CFR Task Force Calls on U.S. to Do More to Preserve Open and Secure Internet

“Escalating attacks on countries, companies, and individuals, as well as pervasive criminal activity, threaten the security and safety of the Internet,” warns a CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force chaired by John D. Negroponte, former deputy secretary of state and director of national intelligence, and Samuel J. Palmisano, former chairman of the board and CEO of IBM. The number of “state-backed operations continues to rise, and future attacks will become more sophisticated and disruptive,” the Task Force writes in its report, Defending an Open, Global, Secure, and Resilient Internet.

With the ideal vision of an open and secure Internet increasingly at risk, the Task Force urges the United States, with its friends and allies, “to act quickly to encourage a global cyberspace that reflects shared values of free expression and free markets.”

Adam Segal, CFR’s Maurice R. Greenberg senior fellow for China studies, is project director of the Task Force, which includes experts from the high-tech industry, hardware and software companies, and on cyber issues.

Released in early June, the Task Force report continues to receive attention. It has been downloaded more than 880 times and its webpage has almost 8,900 views. The report also generated 174 tweets, and 283 people have shared it on Facebook.

The Task Force concludes that “the most pressing current threat is not likely to be a single, sudden attack that cripples the United States,” but rather “a proliferation of attacks that steal strategically important or valuable data and destroy confidence in the safety and trustworthiness of the Internet.” The Obama administration has identified China as a major source of cyber espionage, and the Task Force also considers the country a serious cause for concern.

The report notes that the number of people online will double to five billion by the end of this decade, and the Internet economy will continue to grow. In the United States alone, the Internet economy, now $68 billion or 4.7 percent of GDP, is
projected to rise to 5.4 percent in 2016, so any successful policy response will have to include the business community and civil society.

Improved cyber defense and greater resiliency are necessary, but not sufficient to protect U.S. national security. “Offensive capabilities are required to deter attacks, and, if deterrence fails, to impose costs on the attackers.” The Task Force calls on the United States to launch an “interagency economic counterespionage program that will help prevent foreign services and corporate competitors from stealing secrets from U.S. industry.”

A number of governments are using the threat of cyberattacks to justify restrictions on the flow of information, data, and knowledge and are territorializing the Internet based on narrow national interests. The outcome of blocking and filtering is “a fragmented Internet and decline in global free expression.” The report therefore urges leading nations to agree on a set of norms for activity and engagement in cyberspace.

The Task Force criticizes the United States for “a lack of a coherent vision, the absence of appropriate authority to implement policy, and legislative gridlock.” It then observes, “For the past four decades, the United States was the predominant innovator, promoter, and shaper of cyberspace, but the window for U.S. leadership is now closing.”

“The bottom line is clear: digital foreign policy must begin with domestic policy,” the report concludes. “Successfully meeting the challenges of the digital age requires a rethinking of domestic institutions and processes that were designed for the twentieth century.”

The report is available at www.cfr.org/cyber_task_force.

The Council on Foreign Relations sponsors Independent Task Forces to assess issues of current and critical importance to U.S. foreign policy and provide policymakers with judgments and recommendations. Diverse in backgrounds and perspectives, Task Force members aim to reach a consensus on policy through private and nonpartisan deliberations. After serving as program director for eleven Task Forces, Anya Schmemann has joined American University’s School of International Service as assistant dean of communications and administration. Moving forward, Chris Tuttle will direct the Task Force program, in addition to directing the Washington Program; he can be reached at ctuttle@cfr.org.
Former NSA Thomas Donilon Joins CFR as Distinguished Fellow

Thomas E. Donilon, former national security adviser to President Barack Obama, joined CFR as a distinguished fellow in July. Donilon, who became a Council member nearly two decades ago, will be based in Washington, DC.

“Tom Donilon has been at the center of consequential national security decisions over the last four and a half years, including winding down U.S. military engagement in Iraq and Afghanistan, increasing the U.S. profile in the Asia-Pacific region, and balancing the requirement for intelligence with the need to protect privacy,” said CFR President Richard N. Haass. “We are thrilled to have someone with his experience and record of service to the country at the Council on Foreign Relations.”

In his remarks from the Rose Garden last month, President Obama said, “Tom is that rare combination of the strategic and the tactical. He has a strategic sense of where we need to go, and he has a tactical sense of how to get there.” Calling Donilon “one of the most effective national security advisers our country has ever had,” Obama noted, “Here at the White House, Tom oversaw the operation that led us to bin Laden.” He added, “I’m especially appreciative to Tom for helping us renew American leadership in the Asia Pacific, where so much of our future security and prosperity will be shaped.”

Previously, Donilon served as assistant to the president and principal deputy national security adviser. He has worked closely with and advised three U.S. presidents since his first position at the White House in 1977 under President Jimmy Carter. He also served as assistant secretary of state and chief of staff at the State Department during the Clinton administration. Prior to his government service, he was a partner at the international law firm O'Melveny & Myers.

Donilon has received the Department of State Secretary’s Distinguished Service Award, the National Intelligence Distinguished Public Service Medal, the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Joint Distinguished Civilian Service Award, and the CIA Director’s Award.

His undergraduate degree is from Catholic University and his law degree is from the University of Virginia.  

The Chronicle, July/August 2013
Renewing America Scorecard: U.S. Education Slipping in Ranks Worldwide

The U.S. education system is not as internationally competitive as it used to be; in fact, it has slipped ten spots in both high school and college graduation rates over the past three decades, according to a report and scorecard from the Renewing America initiative, which examines the domestic foundations of U.S. power. Education is directly linked to U.S. national security because shortcomings among American workers diminish the country's ability to compete internationally.

"The real scourge of the U.S. education system—and its greatest competitive weakness—is the deep and growing achievement gap between socioeconomic groups that begins early and lasts through a student's academic career," warns the report's author, Rebecca Strauss, associate director for CFR's Renewing America publications. The report and accompanying infographic were featured on the New York Times website on the day of their release in June and quickly became one of site's most emailed columns. "The truth is that there are two very different education stories in America. The children of the wealthiest 10 percent or so do receive some of the best education in the world, and the quality keeps getting better," Strauss argued. "For most everyone else, this is not the case."

According to the report, the United States spends the fourth most in the world on per-student primary and secondary education and by far the most on college education, but those funds are not distributed equitably. Although the majority of developed countries invest more per pupil in lower-income school districts than in higher-income ones, the reverse is true in the United States because local property taxes fund most K-12 public schools. This
investment gap continues through college and has increased over time.

“Human capital is perhaps the single most important long-term driver of an economy,” Strauss writes. “Smarter workers are more productive and innovative. It is an economist’s rule that an increase of one year in a country’s average schooling level corresponds to an increase of 3 to 4 percent in long-term economic growth. Most of the value added in the modern global economy is now knowledge based.” Yet, while more Americans understand that a college education is necessary for success, fewer say they can afford to pay for one.

Strauss says that the Obama administration’s record for taking on education inequality is mixed. It has set an ambitious agenda that pushes for more accountability, especially for schools that serve low-income students, and for innovative ways to measure and evaluate quality. However, she maintains, federal programs for disadvantaged students are set to be cut back as part of sequestration, even as budgetary changes, particularly in higher education student aid, disproportionately favor the wealthy.

“We should be ashamed that we aren’t leading the world,” U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan said in his testimony before the Senate Budget Committee on June 18. “I encourage all of you to look at this,” he said, citing CFR’s report. “This is about education, but this is about so much more than education. It’s about keeping high-wage, high-skilled jobs in this country. Employers are going to go where the most educated work force is. I hope it’s here, but they’ll go to China, India, South Korea, or Singapore, wherever they can get an educated workforce.”

The Renewing America initiative is supported in part by a generous grant from the Bernard and Irene Schwartz Foundation.

For full text of the report and infographic scorecard, visit www.cfr.org/remedialeducation.
CFR Board Welcomes New Members

This year, Council members elected Zoë Baird, Alan S. Blinder, and R. Nicholas Burns to the Board of Directors at the June meeting, and the Board appointed Laurence D. Fink, J. Tomilson Hill, Shirley Ann Jackson, and Ruth Porat to five-year terms, which began on July 1. Steven A. Denning was appointed to the Class of 2016 to replace Penny Pritzker, who resigned from the Board to serve as U.S. secretary of commerce.  

Directors’ full bios are available at www.cfr.org/about/people/board_of_directors.
Why Drones Work
by Daniel Byman

“Drones have done their job remarkably well: by killing key leaders and denying terrorists sanctuaries in Pakistan, Yemen, and to a lesser degree Somalia, drones have devastated al-Qaeda and associated anti-American militant groups,” argues Byman, a Middle East expert and Georgetown University professor. Although the author urges President Obama to establish clear guidelines for how and when drones should be used, he maintains that drones allow the United States to limit the scope of its military commitments but still protect the country. “Hovering in the skies above, they can keep Taliban leaders on the run and hinder al-Qaeda’s ability to plot another 9/11.”

Why Drones Fail
by Audrey Kurth Cronin

“Drone strikes must be legally justified, transparent, and rare,” counters Cronin, a George Mason University professor and terrorism expert. Although “under the Obama administration, drones have avoided civilians about 86 percent of the time,” she writes, “the foolish secrecy of Washington’s drone program lets critics allege the strikes are deadlier and less discriminating than they really are.” Further, Cronin maintains that U.S. policy has morphed into “remote-control repression: the direct application of brute force by a state, rather than an attempt to deal a pivotal blow to a movement.” She concludes that “Not only has al-Qaeda’s propaganda continued uninterrupted by the drone strikes; it has been significantly enhanced by them.”

Syria’s Collapse
by Andrew J. Tabler

“The ruling regime’s attempt to shoot its way out of the largest uprising it has ever faced has killed over 80,000 people and displaced roughly half of Syria’s population of 22 million,” according to Tabler, senior fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. “To stop Syria’s meltdown and contain its mushrooming threats, the United States needs a new approach, one that starts with a partial military intervention aimed at pushing
all sides to the negotiating table. The only way Washington can resolve the crisis is by working with the people ‘within Syria,’ as the Obama administration refers to the domestic opposition, instead of without them, that is, at the UN Security Council.”

Beijing’s Brand Ambassador:
A Conversation With Cui Tiankai
China’s new ambassador to the United States countered accusations that Beijing is behind cyberattacks on U.S. commercial and military computers. “This is not a very responsible way of making such claims,” he said, arguing that a huge number of Chinese computers, companies, and government agencies have also been targeted by hackers. “If we trace these attacks, maybe some of them, or even most of them, would come from the United States. But we are not in the position to come to the conclusion that these attacks are sponsored or supported by the U.S. government.” On whether to intervene in Syria, “It’s not up to China or the United States to decide the future of the country,” Cui declared. “We certainly don’t want chaos and civil war in Syria or anywhere in the world. But we always follow the principle that the affairs of a particular country should be determined by its own people, not by us, not by outsiders.”

Japan Is Back: A Conversation With Shinzo Abe
Foreign Affairs’ wide-ranging discussion with Japanese prime minister Abe covered such topics as Abenomics, relations with China, and his country’s World War II legacy. “I have never said that Japan has not committed aggression. Yet at the same time, how best, or not, to define ‘aggression’ is none of my business. That’s what historians ought to work on.” Abe dismissed claims in a Foreign Affairs interview made by China’s ambassador to the United States that the two countries had put aside the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands dispute. “We have never agreed with the Chinese to shelve the issue of the Senkaku Islands. To say that we have in the past is a complete lie by the Chinese.”

The Second Great Depression
by J. Bradford DeLong
“It looks as if the U.S. economy, when all is said and done, will have faced certainly one lost decade, and perhaps even two,” observes DeLong, an economist at the University of California. One way to right the nation’s fiscal ship is with tough regulations that hold Wall Street liable for fraud and encourage better behavior. “Although financial firms have a collective long-term interest in being regulated, financiers are too stupid to recognize this—or they simply expect to make their pile and then say, ‘Après moi, le déluge.’ If this argument is indeed correct, the United States is in awful trouble.”

Also in This Issue
Lesser Israel: How Jewish Extremism Threatens Zionism
by Jeffrey Goldberg
The War of Law: How New International Law Undermines Democratic Sovereignty
by Jon Kyl, Douglas J. Feith, and John Fonte

ForeignAffairs.com
CFR Welcomes Karen Kornbluh as Senior Fellow for Digital Policy

Ambassador Karen Kornbluh, former U.S. ambassador to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris, joined the Council in July as a senior fellow for digital policy. Kornbluh will participate in the CFR Initiative on Digital and Cyber-space Policy, which studies how to keep the global Internet open, secure, and resilient in the face of unprecedented challenges and threats.

"Formulating a comprehensive digital policy that promotes and protects the full range of American economic, security, and diplomatic interests is of both the highest priority and the highest difficulty. We are excited that someone of Ambassador Karen Kornbluh’s experience and knowledge has joined the CFR to work in this critical area," said CFR President Richard N. Haass.

At the OECD, Kornbluh spearheaded the development of the first global Internet Policymaking Principles. She led successful U.S. efforts to refocus on emerging economies, worked with former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to launch the OECD’s Gender Initiative, and co-chaired the Middle East–North Africa Women’s Business Forum. With the Treasury Department, she helped guide OECD efforts on international tax rules.

Previously, Kornbluh served as policy director for President Obama when he was senator. In the Clinton administration, she served as deputy chief of staff at the Treasury Department and as director of the office of legislative and intergovernmental affairs at the Federal Communications Commission.

Kornbluh earned her BA from Bryn Mawr College, and an MPP from Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government.

Special Thanks to CFR Annual Fund Donors!

Many thanks to the more than sixteen hundred members who made contributions to the 2012–2013 Annual Fund. Your support makes a real difference! As a 501(c)(3), CFR depends on these charitable contributions to support the vital work of this organization.

For more information on giving opportunities, please contact Suzanne E. Helm, vice president of development, at 212.434.9781 or shelm@cfir.org. 

The Chronicle, July/August 2013
National Members Weigh Intelligence and Privacy, Among Other Pressing Issues, at Annual Conference

Members from across the country and around the world gathered in New York in June for the Council's eighteenth annual National Conference. Highlights included a conversation with U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano on aviation security, cyber security, and immigration reform; a discussion on the administration’s counterterrorism policies with Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Lisa O. Monaco; and a panel on presidential leadership throughout U.S. history with CFR Board Directors Tom Brokaw and Joseph S. Nye Jr.

Other sessions covered U.S. digital policy, climate change, currency wars, the future of U.S. energy, and the changing nature of warfare. The entire event followed CFR’s not-for-attribution policy.

This year’s conference was underwritten by a grant in memory of Peter E. Haas from the Mimi and Peter Haas Fund. The Council’s members and leadership are grateful to Mimi Haas for her continued support.

The 2014 National Conference, designed for members living outside New York and Washington, DC, will be held from June 12 to 14. For more information, contact Irina A. Faskianos, vice president for National Program and Outreach, at 212-434-9465 or ifaskianos@cfr.org.

The National Program holds meetings in twelve cities—Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Houston, London, Los Angeles, Miami, San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle, and Tokyo. CFR members wishing to receive invitations to any of these meetings should email national@cfr.org.
Janet Moore and Damon Shelby Porter at the American Museum of Natural History

CFR Senior Fellow Ed Husain leads a breakout session on Syria.

Pew Research Center president Alan Murray, Columbia University Graduate School of Business dean Glenn Hubbard, Harvard Management Company president and CEO Jane Medillo, and Bridgewater Associates LP founder and CEO Ray Dalio participate in a panel on the U.S. and global economy.

Failing Nigeria Still Crucial to U.S. Interests in Africa, Warns Campbell

“Nigeria has the heft to be Washington’s partner on African security issues ranging from Darfur to Congo to Somalia,” writes CFR Senior Fellow and former ambassador to Nigeria John Campbell in the updated edition of Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink.

Early in July, President Obama wrapped up his second presidential trip to Africa, having visited Senegal, Tanzania, and South Africa. “Nigeria was absent from the president’s itinerary for a second time, although the country is an important but vulnerable player in securing U.S. interests in Africa,” Campbell explains. “A failed Nigeria would likely unleash religious and ethnic conflicts generating refugee flows with the potential to destabilize its fragile neighbors.”

Campbell also points to a history of shared interests between the United States and Nigeria, which include efforts to promote African regional stability and conflict resolution, economic cooperation over the region’s petroleum resources, tackling public health crises, and, recently, combating radical Islamist groups.

The updated edition includes two new chapters, one on the emergence of the radical Islamist group Boko Haram and another on the breakdown of the Nigerian political system in the wake of the 2011 elections. Campbell also makes policy recommendations for the Obama administration to support Nigerians working for democracy and the rule of law.

To order the book, go to www.cfr.org/nigeria_dotb.

“This lucidly written book will appeal to scholars, policymakers, and general readers. John Campbell explores key political, economic, and social issues and frankly evaluates U.S. policies in helping or inhibiting the building of a stable, democratic, and less corrupt Nigeria. It is essential reading for all concerned about the unfulfilled potential, and uncertain future, of this complex nation.”

—Richard Joseph, Northwestern University
Robert Kahn Shares Macroeconomic Insights in New Monthly Report


The first report, issued in June, outlines Europe’s debt and austerity dilemma. Countries that “need to ease fiscal policy cannot afford to take on more debt, while those that have the capacity to stimulate their economies do not want to,” Kahn explains. “A future fiscal union in Europe would address this dilemma by allowing borrowing costs to be spread across all EU countries rather than fall on struggling peripheral economies,” but “bailout fatigue” makes this outcome unlikely, he concludes.

Recently, Kahn looked at lessons learned from the IMF’s involvement in Greece’s economic crisis and other debt restructurings. “Recognizing that the recent debt restructuring was insufficient to restore Greece’s creditworthiness,” he wrote, “the IMF will likely toughen conditions for lending to countries with unsustainable debt levels.”

Kahn is an expert on macroeconomic policy, finance, and crisis resolution and has held senior positions in the public and private sectors, including at the World Bank, the IMF, the U.S. Treasury Department, and Citigroup.

Read both reports at: www.cfr.org/global_economics_monthly. Subscribe to this and CFR’s fourteen other newsletters at: www.cfr.org/newsletters. Kahn also shares his insights on his blog, Macro and Markets.

The Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies works to promote a better understanding among policymakers, academic specialists, and the interested public of how economic and political forces interact to influence world affairs.
Robert Danin Urges U.S. to Help End Gaza’s Isolation, in New Policy Memo

As Secretary of State John Kerry works to promote peace between Israel and the Palestinians, CFR Senior Fellow for Middle East and Africa Studies Robert M. Danin recommends that the United States help reconnect ties between Gaza and the West Bank while continuing to refuse direct talks with Hamas.

“The United States should recognize the self-defeating nature of isolating Gaza and shift to a strategy that reconnects Gaza with the West Bank socially, economically, and politically to lessen Hamas’ grip on Gaza and thereby prepare Palestinian institutions for elections,” Danin writes in a new Policy Innovation Memorandum.

Danin, a former senior State Department official with more than twenty years of Middle East experience, suggests four ways that Kerry and the State Department can create conditions to empower Palestinian leaders looking to make peace:

- Encourage Israel and the Palestinian Authority (PA) to reestablish trade links with Gaza.
- Encourage Israel to work with the PA to reestablish the suspended transit corridor for Palestinians to travel between the West Bank and Gaza.
- Promote an exclusively regional contact group to help steer a Palestinian election process that would strengthen the Palestinians for negotiations.
- Lead a concerted effort with European diplomatic partners and nongovernmental organizations to help the PA prepare for Palestinian national elections.

To read the Policy Innovation Memorandum, go to www.cfr.org/ending_gazas_isolation.

For more on the region, subscribe to Danin’s blog, Middle East Matters.
Lessons From Democratic Transitions, Subject of New CFR Book

As countries from Libya to Tunisia to Myanmar navigate complex paths to democracy, a CFR book offers insights from political and economic transitions that have unfolded in recent decades. "By understanding the trade-offs and critical economic and policy decisions that transitioning countries have faced in the past, policymakers can make smarter choices to improve the chances of successful democratization in states undergoing transitions today," write Isobel Coleman, senior fellow and director of the Civil Society, Markets, and Democracy Initiative, and fellow Terra Lawson-Remer, editors of Pathways to Freedom: Political and Economic Lessons From Democratic Transitions.

They identify seven lessons critical to democratization:

- Armed rebellions rarely lead to democracy and often replace one dictatorship with another. Peaceful protests "have a stronger track record of laying the groundwork for democratic change."

- Economic crisis, not growth, generally triggers the downfall of authoritarian regimes. Once democracy emerges, higher-income countries with robust middle classes are better able to sustain it.

- The promise of political freedom raises expectations for economic and social opportunities, making it imperative for young democracies to deliver on social inclusion and better living standards.

- Rule of law reforms that create a fair and level economic and political playing field and protect core rights are essential to safeguard against corruption, ensure government accountability, and maintain public confidence during turbulent transitions.

- Even flawed elections under autocracies can be worthwhile because they can pave the way for more substantial democracy down the road.

- Good neighbors and other external forces can help nascent democracies succeed by establishing economic ties and offering technical aid as well as "constructive political pressure" to support internal reformers. Bad neighbors, however, "can undermine transitions by fostering power-grabbing, corruption, and authoritarian reversals."

- Decentralizing power to regional and local governments can "dilute the dangerous concentration of central authority," bolster accountability, and improve the delivery of government services.

To order the book, go to www.cfr.org/Pathways_to_Freedom.

The book includes eight case studies:

- Mexico: Shannon K. O'Neil, CFR
- Brazil: Carlos Pio, Universidade de Brasília and Australian National University
- Poland: Grzegorz Ekiert and George Soroka, Harvard University
- Nigeria and South Africa: John Campbell, CFR
- Indonesia and Thailand: Joshua Kurlantzick, CFR
- Ukraine: Andrew Wilson, European Council on Foreign Relations
CFR Workshop Prepares Students for Careers in Foreign Policy

In May, the Council convened a day-long workshop for participants in Humanity in Action’s (HIA) fellowship program in Europe. HIA is an international educational organization committed to promoting human rights, diversity, and active citizenship. The workshop was designed to expose college students and recent graduates in international affairs to a wide range of careers in foreign policy.

Students spent the day with distinguished foreign policy experts discussing the eurozone crisis, European immigration trends, and the role European powers play in their former colonies, among other subjects. Zeenat Rahman, special adviser on Global Youth Issues at the State Department, gave closing remarks about her career and advice for students pursuing professions in the field.

The workshop was designed to expose college students and recent graduates in international affairs to a wide range of careers in foreign policy.

Call for Applications: 2014–2015 Fellowship Programs

CFR is seeking applicants for four upcoming fellowship competitions.

The application deadlines are:

- International Affairs Fellowship (IAF): October 31
- IAF in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd.: October 31
- Stanton Nuclear Security Fellowship: December 16
- IAF in Nuclear Security, sponsored by the Stanton Foundation: January 17

Program details, eligibility requirements, and application instructions can be found online at www.cfr.org/fellowships. For more information, contact fellowships@cfr.org.
Council Scholars Testify on the Hill

In June, Senior Fellow for Latin America Studies Shannon K. O’Neil testified on U.S.-Mexico security before the Senate subcommittee on Western Hemisphere and global narcotics affairs. O’Neil urged lawmakers to continue U.S.-Mexico security cooperation, saying, “The United States should work with Mexico to implement the nonmilitary programs envisioned in the current Merida framework, in particular supporting and prioritizing Mexico’s ongoing judicial reform, training police officers at the state and local levels, investing in local community and youth-oriented programs, and modernizing the U.S.-Mexico border.” O’Neil, author of Two Nations Indivisible: Mexico, the United States, and the Road Ahead, concluded, “Given our deep economic, personal, and community ties, Mexico’s safety and security is vital to our own. A strong and safe Mexico will have positive benefits for the United States, while a dangerous Mexico will have repercussions far beyond the southern U.S. border.”

“America’s concern for the state of Russian democracy is sometimes portrayed as an intrusion into another country’s affairs. The truth is different,” CFR Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies Stephen Sestanovich told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in June. In a subcommittee hearing on Russia’s deteriorating human rights situation, Sestanovich explained that President Vladimir Putin and his supporters have put in place a strategy to stabilize their rule by portraying challengers as instruments of foreign manipulation. “By blurring the distinction between political movements and civil society,” Putin hopes to convince people that the two are one and the same, “result in in a better chance of keeping Russia’s ‘silent majority’ on his side.” Sestanovich cautioned, however, that the United States should “stay out of the political struggle that is under way in Russia. . . . Russia’s political course is for Russians to set. We may have our favorites, but we don’t fund them. Sharpening the line between what we do and what we won’t do can only help us.” Sestanovich also proposed that Congress, to increase funding for civil society in all countries of the former Soviet Union, revive consideration of a U.S.-Russia civil society fund. 

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