

The Chronicle

Newsletter of the Council on Foreign Relations — April 2013



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A Decade After the U.S. Invasion of Iraq: Costs and Consequences

"Ten years ago, the United States and a few of its allies invaded Iraq, writing the final chapter in Washington's checkered, decades-long relationship with Saddam Hussein," observed Foreign Affairs Editor Gideon Rose on March 19, the tenth anniversary of the start of the war, on ForeignAffairs.com. "Thanks to problems of both conception and execution, the Iraq war ended up becoming the most egregious failure in half a century of American foreign policy, costing a vast amount of blood and treasure for all concerned and tarnishing the United States' reputation for international leadership, honesty, morality, and even basic competence." The magazine's coverage over the course of the war has been collected in an online retrospective. Rose explains, "Before [Iraq] goes down the memory hole entirely, its mistakes bear mulling, lest they be repeated yet again, with comparable consequences."

The Iraq war was "a war of choice that represented a poor choice, poorly implemented," said CFR President Richard N. Haass, in a CFR.org interview. The cost, in U.S. lives, resources, and an unstable Iraq, he maintains, was not worth it. The Iraq campaign, along with the war in Afghanistan and the Vietnam War, shows "the folly of overlooking local realities, be they political, cultural, or historic, and trying to impose our views on these societies and trying to remake these societies using large amounts of American military might."

Meanwhile, questions linger over Iraq's fractious political situation. In a *Los Angeles Times* op-ed, Senior Fellow Max Boot warns that "[Iraqi prime minister] al-Maliki's sectarian acts are causing a violent pushback from Sunnis who are making common cause once again with al-Qaeda in Iraq." The group has recovered to stage violent attacks not only in Iraq but also in Syria. Syrian president Bashar al-Assad is supported by Iran and, implicitly, by Iraq, which has ignored American pleas to stop the flow of Iranian arms across its territory to Syria, Boot explains. "This is a sign that in the Iraq of 2013, the wishes of Tehran are accorded more respect than those of Washington." He concludes, "Americans have a right to ask: We invaded Iraq to achieve . . . this?"



An interactive timeline on CFR.org follows milestones that shaped the conflict in Iraq.

In an Analysis Brief, CFR.org editors selected highlights from a decade of meetings, featuring speakers that include Richard Perle, Gareth Evans, Ahmad Chalabi, Chris Hill, and Hoshyar Zebari.

A CFR.org Issue Guide features expert analysis on issues surrounding the Iraq campaign.

In the Foreign Affairs article "The Iraq We Left Behind," former Edward R. Murrow press fellow Ned Parker writes that the democratic project Washington had envisioned for Iraq is "rapidly fading away," in a country that now resembles "something close to a failed state." According to CFR Adjunct Fellow and former deputy national security adviser for Iraq and Afghanistan Meghan O'Sullivan, "the coming year will not be an easy one for Iraq." The government of Nuri al-Maliki faces a number of challenges, including strong opposition from Sunnis, Kurds, and fellow Shiites, she warns in a CFR. org interview.

A CFR.org Backgrounder details sectarian divisions that have boosted al-Qaeda in Iraq—a long-standing threat to the country's stability—and its growing role in the unrest in neighboring Syria. of r

Corporate Program at 60: Annual Conference Highlights Demographic Trends, Global Hot Spots, and Big Data

"Data is the next natural resource," maintained Ginni Rometty, chairman and CEO of IBM, at the tenth annual Corporate Conference in March. Over three hundred executives from nearly one hundred member companies gathered to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the Corporate Program.

Rometty opened the conference with a conversation on "big data." According to IBM, one of the founding members of CFR's Corporate Program, 2.5 quintillion bytes of data are generated every day. Ninety percent of the world's data was created in the past two years alone—including blog posts, social media sites, digital pictures and videos, purchase transaction records, and cell phone global positioning signals, to name just a few. This is big data. "It's going to be a huge tsunami of information," said Rometty.

"Data will be the basis of competitive advantage for any organization that you run," Rometty stated, adding that it will change how people make decisions and create and deliver value. Many more organizational decisions will be based on "predictive analytics" and not "your gut instinct or experience." Rometty added, "It's going to be a different world."

The rest of the conference followed CFR's not-for-attribution rules. Highlights included:

- U.S. competitiveness, with Evercore Partners' founder and executive chairman Roger C. Altman, CFR President Richard N. Haass, and ABC's Juju Chang
- Global hot spots, with Kissinger Associates Inc. chairman and former U.S. secretary of state Henry A. Kissinger, and CBS's Charlie Rose
- Demographic trends, with George Mason professor Jack Goldstone, McKinsey Global Institute director and McKinsey & Company senior partner Richard Dobbs, and Foreign Affairs Editor Gideon Rose
- The U.S. economy, with former U.S. treasury secretary and CFR Distinguished Fellow Timothy F. Geithner and



Ginni Rometty



Roger C. Altman



Hutham S. Olayan, Isobel Coleman, and Steven A. Cook speaking at a breakout session.

former U.S. treasury secretary and CFR Co-Chairman Robert E. Rubin

Rubin closed the conference by saying, "In my role as Board co-chair of CFR since 2007, I have gotten to know this remarkable institution and am continually impressed by the quality and integrity of the intellectual output. CFR does not compromise its standards nor politicize its analysis. It is thanks to generous individuals and companies like yours that we are able to maintain a strong and vibrant think tank and quality programming at the nexus of business and foreign policy."



CFR Distinguished Fellow Timothy F. Geithner speaks with CFR military fellows after his session on the U.S. economy.



Henry A. Kissinger and Robert E. Rubin

Have a Question? Ask CFR Experts

Have a question about a foreign policy issue or a developing world event? You can now ask the Council's experts online. CFR recently launched "Ask CFR Experts," a new feature on CFR.org that invites high school, college, and graduate students, as well as the general public, to submit questions to the more than seventy scholars that make up the organization's think tank. Select questions on matters ranging from the latest news headlines to long-term international issues are answered by CFR fellows and featured on the homepage.

"These new offerings are meant to increase public awareness and understanding of foreign policy issues and the choices and challenges facing this country and the world," explained CFR President Richard N. Haass.

In response to recent questions, for example, Director for Asia Studies Elizabeth C. Economy explains China's rise and Senior Fellow Edward Alden outlines the costs and benefits of globalization. Other recent topics include U.S.-Russia relations, maritime security in the Horn of Africa, cybersecurity, and more.

A new question-and-answer pair is published each work day on CFR.org and featured on CFR's Facebook page and Twitter feed. of the control of

To submit a question, visit www.cfr.org/ask_cfr_experts.

Corporate Program Rings NYSE Opening Bell



The Corporate Program celebrated its sixtieth anniversary by ringing the opening bell at the New York Stock Exchange on March 1, 2013.

CFR Scholars Testify Before Congress



Edward Alden



Michael A. Levi



Daniel Markey

CFR scholars are frequently sought out by U.S. lawmakers to testify before Congress on issues in their areas of expertise. In March alone, three senior fellows presented their analyses to committees on the Hill.

Senior Fellow Edward Alden testified before the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs on ways Congress and the Obama administration can use data to improve border enforcement. Alden told lawmakers that the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) had left Congress "to assess the current state of border security and design policies for the future in the absence of data that would greatly assist that effort." He recommended that DHS should report measures for the three primary ways unauthorized migrants come to the United States: illegal crossing between the ports of entry, illegal crossing at the ports of entry, and legal entry on an authorized visa followed by overstay or other violation of visa terms.

In his testimony before the subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Michael A. Levi, director of the Council's program on energy security and climate change, explained that partnerships with Canada and Mexico can help the United States pursue its energy-related goals. Invited to speak particularly on the Keystone XL project, a pipeline system to transport petroleum from Canada and the northern United States to the Gulf Coast of Texas, Levi concluded, "Allowing the pipeline to proceed would likely produce benefits that outweigh the associated costs."

Before a joint hearing of the subcommittees on the Middle East and North Africa, and Asia and the Pacific, both of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs Daniel Markey, senior fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia, observed that recent moves by Islamabad have raised American hopes of a "strategic shift" in Pakistan's mindset that could lead to improved cooperation with the United States in Afghanistan and throughout the region. He argued, however, that U.S. officials should not get carried away, since "over the past eighteen months Washington's strategy has shifted more than Islamabad's." Looking ahead to the U.S. military drawdown in Afghanistan, he advised, "The period between now and 2014 would be the best time for the United States to use all of the tools at its disposal to bring about a shift in Pakistan's strategy."

For the full testimonies, visit www.cfr.org/CFR-scholar-testimony.

CFR Hosts Congressional Staff Conference on Capitol Hill

In March, the Council's Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy program hosted its third biennial Congressional Staff Conference, a daylong event designed to inform the debate on Capitol Hill and position CFR as an essential resource for lawmakers on foreign policy, defense, and economic issues.

The conference—which drew nearly one hundred participants, ranging from legislative assistants working for newly elected representatives to senior professional committee and leadership staff—presented CFR analysis on an array of topics, including:

- U.S. foreign policy in the Asia Pacific in an era of rebalancing, with Director for Asia Studies Elizabeth C. Economy and Senior Fellow for Japan Studies Sheila A. Smith
- the United States in the global economy, with Senior Fellow Robert Kahn and Peterson Institute for International Economics senior fellow Gary C. Hufbauer
- the future of U.S. foreign policy, with Johns Hopkins professor Michael Mandelbaum, Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor Barry Posen, and former congressman and former U.S. ambassador to Tanzania Mark Green
- a look ahead at Latin America, with Senior Fellow for Latin America Studies Shannon K. O'Neil and Director for Latin America Studies Julia E. Sweig
- U.S. strategic and economic priorities in Africa, with Adjunct Senior Fellow and former assistant secretary of state for African affairs Jendayi Frazer, and Senior



Senator John McCain (R-AZ) and National Defense University's Celina Realuyo

Fellow for Africa Studies and former ambassador to Nigeria John Campbell

 the United States' role in an evolving Middle East, with Senior Fellows for Middle Eastern Studies Steven A. Cook and Ed Husain

Launched over a decade ago, the Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy program aims to connect Congress and the Council. By serving as an unbiased resource for background and analysis, and as a neutral forum for bipartisan comity and constructive dialogue, CFR seeks to aid and inform policymaking on Capitol Hill.

In addition to the biennial conference, the program hosts weekly roundtable discussions with senior foreign policy staff, monthly briefings for Senate chiefs of staff, and breakfast sessions linking new members of Congress to groups of CFR experts on issues chosen by the legislators. of

The Chronicle, April 2013

A Better Plan for the Fed to Unload Mortgage-Backed Securities, From Steil

Containing inflation on the one hand; a depressed housing market on the other. These two challenges have created an "exit strategy" dilemma for the Federal Reserve, and CFR Director of International Economics Benn Steil offers a solution in a CFR Policy Innovation Memorandum, "Exiting from Monetary Stimulus: A Better Approach for the Fed."

The Fed has been purchasing massive amounts of mortgage-backed securities (MBS) in order to pump cash into the sluggish economy; the portfolio will have an estimated value of \$1.5 trillion by the end of the year.

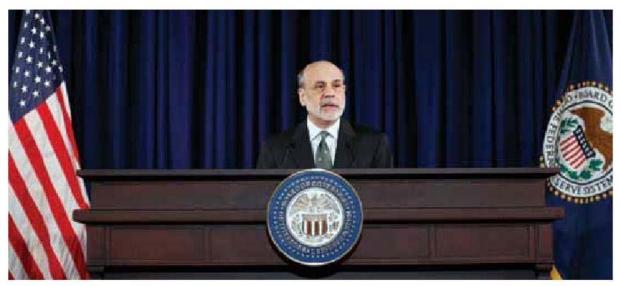
Ideally, as the economy returns to normal strength, the Fed would sell off these securities to stave off inflation. But that could dry up the mortgage market and undercut an emerging recovery in the housing market.

So what can be done?

Under Steil's plan, "the Fed should sell its MBS portfolio to the Treasury at face value in exchange for an actuarially equivalent amount of Treasury securities, newly issued for the purpose of facilitating the swap." Steil cites as precedent the Housing and Economic Recovery Act of 2008, which gave the Treasury the authority to purchase MBS guaranteed by Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.

"Instead of having to sell MBS on the market in order to soak up dollars and restrain credit growth and inflation, the Fed would be able to sell Treasury securities. The market for Treasury securities is the deepest and most liquid in the world, meaning that disruption to the market would be minimal while the impact on mortgage rates and house prices would be more moderate and less sudden than if the Fed was selling MBS." ofr

To read the Policy Innovation Memo, visit www.cfr.org|federal_reserve_policy_memo.



Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Ben Bernanke speaks during a news conference in Washington on December 12, 2012 (Kevin Lamarque/Courtesy of Reuters).

Special Report—The Future of U.S. Special Operations Forces

Without New Global Partners, U.S. Special Ops Are "Temporary Band-Aids"

U.S. special operations forces need to expand capabilities—beyond manhunt raids like the one that led to the death of Osama bin Laden, writes Linda Robinson, RAND senior international policy analyst and former CFR adjunct senior fellow. Robinson calls on U.S. Special Operations Command to become more proficient in training, advising, and assisting foreign security forces to help them defeat insurgent groups and terrorist organizations. Building these global partnerships would help ensure U.S. security interests, she concludes.

In *The Future of U.S. Special Operations Forces*, Robinson divides special operations into two categories: a "direct approach" of unilateral manhunting and an "indirect approach" of working through and with others. She asserts that the main problem with U.S. special operations is that "the lion's share of attention, effort, and resources in the past decade has been devoted to honing and applying the direct approach."

"The net result is that special operations forces are stuck conducting endless strikes on terrorist target lists that are consistently repopulated with new individuals, with no theory or measure to determine whether or when a network is sufficiently degraded to no longer constitute a threat," Robinson continues. "And the indirect approach languishes more as a bumper sticker or a random engagement tool than an overarching game-changing approach that effectively addresses conflicts or emerging threats."

She argues that the ideal model will mirror earlier efforts in Colombia and the Philippines, "where special operation forces planned an ongoing campaign that used numerous advisory, civil affairs, and informational activities to assess and address those governments' weaknesses in providing security and addressing underlying sources of conflict."

"The benefits include a greater capacity for achieving enduring solutions rather than temporary Band-Aids or endless campaigns of disruption and decapitation; enhanced security achieved at lower cost with less U.S. presence through increasingly capable partner nations; and a stronger global alliance of partners that avoids a perception of the United States as a unilateralist power that writes its own rules," Robinson concludes. *ofr*

For full text of the report, visit www.cfr.org/special_ops_csr.



Noncommunicable Disease Is Top Global Health Risk, Finds Bollyky

The release of an ambitious study last month by the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation to measure global health—known as the Global Burden of Disease (GBD) report—offers the hope that big data can make the world healthier.

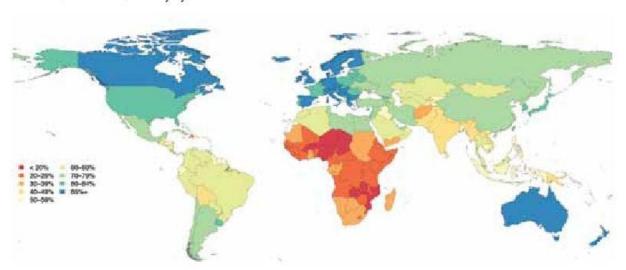
In a new CFR.org Expert Brief, CFR Senior Fellow for Global Health, Economics, and Development Thomas Bollyky confirms one of the most important findings of the GBD study: that the gravest health risk for the developing world does not come from infectious diseases like malaria and tuberculosis, but from noncommunicable diseases (NCDs) like cancer, diabetes, cardiovascular disease, and respiratory illnesses.

"The dominant health risks globally are now behavioral—such as tobacco use, high blood pressure, and household air pollution. ... NCDs are now responsible for more than 70 percent of the death and disability that occurs in many parts of Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia," Bollyky writes.

But despite the threat posed by NCDs, health funding has not caught up. According to Bollyky, "past GBD studies have shown tobacco use annually kills more people worldwide than HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria combined, but the U.S. government spent only \$7 million of its \$8.4 billion global health budget in 2010 on international tobacco control."

Bollyky writes that the GBD report will help national governments design programs to improve public health and identify which programs are working and will also make those governments more accountable. "The fundamental challenge in this emerging era of global health will be better governance and accountability for health spending and its efficiency, not newer medicines," he concludes. of

To read the Expert Brief, visit www.cfr.org/big-data-better-global-health.



Percent of disability-adjusted life years lost to NCDs in 2010 (Courtesy of the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation).

Back Pro–Rule of Law, Not Just Pro-U.S., Pakistani Leaders, Argues Markey

The year 2013 will be one of tumultuous politics in Pakistan. Elections to the national assembly are planned for May 11. The winners of the elections are expected to form a government by the summer. And by the end of the year, the country could have a new president, chief of army staff, and chief justice of Pakistan's Supreme Court.

"As in the past, Washington may be tempted to lend support to Pakistani leaders with 'pro-American' leanings," writes Senior Fellow Daniel Markey in a Policy Innovation Memorandum. "U.S. officials should resist these temptations. The United States should cast its weight behind Pakistan's constitutional, rule-based process of leadership transition."

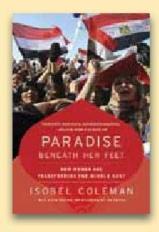
Markey explains how supporting the process of democracy over the politics of personalities would help the United States stabilize Pakistan. "Washington cannot dictate Pakistan's political outcomes, but it can create clear external disincentives for Pakistani leaders to avoid rule breaking in ways that could lead to the breakdown of social and political order. By itself, outside U.S. pressure would not be sufficient. Combined with increasingly widespread domestic support for constitutional rule, however, it can tip the balance in favor of stability," he writes. Markey concludes, "Pakistan's new leaders might not be friendlier, but the bilateral relationship is likely to be more normal in ways that would enable businesslike dealings on the full range of U.S. security concerns, from counterterrorism and nonproliferation to regional stability." of

To read the Policy Innovation Memo, visit www.cfr.org/pakistan_policy_memo.

Now in Paperback: Paradise Beneath Her Feet

Since Paradise Beneath Her Feet was published in 2010, popular uprisings in the Middle East have overthrown secular regimes and brought Islamist parties into the political mainstream. Released in paperback with a new preface, author Isobel Coleman, director of CFR's Civil Society, Markets, and Democracy initiative, places the main themes of the book—the struggle for women's rights and the broader reform movement within Islam—in the context of the Arab revolutions. Paradise Beneath Her Feet offers the message that change is happening—and more often than not, it is being led by women.

To order, visit www.cfr.org/paradise_beneath_her_feet.



A Single North American Trade Market Is "Quickest Route to Recovery," Argues Robert Pastor

The United States, Mexico, and Canada should form a single market to promote trade with the rest of the world, writes American University professor Robert Pastor in a new Policy Innovation Memorandum from CFR's Renewing America initiative.

"The three North American governments should create a seamless market, one in which it is as easy and cheap for a Chicago merchant to sell products in Monterrey as in San Francisco," he writes. "This requires negotiating a common external tariff, eliminating restrictions on transportation and services, funding new continental infrastructure, and fostering a sense of community among the publics of the three countries that will also enhance the region's influence in negotiations with Asia and Europe." Pastor also calls for the three governments to negotiate a new energy framework and adapt immigration policies to a wider labor market.

Tackling new issues that were not anticipated by the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) could save the three countries more than \$400 billion, according to Pastor. Between 1993 and 2001, NAFTA and the end of trade and investment barriers between the three countries coincided with the most rapid job expansion in recent U.S. history. Since 2001, however, growth in trade has declined by two-thirds and foreign investment by half. Expanding the U.S. market to include 113 million Mexicans and 34 million Canadians could be "the quickest route to recovery and enhanced competitiveness" with the rest of the world, Pastor explains. *fr*

To read the Policy Innovation Memo, visit www.cfr.org/north-american-market.



The flags of the United States, Canada, and Mexico fly at the fourth annual North American Leaders' Summit in New Orleans (Judi Bottoni/AP Photo).

CFR Convenes Global Think Tanks for Annual "Council of Councils"

In early March, the Council convened twenty foreign policy organizations from around the world for the second annual Council of Councils (CoC) Conference. The CoC is an initiative that connects global thought leaders in a discussion of critical governance challenges.

"The Council of Councils was created in order to look at the gap between global challenges and global arrangements," said CFR President Richard N. Haass. "In some cases the idea is to hatch new institutions, in other cases to look at adapting existing ones."

Roughly tracking the membership of the Group of Twenty, the CoC fosters candid, high-level dialogue among leaders from established and emerging nations through regional conferences held throughout the year. The discussions culminate in an annual meeting that enhances cooperation on common problems, builds support for innovative ideas, and injects remedies into the public debate and policymaking processes of member countries. The CoC also considers long-term structural reforms that are intended to strengthen the governance capacity of international and regional institutions.

Speaking on the global economy, First Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund David Lipton cautioned,"There's no substitute for maintaining good policies, but I think that all of us have realized that the growing linkages coming from globalization and technology make this a much more interdependent world." Lipton's meeting was the only session on the record, and the video is available on CFR.org.

At this year's meeting, the CoC tackled five major themes:

- multilateral approaches to climate change
- new goals and frameworks for international development
- global, regional, and plurilateral approaches to revitalize the trade agenda
- · rules for governing outer space
- the status of global Internet governance of



Ambassador Andrés Rozental, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations



Thierry de Montbrial, French Institute for International Relations; Daniela Schwarzer, German Institute for International and Security Affairs; Thomas Gomart, French Institute for International Relations; and Stewart Patrick, Council on Foreign Relations



At podium, David Lipton of the IMF speaks on the global economy.



Participants at the Council of Councils opening dinner.



Yahushi Kudo of Genron NPO, with translator, converses with Sergey Kulik from the Institute of Contemporary Development.

Council of Councils Member Organizations

Australia: Lowy Institute for International Policy

Belgium: Center for European Policy Studies

Brazil: Getulio Vargas Foundation

Canada: Center for International Governance Innovation

China: Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

Egypt: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies

France: French Institute of International Relations

Germany: German Institute for International and Security Affairs

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Japan: Genron NPO

Mexico: Mexican Council on Foreign Relations

Nigeria: Nigerian Institute for International Affairs

Poland: Polish Institute of International Affairs

Russia: Institute of Contemporary Development

Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

South Africa: South African Institute of International Affairs

South Korea: East Asia Institute

Turkey: Global Relations Forum

United Kingdom: Chatham House;

International Institute for Strategic Studies

Graham Allison, Robert Blackwill Capture Lee Kuan Yew's Insights in New Book

When Lee Kuan Yew speaks, who listens? Presidents, prime ministers, chief executives, and all those who care about global strategy. Lee has honed his wisdom during more than a half century on the world stage, including three decades as prime minister of Singapore. He has served as a mentor to every Chinese leader from Deng Xiaoping to Xi Jinping and as a counselor to every U.S. president from Richard Nixon to Barack Obama.

Based on their in-depth interviews with Lee and other sources, **Graham Allison**, director of Harvard's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, and **Robert Blackwill**, CFR Henry A. Kissinger senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy, draw out his thinking on the next quarter century—including the future of U.S.-China relations, India, globalization, and more.

A few examples from Lee Kuan Yew: The Grand Master's Insights on China, the United States, and the World:

- Are China's leaders serious about displacing the United States as Asia's preeminent power in the foreseeable future? "Of course. Why not? Their reawakened sense of destiny is an overpowering force."
- Will China accept its place within the post war order created by the United States? "No. It is China's intention to become the greatest power in the world—and to be accepted as China, not as an honorary member of the West."
- Will India match China's rise? "Not likely. India is not a real country. Instead, it is thirty-two separate nations that happen to be arrayed along the British rail line."
- On competition between East and West: "Westerners have abandoned an ethical basis for society, believing that all problems are solvable by a good government.... In the East, we start with self-reliance." of

The Drond Heater's resights on China, the United States, and The World

"It will not take long for readers to discover why Lee is not only one of the seminal leaders of our period, but also a thinker recognized for his singular strategic acumen."

—Henry A. Kissinger, former U.S. secretary of state

To order, visit www.cfr.org/lee-kuan-yew.

The Chronicle, April 2013

CFR Scholars Honored

The World Economic Forum has named CFR Senior Fellow for Global Health, Economics, and Development Thomas Bollyky a 2013 Young Global Leader. This honor is bestowed each year to recognize the most distinguished global leaders under the age of forty.

Bollyky was chosen out of thousands of young leaders from every region of the world and from a myriad of disciplines by a selection committee chaired by Queen Rania Al Abdullah of Jordan. The nomination recognizes "Bollyky's record of professional accomplishments, commitment to society, and potential to shape the future of the world through his inspiring leadership."

Adjunct Senior Fellow Reza Aslan was selected by the Harvard Divinity School Alumni/Alumnae Council as the inaugural honoree for the Peter J. Gomes Memorial Honors, which celebrate outstanding contributions that divinity school alumni make to their fields, and to society, across a broad spectrum of professions.

Aslan was recognized for his work as an internationally acclaimed author, activist, scholar of religions, and expert on the Middle East. He is the founder of AslanMedia.com; associate professor of creative writing at the University of California, Riverside; and cofounder and chief creative officer of BoomGen Studios. "I am absolutely humbled by this honor," Aslan said upon learning of his selection.

The Dressmaker of Khair Khana, by Deputy Director of the Women and Foreign Policy Program Gayle Tzemach Lemmon, was one of fourteen books selected by General Mark A.Welsh III, chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force (CSAF) for his 2013 reading list. The CSAF reading list features writings that highlight U.S. heritage and fighting spirit and encourage innovation and forward thinking.

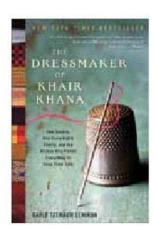
Released in January 2011, *The Dressmaker of Khair Khana* tells the story of a young entrepreneur whose business created jobs and hope for women in her Kabul, Afghanistan, neighborhood during the Taliban years. Lemmon explains: "We are far more accustomed to seeing Afghan women as victims to be pitied rather than survivors to be respected." She continues: "[The book] demonstrates once again the resilience Afghan women have shown in pulling communities through conflict, and that women are among the most reliable allies the United States has in the fight to create a stable, safe, and secure Afghanistan for the future." *of r*



Thomas Bollyky



Reza Aslan

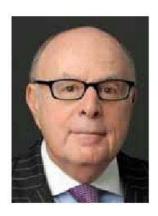


Legacy Society Spotlight: Bart Friedman

CFR member Bart Friedman has been practicing law at Cahill Gordon & Reindel LLP in New York since 1970 (with time off for government service). Though his professional path has led to a specialization at the intersection of litigation, investigations, and corporate governance, he counts public policy and foreign affairs among his greatest personal passions.

"Before the fall of the Berlin Wall, I was a guest at a dinner party where a number of Czechs spoke openly about what was happening in the Soviet Union," says Friedman. "I vividly recall that moment, when I realized that I needed to understand the issues well beyond what I was learning from newspapers and broadcast journalism. My subsequent involvement with CFR has not only broadened my thinking, but has also given me the opportunity to engage in dialogue with policymakers and global leaders and travel to some of the most interesting regions throughout the world." He added, "As members, we have an obligation to help support CFR beyond our membership dues. I actually credit my affiliation with Juilliard in the nineties for giving me first-hand knowledge about the power of legacy gifts. It struck me that CFR could similarly benefit, and have thus included a bequest to the Council in my will. I am honored to help ensure the Council's long-term strength and relevance by my participation in the Legacy Society, and I hope other members will be similarly inspired."

You too can become a member of the CFR Legacy Society by making a provision for the Council in your estate plan. For more information on planned giving at CFR, please contact Suzanne Helm, vice president, development, at 212.434.9788 or shelm@cfr.org. cfr



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 ${\it Cover photo:} \ A \ British \ Lynx \ helicopter \ sets \ off for a \ mission \ at \ dusk \ near \ the \ city \ of \ Basra \ in \ southern \ Iraq \ on \ March \ 31,2003 \ (Dan \ Chung/Courtesy \ of \ Reuters).$

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