b>Howard C. Petersen</b>	Stephen T. Early <b>Robert A. Lovett</b> <b>William C. Foster</b>	Roger M. Kyes <b>Robert B. Anderson</b> Reuben B. Robertson Jr. Donald A. Quarles <b>Thomas S. Gates Jr.</b> James H. Douglas Jr.		<b>Roswell L. Gilpatric</b>	<b>Cyrus R. Vance</b> <b>Paul H. Nitze</b>	David Packard <b>D. Kenneth Rush</b> William P. Clements Jr. <b>Robert F. Ellsworth</b>	<b>Charles W. Duncan Jr.</b> W. Graham Claytor Jr.	<b>Frank C. Carlucci III</b> W. Paul Thayer <b>William H. Taft IV</b>	Donald J. Atwood Jr.	<b>William J. Perry</b> <b>John M. Deutch</b> <b>John P. White</b> <b>John J. Hamre</b> Rudy de Leon	Rudy de Leon <b>Paul D. Wolfowitz</b> Gordon R. England	Gordon R. England William J. Lynn III <b>Ashton B. Carter</b> <b>Robert O. Work</b>	<b>Robert O. Work</b> Patrick M. Shanahan David L. Norquist
Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	John H. Ohly Gen. James H. Burns <b>Frank C. Nash</b>	<b>Frank C. Nash</b> <b>H. Struve Hensel</b> <b>Gordon Gray</b> <b>Mansfield D. Sprague</b> <b>John N. Irwin II</b>		<b>Paul H. Nitze</b>	<b>Paul H. Nitze</b> <b>William P. Bundy</b> <b>John T. McNaughton</b> <b>Paul C. Warnke</b> G. Warren Nuttler	G. Warren Nuttler Robert C. Hill Robert Ellsworth Eugene V. McAuliffe	Eugene V. McAuliffe <b>David E. McGiffert</b>	Francis J. West Jr. Richard L. Armitage	Richard L. Armitage James R. Lilley	Charles W. Freeman <b>Joseph S. Nye Jr.</b> Franklin D. Kramer	<b>Peter W. Rodman</b> <b>Mary Beth Long</b>	<b>Alexander R. Vershbow</b> <b>Derek Chollet</b>	Robert Karem Kathryn L. Wheelbarger
Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	Gen. Omar Bradley	Gen. Omar Bradley Adm. Arthur W. Radford Gen. Nathan F. Twining <b>Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer</b>		<b>Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer</b> <b>Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor</b>	<b>Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor</b> Gen. Earle G. Wheeler	Gen. Earle G. Wheeler Adm. Thomas H. Moorer Gen. George S. Brown	Gen. George S. Brown <b>Gen. David C. Jones</b>	<b>Gen. David C. Jones</b> <b>Gen. John W. Vessey Jr.</b> <b>Adm. William Crowe Jr.</b>	<b>Gen. Colin Powell</b>	<b>Gen. Colin Powell</b> <b>Gen. John M. D. Shalikashvili</b> Gen. Henry Hugh Shelton	Gen. Henry Hugh Shelton <b>Gen. Richard Bowman Myers</b> Gen. Peter Pace <b>Adm. Michael Glenn Mullen</b>	<b>Adm. Michael Glenn Mullen</b> Gen. Martin Edward Dempsey Gen. Joseph F. Dunford Jr.	Gen. Joseph F. Dunford Jr. Gen. Mark A. Milley



# RISING CFR INFLUENCE: From 1929 to Present (continued)

CFR members in the last 15 State Departments are indicated below by bold italicized type.

	1929-1933	1933-1945	1945-1953	1953-1961	1961-1963	1963-1969	1969-1977	1977-1981	1981-1989		1989-1993	1993-2001	2001-2009	2009-2017	2017-Present
Secretary of State	Frank B. Kellogg <b>Henry L. Stimson</b>	Cordell Hull <b>Edward R. Stettinius Jr.</b>	James F. Byrnes George C. Marshall <b>Dean G. Acheson</b>	<b>John Foster Dulles</b> <b>Christian A. Herter</b>	<b>Dean Rusk</b>	<b>Dean Rusk</b>	<b>William P. Rogers</b> <b>Henry A. Kissinger</b>	<b>Cyrus R. Vance</b> <b>Edmund S. Muskie</b>	<b>Gen. Alexander M. Haig Jr.</b> <b>George P. Schultz</b>		<b>James A. Baker III</b> <b>Lawrence S. Eagleburger</b>	<b>Warren Christopher</b> <b>Madeleine J. K. Albright</b>	<b>Colin L. Powell</b> <b>Condoleezza Rice</b>	Hillary R. Clinton <b>John F. Kerry</b>	Rex W. Tillerson Michael R. Pompeo
Under Secretary/Deputy Secretary of State	J. Reuben Clark Jr. <b>Joseph P. Cotton</b> William R. Castle Jr.	<b>William Phillips</b> <b>B. Sumner Welles</b> <b>Edward R. Stettinius Jr.</b> <b>Joseph C. Grew</b>	<b>Dean G. Acheson</b> <b>Robert A. Lovett</b> James E. Webb <b>David K. E. Bruce</b>	<b>Walter B. Smith</b> <b>Herbert Hoover Jr.</b> <b>Christian A. Herter</b> <b>C. Douglas Dillon</b>	<b>Chester B. Bowles</b> <b>George W. Ball</b>	<b>George W. Ball</b> <b>Nicholas deB. Katzenbach</b>	<b>Elliot L. Richardson</b> <b>John N. Irwin II</b> <b>D. Kenneth Rush</b> <b>Robert S. Ingersoll</b> <b>Charles W. Robinson</b>	<b>Warren M. Christopher</b>	<b>William P. Clark Jr.</b> <b>Walter J. Stoessel Jr.</b> <b>Kenneth W. Dam</b> <b>John C. Whitehead</b>		<b>Lawrence S. Eagleburger</b>	<b>Clifton R. Wharton Jr.</b> <b>Strobe Talbott</b>	Richard L. Armitage <b>Robert B. Zoellick</b> <b>John D. Negroponte</b>	<b>John D. Negroponte</b> <b>James B. Steinberg</b> <b>William J. Burns</b> <b>Antony J. Blinken</b>	John J. Sullivan <b>Stephen E. Biegun</b>
Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	<b>Robert D. Murphy</b> <b>Livingston T. Merchant</b>	<b>Livingston T. Merchant</b> <b>George C. McGhee</b> <b>W. Averell Harriman</b>	<b>W. Averell Harriman</b> <b>Eugene V. D. Rostow</b>	U. Alexis Johnson William J. Porter <b>Joseph John Sisco</b> <b>Philip C. Habib</b>	<b>Philip C. Habib</b> <b>David D. Newsom</b>	<b>David D. Newsom</b> <b>Walter J. Stoessel Jr.</b> <b>Lawrence S. Eagleburger</b> <b>Michael H. Armacost</b>		<b>Michael H. Armacost</b> <b>Robert M. Kimmitt</b> <b>Arnold L. Kanter</b>	<b>Peter Tarnoff</b> <b>Thomas R. Pickering</b>	<b>Marc I. Grossman</b> <b>R. Nicholas Burns</b> <b>William J. Burns</b>	<b>William J. Burns</b> <b>Wendy R. Sherman</b>	Thomas A. Shannon Jr. Stephen D. Mull David M. Hale
Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	Curtis W. Tarr <b>William H. Donaldson</b> <b>Carlyle E. Maw</b>	<b>Lucy Wilson Benson</b> <b>Matthew Nimetz</b>	James L. Buckley <b>William Schneider Jr.</b> Edward J. Derwinski		<b>Reginald Bartholomew</b> <b>Frank G. Wisner</b>	<b>Lynn E. Davis</b> <b>John D. Holum</b>	<b>John D. Holum</b> <b>John R. Bolton</b> Robert G. Joseph John C. Rood	Ellen O’Kane Tauscher <b>Rose E. Gottemoeller</b> Thomas M. Countryman	Thomas M. Countryman <b>C.S. Eliot Kang</b> <b>Christopher A. Ford</b> Andrea L. Thompson <b>Christopher A. Ford</b>
Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	<b>Dean Rusk</b> John D. Hickerson	John D. Hickerson <b>Robert D. Murphy</b> David McK. Key <b>Francis O. Wilcox</b>	<b>Harlan Cleveland</b>	<b>Harlan Cleveland</b> <b>Joseph John Sisco</b>	<b>Joseph John Sisco</b> <b>Samuel De Palma</b> David H. Popper <b>William B. Buffum</b> <b>Samuel W. Lewis</b>	<b>Samuel W. Lewis</b> <b>Charles W. Maynes</b> Richard Lee McCall Jr.	<b>Elliott Abrams</b> Gregory J. Newell Alan L. Keyes <b>Richard S. Williamson</b>		<b>Richard S. Williamson</b> <b>John R. Bolton</b>	<b>Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.</b> <b>Princeton N. Lyman</b> <b>C. David Welch</b>	<b>Kim R. Holmes</b> <b>Kristen Silverberg</b> Brian H. Hook	<b>Esther D. Brimmer</b> <b>Bathsheba N. Crocker</b>	Kevin E. Moley
Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs	DID NOT EXIST	<b>Nelson A. Rockefeller</b>	<b>Nelson A. Rockefeller</b> <b>Spruille Braden</b> Edward G. Miller Jr.	<b>John M. Cabot</b> <b>Henry F. Holland</b> Roy Richard Rubottom Jr. <b>Thomas C. Mann</b>	<b>Thomas C. Mann</b> Robert F. Woodward <b>Edwin M. Martin</b>	<b>Edwin M. Martin</b> <b>Thomas C. Mann</b> Jack Hood Vaughn <b>A. Lincoln Gordon</b> <b>Covey T. Oliver</b>	<b>Charles A. Meyer</b> <b>Jack B. Kubisch</b> <b>William D. Rogers</b> Harry W. Shlaudeman	Harry W. Shlaudeman <b>Terence A. Todman</b> <b>Viron P. Vaky</b> William G. Bowdler	<b>Thomas O. Enders</b> Langhorne A. Motley <b>Elliott Abrams</b>		<b>Bernard W. Aronson</b>	<b>Bernard W. Aronson</b> <b>Alexander F. Watson</b> Jeffrey S. Davidow Peter F. Romero	Peter F. Romero Otto J. Reich Roger F. Noriega Thomas A. Shannon Jr.	Thomas A. Shannon Jr. <b>Arturo A. Valenzuela</b> <b>Roberta S. Jacobson</b>	Kimberly Breier
Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	George W. Perkins Jr.	<b>Livingston T. Merchant</b> James W. Riddleberger C. Burke Elbrick <b>Livingston T. Merchant</b> <b>Walter C. Dowling</b> <b>Foy D. Kohler</b>	<b>Foy D. Kohler</b> <b>William R. Tyler</b>	<b>William R. Tyler</b> <b>John M. Leddy</b>	<b>John M. Leddy</b> <b>Martin J. Hillenbrand</b> <b>Walter J. Stoessel Jr.</b> <b>Arthur A. Hartman</b>	<b>Arthur A. Hartman</b> <b>George S. Vest</b>	<b>George S. Vest</b> <b>Lawrence S. Eagleburger</b> <b>Richard R. Burt</b> <b>Rozanne L. Ridgway</b>		<b>Rozanne L. Ridgway</b> Raymond G. H. Seitz Thomas M.T. Niles	Thomas M.T. Niles <b>Stephen A. Oxman</b> <b>Richard C. A. Holbrooke</b> <b>John C. Kornblum</b> <b>Marc I. Grossman</b> <b>James F. Dobbins Jr.</b>	<b>James F. Dobbins Jr.</b> A. Elizabeth Jones Daniel Fried	<b>Philip H. Gordon</b> Victoria J. Nuland	A. Wess Mitchell
Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	<b>Dean Rusk</b> <b>W. Walton Butterworth</b> John M. Allison	John M. Allison Walter S. Robertson J. Graham Parsons	J. Graham Parsons Walter P. McConaughy Jr. <b>W. Averell Harriman</b> <b>Roger Hilsman Jr.</b>	<b>Roger Hilsman Jr.</b> <b>William P. Bundy</b>	<b>William P. Bundy</b> Marshall Green G. McMurtrie Godley <b>Robert S. Ingersoll</b> <b>Philip C. Habib</b> <b>Arthur W. Hummel Jr</b>	<b>Arthur W. Hummel Jr.</b> <b>Richard C. A. Holbrooke</b>	John H. Holdridge <b>Paul D. Wolfowitz</b> Gaston J. Sigur Jr.		Gaston J. Sigur Jr. Richard L. Armitage <b>Richard H. Solomon</b> <b>William Clark Jr.</b>	<b>William Clark Jr.</b> <b>Winston Lord</b> <b>Stanley O. Roth</b>	James A. Kelly <b>Christopher R. Hill</b>	<b>Christopher R. Hill</b> <b>Kurt M. Campbell</b> <b>Daniel R. Russel</b>	<b>Daniel R. Russel</b> W. Patrick Murphy David R. Stilwell
Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	<b>George C. McGhee</b> <b>Henry A. Byroade</b>	<b>Henry A. Byroade</b> <b>George V. Allen</b> William M. Rountree G. Lewis Jones	G. Lewis Jones <b>W. Phillips Talbot</b>	<b>W. Phillips Talbot</b> <b>Raymond A. Hare</b> <b>Lucius D. Battle</b> <b>Parker T. Hart</b>	<b>Parker T. Hart</b> <b>Joseph John Sisco</b> <b>Alfred L. Atherton Jr.</b>	<b>Alfred L. Atherton Jr.</b> <b>Harold H. Saunders</b>	<b>Nicholas A. Veliotis</b> <b>Richard W. Murphy</b>		<b>Richard W. Murphy</b> <b>John Hubert Kelly</b> <b>Edward P. Djerejian</b>	<b>Robert H. Pelletreau Jr.</b> <b>Martin S. Indyk</b> Edward S. Walker Jr.	<b>William J. Burns</b> <b>C. David Welch</b>	Jeffrey D. Feltman Anne W. Patterson	David Schenker
UN Ambassador	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	<b>Edward R. Stettinius Jr.</b> Warren R. Austin	<b>Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.</b> <b>James J. Wadsworth</b>	<b>Adlai E. Stevenson II</b>	<b>Adlai E. Stevenson II</b> <b>Arthur J. Goldberg</b> <b>George W. Ball</b> James Russell Wiggins	<b>Charles W. Yost</b> <b>George H. W. Bush</b> <b>John A. Scali</b> <b>Daniel Patrick Moynihan</b> <b>William W. Scranton</b>	<b>Andrew J. Young Jr.</b> <b>Donald F. McHenry</b>	<b>Jeane D. Kirkpatrick</b> Vernon A. Walters		<b>Thomas R. Pickering</b> <b>Edward J. Perkins</b>	<b>Edward J. Perkins</b> <b>Madeleine J. K. Albright</b> <b>William B. Richardson III</b> <b>Richard C. A. Holbrooke</b>	<b>John D. Negroponte</b> John C. Danforth <b>John R. Bolton</b> <b>Zalmay M. Khalilzad</b>	<b>Zalmay M. Khalilzad</b> <b>Susan E. Rice</b> Samantha J. Power	Nikki Haley Kelly D. K. Craft
Ambassador to NATO	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	<b>William H. Draper Jr.</b>	<b>William H. Draper Jr.</b> <b>John C. Hughes</b> <b>George W. Perkins Jr.</b> <b>W. Randolph Burgess</b>	<b>W. Randolph Burgess</b> <b>Thomas K. Finletter</b>	<b>Thomas K. Finletter</b> <b>Harlan Cleveland</b>	<b>Harlan Cleveland</b> <b>Robert F. Ellsworth</b> <b>David M. Kennedy</b> <b>Donald H. Rumsfeld</b> <b>David K. E. Bruce</b> <b>Robert Strausz-Hupé</b>	<b>Robert Strausz-Hupé</b> <b>W. Tapley Bennett Jr.</b>	<b>W. Tapley Bennett Jr.</b> <b>David M. Abshire</b> <b>Alton G. Keel Jr.</b>		<b>Alton G. Keel Jr.</b> <b>William H. Taft IV</b> <b>Reginald Bartholomew</b>	<b>Reginald Bartholomew</b> <b>Robert E. Hunter</b> <b>Alexander R. Vershbow</b>	<b>Alexander R. Vershbow</b> <b>R. Nicholas Burns</b> Victoria J. Nuland Kurt D. Volker	Kurt D. Volker <b>Ivo H. Daalder</b> <b>Douglas E. Lute</b>	Kay Bailey Hutchison
Ambassador to the European Union	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	<b>W. Walton Butterworth</b> <b>John W. Tuthill</b>	<b>John W. Tuthill</b> <b>J. Robert Schaezel</b>	<b>J. Robert Schaezel</b> <b>Joseph A. Greenwald</b> <b>Deane R. Hinton</b>	<b>Deane R. Hinton</b> <b>Thomas O. Enders</b>	<b>Thomas O. Enders</b> George S. Vest J. William Middendorf Alfred H. Kingon		Alfred H. Kingon Thomas M. Niles James F. Dobbins Jr.	James F. Dobbins Jr. <b>Stuart E. Eizenstat</b> A. Vernon Weaver <b>Richard L. Morningstar</b>	<b>Richard L. Morningstar</b> <b>Rockwell A. Schnabel</b> <b>C. Boyden Gray</b> <b>Kristen Silverberg</b>	William E. Kennard <b>Anthony L. Gardner</b>	Gordon Sondland
Ambassador to the United Kingdom	<b>Alanson B. Houghton</b> <b>Charles G. Dawes</b> <b>Andrew W. Mellon</b>	<b>Andrew W. Mellon</b> Robert Worth Bingham Joseph P. Kennedy John G. Winant	John G. Winant <b>W. Averell Harriman</b> <b>Lewis W. Douglas</b> <b>Walter S. Gifford</b>	<b>Winthrop W. Aldrich</b> <b>John Hay Whitney</b>	<b>David K. E. Bruce</b>	<b>David K. E. Bruce</b>	<b>David K. E. Bruce</b> Walter H. Annenberg <b>Elliot L. Richardson</b> <b>Anne L. Armstrong</b>	<b>Anne L. Armstrong</b> <b>Kingman Brewster Jr.</b>	<b>Kingman Brewster Jr.</b> <b>John J. Louis Jr.</b> <b>Charles H. Price II</b>		<b>Charles H. Price II</b> <b>Henry E. Catto Jr.</b> Raymond G. H. Seitz	Raymond G. H. Seitz Adm. William J. Crowe Jr. <b>Philip Lader</b>	<b>Philip Lader</b> William S. Farish III <b>Robert H. Tuttle</b>	<b>Robert H. Tuttle</b> Louis B. Susman Matthew W. Barzun	<b>Robert W. Johnson IV</b>
Ambassador to Russia/USSR	NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS	<b>William Christian Bullitt Jr.</b> Joseph E. Davies <b>Laurence A. Steinhardt</b> <b>Adm. William H. Standley</b> <b>W. Averell Harriman</b>	<b>W. Averell Harriman</b> <b>Gen. Walter B. Smith</b> <b>Adm. Alan G. Kirk</b> <b>George F. Kennan</b>	<b>Charles E. Bohlen</b> <b>Llewellyn E. Thompson Jr.</b>	<b>Llewellyn E. Thompson Jr.</b> <b>Foy D. Kohler</b>	<b>Foy D. Kohler</b> <b>Llewellyn E. Thompson Jr.</b>	<b>Jacob D. Beam</b> <b>Walter J. Stoessel Jr.</b>	Malcolm Toon <b>Thomas J. Watson Jr.</b>	<b>Arthur A. Hartman</b> <b>Jack F. Matlock Jr.</b>		<b>Jack F. Matlock Jr.</b> <b>Robert S. Strauss</b>	<b>Robert S. Strauss</b> <b>Thomas R. Pickering</b> James F. Collins	James F. Collins <b>Alexander R. Vershbow</b> <b>William J. Burns</b> John R. Beyrle	John R. Beyrle <b>Michael A. McFaul</b> John F. Tefft	John F. Tefft <b>Jon M. Huntsman Jr.</b> John J. Sullivan
Chief U.S. Liaison/ Ambassador to the People’s Republic of China (Communist China)	DID NOT EXIST	DID NOT EXIST	NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS	NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS	NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS	NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS	<b>David K. E. Bruce</b> <b>George H. W. Bush</b> <b>Thomas S. Gates Jr.</b>	<b>Thomas S. Gates Jr.</b> Leonard F. Woodcock	Leonard F. Woodcock Arthur W. Hummel Jr. <b>Winston Lord</b>		<b>Winston Lord</b> <b>James R. Lilley</b> <b>J. Stapleton Roy</b>	<b>J. Stapleton Roy</b> <b>James R. Sasser</b> <b>Joseph W. Prueher</b>	<b>Joseph W. Prueher</b> <b>Clark T. Randt Jr.</b>	<b>Jon M. Huntsman Jr.</b> Gary Locke Max Baucus	Terry E. Branstad



# TRUTHFUL. CONSTITUTIONAL. FEARLESS.

The essential news source for  
all freedom-loving Americans.

Based in Appleton, WI



**New American**

## SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

[www.TheNewAmerican.com](http://www.TheNewAmerican.com)