The largest and most influential foreign policy research organization in the nation.
Consists of approximately 100 scholars and research associates.
Advances understanding of world affairs and contributes ideas to U.S. foreign policymakers.
Conducts cutting-edge research on topics and regions related to U.S. foreign policy.
Produces books and articles based on study group meetings with Council members and other experts.
Encourages member participation in study groups and roundtables. (E-mail studies@cfr.org for further information.)

Studies Program

The Studies Department is the Council’s “think tank.” The Studies Department focuses on issues that will shape the international agenda, with an emphasis on three areas: national security, international economics, and Asia. Cross-fertilization of ideas across regional and subject areas as well as input from the Council’s diverse and informed membership allows the Studies Department to produce innovative research that has significant impact on the policy debate.

Staff members of the Studies Department include Senior Fellows, Visiting Fellows, and Next Generation Fellows (NGFs). Senior Fellows are distinguished scholars and practitioners who have significant experience in academia and/or government. Visiting Fellows, including Military, State Department, CIA, and Press Fellows, spend a year at the Council while on leave from their parent organization. Next Generation Fellows are younger scholars and/or practitioners drawn from academia, government, or the private sector. They normally spend two or three years at the Council working on specific research projects. Selected NGFs are invited to become Senior Fellows after completing their initial terms. NGFs not only provide fresh insights into Studies projects but also gain experience that will enable them to become future foreign policy analysts or practitioners.

Council Fellows produce research-based, policy-oriented books and major articles. In addition, they add value to the foreign policy debate in a variety of other ways: they appear as commentators on television and radio shows; write op-ed pieces for major newspapers; testify before Congress; and meet with high-ranking executive and legislative branch officials with foreign policy responsibilities. These activities increase the exposure of Senior Fellows in the government and among the public, ensuring a broad and influential audience for the research produced by the Council.

Active participation by the Council’s members in Studies projects adds immeasurable value to the quality of the Studies Program. Council Fellows benefit from the informed input of the diverse group of members with various professional backgrounds and political perspectives. The Studies Department generally sponsors two types of meetings that connect Fellows and members: study groups and roundtables. Study groups assist Fellows or other designated authors in writing books and articles. Members are asked to review papers circulated in advance by the Fellow for discussion.
Roundtables are informal discussion groups that allow members to keep abreast of foreign policy issues on a particular region or topic. Members who would like to participate in these projects should contact the office of the director of Studies at 212-434-9631.

In an effort to stimulate the broadest discussion of relevant foreign policy issues, the Studies Department conducts study group sessions in key cities around the country in addition to New York and Washington. The Studies Department supplements this national dialogue through the Council’s website (www.cfr.org), which provides public access to Council publications and other intellectual output of the Studies staff, including web-based discussion groups. Such intellectual exchange between Council Fellows and the entire membership is essential to the Council’s broader mission.

In the 1999–2000 program year, the Studies Department implemented a comprehensive agenda. A glance at a few of the projects undertaken demonstrates the scope of Studies activities: the regionalization of Africa; the impact of domestic politics on the security policies of the Persian Gulf; global health and foreign policy; Japanese foreign policy and U.S. interests in Asia; the transnationalization of the defense industry; refugees and the displaced; ethnic conflict and partition; and technological innovation and economic performance. The Studies Department will continue its ambitious agenda in the upcoming program year.

Lawrence J. Korb
Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies

National Security

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: RICHARD K. BETTS

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ANN R. MARKUSEN
CHAIR: RICHARD RAVITCH

Since the end of the Cold War, economic and defense industrial-base concerns have become increasingly pervasive in U.S. arms export policy. The sale of sophisticated weapons by U.S. defense companies to countries around the world may adversely affect national security, encourage arms and capacity proliferation, and set off an expensive arms race among allies. The potential for transnational mergers that will create mega-firms complicates the arms export discussion in this era.

This study group assembled a broad range of individuals, from policymakers and academics to peace and human rights activists, to investigate the phenomenon and debate policy responses. Through monthly meetings over the last year, including a conference held in Washington, D.C., study group participants addressed the following questions: What security concerns should drive arms export policy? Have arms exports in fact kept production and R&D lines “hot” and available for next-generation systems? If so, is this necessary? Have arms exports lowered the cost of weapons to the Pentagon? How much do arms exports contribute to the U.S. trade balance, net of subsidies and offsets? Are exports creating pressure for arms innovation that would not otherwise exist? What policies can be recommended for U.S. arms export regulation and conventional arms trade negotiations?

Study Group on Assessing the Future of Chinese Power
PROJECT DIRECTORS: RICHARD K. BETTS AND THOMAS J. CHRISTENSEN (MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY)
CHAIR: HARRY HARDING

Some of the principal issues in international politics in the next century will be how powerful China becomes, whether its military capabilities will develop commensurately with its economic output, and what challenges Chinese power will pose to regional and global
order. Launched in January 1999, this study group held meetings in New York and Washington, D.C., to discuss the interrelationships of political, economic, and military developments in the evolution of Chinese power. Special attention was devoted to considering what might be learned from the experiences of other rising powers, the roles of other major powers in Asia (Japan, Russia, India), and problems in translating economic progress into modern military effectiveness. Richard K. Betts and Thomas J. Christensen are producing an article that draws on the discussions.

**W. Averell Harriman Study Group on Contending Visions of International Order**  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN**  
Current debate about the nature of the emerging international landscape is disappointingly thin. Contentious theories about the end of history and the clash of civilizations aside, the analytic community has made little progress in mapping out the key elements of a new international system. This group will examine contending visions of order and generate a more fertile discussion of desirable outcomes and methods for policymakers to achieve them. Analysts working on these questions and their implications for American grand strategy will make presentations to the group. The project will lead to a “white paper” for the administration that takes office in 2001. In addition, Charles A. Kupchan will produce a book, as well as shorter articles and op-ed pieces.

**Study Group on the Future of Arms Control**  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR: JAN M. LODAL (LODAL & COMPANY)**  
This study group aims to reassess the impact of arms control, its methods, and its objectives on U.S. security interests and to derive a set of recommendations to ensure that arms control continues to serve U.S. interests in the coming decades. Existing arms control agreements are showing signs of fracture. The shortcomings that plague these initiatives, in conjunction with a changing global environment and rapidly developing technologies, have jeopardized the ability of arms control to influence the security environ-
chapters posted online. The final product will be a book by Stephen E. Flynn.

Study Group on High-Impact Terrorism

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JESSICA STERN

Americans are vulnerable to a new form of violence: seemingly purposeless, high-impact attacks, calculated to create fear. The perpetrators are likely to be individuals or small groups who kill in the name of their personal or religious beliefs, rather than traditional states or terrorist organizations that pursue nationalist goals. This study group aims to rethink U.S. foreign policy and defense priorities in light of the increase in religious terrorism. It addresses the following questions: Who are these new terrorists? What do they hope to achieve? How will they arm themselves? How does the growth of religious fundamentalism, and the terrorism it inspires, affect U.S. foreign policy and interests? What is an appropriate response? Participants are assessing the effectiveness of current policies for reducing the threat of high-impact terrorism and will suggest additional remedies that should be considered or emphasized. The products of this study group will be a book and several shorter articles by Jessica Stern.

Study Group on U.S. Security Policy in the Persian Gulf

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RACHEL BRONSON

CHAIR: EDWARD DJEREJIAN

COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY, RICE UNIVERSITY

This videoconferenced study group drew on the expertise of members in Houston, Washington, D.C., and New York to analyze key factors underpinning the long-term ability of the United States to protect its interests in the Persian Gulf. It examined the increased U.S. military presence in the region and how the domestic political concerns of Gulf states have shaped and have been shaped by it. The goal of this project was to answer two questions: How will fluid Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries’ domestic conditions, coupled with a continuing U.S. need to remain active in the Gulf, shape America’s options in the Persian Gulf in the early 21st century? More specifically, can the United States continue its containment policy in the presence of significant political and economic change among its GCC partners? Members were linked in New York and Houston via videoconference for each interactive session. The final product will be an article by Rachel Bronson.

Roundtable on Major Military Policy Issues

PROJECT DIRECTOR: BERNARD E. TRAINOR

This roundtable examined the military and political lessons drawn from the recent air war over the former Yugoslavia. The sudden end of the Kosovo crisis hampered serious analysis about the use of force as an element of diplomacy and foreign policy in future crises,
leaving crucial questions about the nature of military intervention and coercive diplomacy unanswered.

The roundtable focused on four major issues surrounding the air war: the role of air power as the new American way of war; the true effectiveness of the air campaign; collateral damage and effects of force projection on strategy and tactics; and the future of coalition warfare and the use of force for coercive diplomacy. The roundtable brought together members and experts in Washington, D.C., to discuss these issues.

John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the New National Security Agenda
PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD K. BETTS
This ongoing roundtable, which meets in both New York and Washington, D.C., seeks to identify the critical post–Cold War questions that require more detailed study by the Council. Subjects are chosen as the sessions proceed, to take advantage of ideas that come out of the discussion. Among the topics this past year were the emerging gap between civilian culture and professional military values; the Department of Defense’s humanitarian operations in Africa; the conflict in Kashmir; and transnational crime networks.

Henry A. Kissinger Roundtable on Terrorism
PROJECT DIRECTOR: GIDEON ROSE
As recent events have shown, terrorism is one of the central national security threats the United States faces in the post–Cold War world. This ongoing roundtable brings together Council members and other experts to discuss cutting-edge research and ideas related to terrorism and counterterrorism policy. Each year approximately half a dozen meetings in New York and Washington, D.C., feature presentations by leading experts or government officials. Among last year’s topics were a discussion of cyberattacks and network security and an analysis of the past and present status of Russian biological weapons programs.

Energy Security Group
PROJECT DIRECTOR: JUDITH KIPPER
COSPONSORED WITH THE JAPAN ATOMIC INDUSTRIAL FORUM, INC.
The Energy Security Group promotes better understanding and exchange of information between the United States and Japan about issues in the Middle East and elsewhere that influence economic development and global security. Discussions focus on policy issues such as energy security, nuclear proliferation, high technology, and economic coordination, as well as population pressures on energy requirements, development, and the environment. Founding chairman William D. Rogers of Arnold & Porter and current chairman William F. Martin of Washington Policy and Analysis, Inc., provide leadership in consultation with the Energy Security Group’s Japanese partner, the Japan Atomic Industrial Forum.

International Economics
Study Group on Big Emerging Economies
PROJECT DIRECTOR: MARIE-JOSÉE KRAVIS
This study group, based on the premise that some of today’s big emerging economies may also be emerging big powers, surveyed the realignment their rise is forcing in U.S. foreign policy as well as the allocation of U.S. foreign aid and diplomatic resources. The study group emphasized such emerging nations as India, Indonesia, Brazil, South Korea, and Thailand. A major article by Marie-Josée Kravis will be published in late 2000.

Study Group on a New Paradigm for U.S.-Japan Economic Relations
PROJECT DIRECTOR: BRUCE STOKES
CO-CHAIRS: JAY ROCKEFELLER AND AMO HOUGHTON
U.S.-Japan economic relations face growing friction. Japan’s trade surplus with the United States, always a political problem, is at record levels. Yet these two economic colossi are becoming ever more integrated, creating systemic friction because of differing regulatory systems and philosophies about markets. Based on the experience of the Bush administration’s Strategic Impediment Initiative and the Clinton administration’s Framework Talks, this study group sought to develop a new paradigm for U.S.-Japan economic negotiations, focusing on macroeconomic issues, regulatory reform, sector-specific problems, and a political dialogue. Bruce Stokes published a short paper informed by the group’s deliberations.

Study Group on Technological Innovation
Studies of economic performance suggest that technological innovation is a principal engine of the economy. Recent data show a striking relationship between the growth of information technology and the sustained robust growth of the U.S. economy. Yet the factors that determine innovation and its links with the wider economy are poorly understood. This project analyzes the relationship between technological innovation and economic performance through the commissioning of new assessments of the theoretical and historical literature as well as nine industry studies (e.g., Internet, securities trading, and energy) and country studies (United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, the Nordic group, and Japan). The primary focus is on deriving implications for effective economic policy. The final product will be an edited book and several major articles by Benn Steil and David G. Victor.

A.T. Kearney Executive Roundtable Series

This roundtable covers major issues in international economics of direct concern to American business. Prominent speakers from industry, government, and academia are featured. Recent roundtables have examined the globalization of securities trading and international trade issues emerging from biotechnology advances.


This roundtable’s objective was to set forth recommendations for improving the quality of country risk analysis used by creditors, lenders, and policymakers, thereby reducing the economic and social costs of financial volatility and crisis. Participants included leading country risk practitioners from rating agencies, commercial banks, and the investor community, in addition to multilateral organizations and government offices. After the first round of discussions in the fall of 1999, roundtable participants provided recommendations around three principal categories: analytical country risk methods; structure of the country risk profession; and use of country risk analysis in decision-making, detailed in the International Monetary Fund’s 1999 publication of *International Capital Markets*. During this fiscal year, the roundtable further refined these initial recommendations, focusing on how better to define principles and processes for sovereign bond restructurings, and improve the availability and quality of necessary data and analysis for the investor community.

Roundtable on Democratizing U.S. Trade Policy

The purpose of this roundtable was to recommend a more inclusive process for developing U.S. trade policy through broader congressional participation in trade policymaking and negotiations, through a more open and effective USTR (United States Trade Representative) advisory system, through greater interaction between regulatory and trade officials, and through engagement with state and local governments to ensure broader public support for future trade policies. Bruce Stokes published a paper based on the roundtable findings.

C. Peter McColough Roundtable on International Economics

This ongoing series of monthly lunches features some of the world’s top economists as guest speakers, focusing on major policy issues in international economics. Recent speakers included Lawrence Summers,

Studies Program


Roundtable on Safeguarding Globalization: Defining the Role of the Multinational
PROJECT DIRECTOR: MARCUS MABRY
The development of a global class of economic movers and shakers is challenging the supremacy of the nation-state. The most obvious embodiments of the new power may be the multinational corporation and the international class of managers who can move currencies, literally at the speed of light, and undermine governments. Their ascendancy seems to have taken even the international economic players by surprise. As a result, a movement has arisen to invest companies with a new sense of global responsibility beyond shareholder profit and the bottom line. The roundtable series examined the nature and place of corporate responsibility in the age of “globality.” What are the powers and duties of international economic players in the post–Cold War era? What are American companies doing in extracommercial arenas? How are they supplanting the role of governments in international relations and in the internal affairs of states? What are the ramifications of this trend for U.S. foreign policy? The final product will be a major article by Marcus Mabry.

Working Group on Development, Trade, and International Finance
PROJECT DIRECTOR: WALTER RUSSELL MEAD
PROJECT COORDINATOR: SHERLE SCHWENNINGER
The overarching goal of this working group is to identify restructuring options for the international financial architecture that would stimulate the long-term flow of private capital to the developing world. More specifically, the working group is undertaking the development and promotion of one or more alternative working models for reform of the world financial architecture; the advancement of concrete proposals for countries interested in shifting from export-led growth to internally driven economic development; and the development of ideas to make the international financial system more open and accountable to the larger public interest. One of the final products will be a report by Walter Russell Mead and Sherle Schwenninger.

Project on Financial Vulnerabilities and Foreign Policy
PROJECT DIRECTORS: ROGER M. KUBARYCH AND DAVID A. DUFFIE
The objective of this project was to develop research findings and expert advice that policymakers can use to help prepare for an unexpected financial mishap and perhaps to take steps to mitigate its adverse consequences, at both the domestic and the international levels. A four-part series of Council events provided the means to examine the links between the financial markets and broader economic, foreign policy, and national security concerns: (1) a roundtable at which the participants, including market practitioners, scholars, and former senior officials, reviewed the lessons learned from past stock market disturbances and the policy responses to them and identified the economic and financial vulnerabilities in the current environment; (2) a scenario-building roundtable; (3) a policy simulation in which a small number of experienced policy thinkers and former policymakers worked through the options and constraints facing the U.S. government in the aftermath of a sudden and significant stock market decline; (4) a conference to disseminate the findings of the roundtable and simulation. The conference, held on July 12–13, provided a forum to raise the broadest possible perspective on the intersection of financial markets, the global economy, foreign policy, and national security.

Asia

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: ROBERT A. MANNING

Study Group on Asian Energy Security in the 21st Century
PROJECT DIRECTOR: ROBERT A. MANNING
CO-CHAIRS: EDWARD MORSE AND R. JAMES WOOLSEY
This study group analyzed the impact of Asia’s burgeoning demand on global energy markets and regional security dynamics. The study group assessed the energy strategies of, and competition among, China, India, Japan, Korea, and ASEAN countries over the next quarter century and identified the relevant foreign policy challenges for the United States. Robert A. Manning has written a book, The Asian Energy Factor: Myths and Dilemmas of Energy, Security
and the Pacific Future, which examines the issues raised in the group’s meetings and draws relevant conclusions and recommendations for the policy community.

**Study Group on China and the Environment**  
**Project Director:** Elizabeth C. Economy

The importance of China’s environmental practices both for its domestic stability and for the resolution of global environmental problems is growing. This study group will address three core questions that U.S. policymakers should consider. First, how are the environmental challenges in China leading to the establishment of new political institutions, actors, and alliances that may challenge the political system? Second, with which Chinese actors should the United States engage in dialogue and cooperative ventures? Finally, what do these domestic political changes suggest for China’s interest in and capacity for responding to the U.S. environmental priorities, such as global climate change? Elizabeth Economy will write a book to assess environmental trends within the broader context of China’s political and economic reforms and its expanding linkages to the outside world. The analysis will also serve as the basis for a set of policy recommendations for U.S. officials as they negotiate Sino-American relations.

**Study Group on the Impact of Leadership Politics on Chinese Foreign Policy**  
**Project Director:** Paul J. Heer

Conventional wisdom suggests that factional politics and leadership maneuvering in Beijing are a key source of China’s approach to the rest of the world. Indeed, U.S. policy toward Beijing is based in part on a set of assumptions about the role internal politics plays in Chinese foreign policymaking. This study group reviewed that conventional wisdom and those assumptions in an effort to assess the validity of the existing framework for understanding the connection between Chinese politics and foreign policy. Key topics that were explored include the parameters of the Chinese political spectrum, the relative weight to assign leadership politics among the factors influencing Beijing’s foreign policy decisions, and the efficacy of policies toward China that are based on the conventional wisdom. The final product was a *Foreign Affairs* article by Paul J. Heer.

**Study Group on Japanese Foreign Policy and U.S. Interests in Asia**  
**Project Director:** Michael J. Green

**Co-Chairs:** Richard Samuels, Nathaniel Thayer, Richard Solomon, Douglas Paal, Gerald Curtis, Patrick Cronin, and Ellen Frost

While the rhetoric of U.S. policy toward Asia increasingly highlights a new “strategic partnership” with China and an “alliance” with Russia, U.S. strategy for the Asia-Pacific region in the next century will only be as credible as the alliance the United States sustains with Japan. Despite close bilateral ties, Washington remains unsure how Tokyo might react to a China-Taiwan conflict, an American confrontation with Iran, or a reoccurrence of the Asian financial crisis.

This study group worked with a similar Tokyo-based group to review case studies that focused on contemporary aspects of Japanese commercial, strategic, cooperative, and financial diplomacy, including Japan’s role in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group; Japan’s Eurasian diplomacy; the emerging dynamics of Sino-Japanese security relations; and Japan’s policy toward the Korean peninsula. Each case study assessed factors such as the domestic determinants of Japanese policy, the role of the United States in Japanese policymaking, the points of bilateral divergence, and the lessons for the United States and Japan in terms of policy objectives and coordination. The study group culminated in a book by Michael J. Green analyzing Japanese foreign policy and its impact on U.S. interests in Asia.

**Winston Lord Roundtable on Asia, the Rule of Law, and U.S. Foreign Policy**  
**Project Directors:** Jerome A. Cohen and Morton Holbrook

This ongoing roundtable series examines the many meanings of the term “rule of law” and the role of law and legal culture in Asian countries’ economic growth, institution building, and protection of human rights. Participants discuss the relevance of the rule of law to U.S. foreign policy and what measures the public and private sectors in this country might adopt to foster desired developments. In 2000, the group focused on the extent to which China adheres to a broad range of international agreements. The roundtable sought an overview of the situation in China. Building on what is known about PRC treaty behavior in political, military, diplomatic, commercial, and cultural
areas, experts from government, nongovernmental organizations, and academia were invited to analyze the record in each field. The goal was to formulate not only more reliable generalizations about China’s treaty conduct but also recommendations that should be useful to U.S. negotiators as well as to Congress, the media, and the public.

**Roundtable on China’s Nuclear Weapons and the Future of Arms Control**

*Project Directors: Robert A. Manning and Richard K. Betts*
*Cosponsored with the National Defense University and the Institute for Defense Analyses*

This ongoing roundtable series brings together leading specialists on China and nuclear weapons to assess China’s nuclear doctrine, strategy, perceptions, and modernization strategy and their implications for the United States and the region. These issues will be assessed with a view toward the prospects of nuclear arms reductions. A written analysis of the conclusions derived from last year’s roundtable sessions was produced.

**U.S.-China Roundtable**

*Project Director: Elizabeth C. Economy*

This series provides an opportunity for Council members to hear prominent speakers and to discuss the full range of issues that define the U.S.-China relationship with China. This year’s speakers included Stephen E. Flynn, Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, and commander, U.S. Coast Guard; Bi-khim Hsiao, director of the Department of International Affairs, Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan; Peter Kwong, director, Asian American Studies, and professor of sociology, Hunter College; Sheri Xiaoyi Liao, president, Global Village of Beijing, and producer, “Time for Environment,” China Central Television; Ma Ying-Jeou, mayor, Taipei City; Michel Oksenberg, senior fellow, Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University; Michael Pillsbury, visiting fellow, National Defense University; James Stapleton Roy, assistant secretary of defense for intelligence and research; and Song Yongyi, librarian, Dickinson College.

**Roundtable on India**

*Co-Chairs: Frank G. Wisner II and Marshall Bouton*
*Cosponsored with the Asia Society*

The Indian nuclear tests in 1998 underscored the deep rift in the relationship between the United States and India. As a new century of America’s economic and strategic interests in Asia begins, it is difficult to see how the United States can pursue its ambitions in the region without involving India. In an effort to examine the potential for improving U.S.-India relations, the Council on Foreign Relations and the Asia Society convened a set of participants from various fields, bringing fresh perspectives on U.S. goals and strategies for future relations with India. Three fundamental questions were examined during the roundtable series: What are the basic assumptions, both U.S. and Indian, underlying the relationship? Where do these assumptions converge and diverge? How can leaders formulate better policies to address the areas of divergence and to build on the areas of convergence? The roundtable produced a detailed memorandum of policy for President Clinton for his March visit to India, and its co-chairs participated in the president’s briefing by experts. Op-eds were published in the *Los Angeles Times* and *India Today*. The co-chairs also took charge of or participated in a range of briefings for the press and academic and business audiences. It will continue to work on developing policy advice for the next administration.

*Myung-So Lee, Speaker Yasuaki Onuma, University of Tokyo Graduate School of Law and Politics, Presider Jerome A. Cohen, and Helena Kolenda at the April 10, 2000, Winston Lord Roundtable on Asia, the Rule of Law, and U.S. Foreign Policy, “How to Overcome the U.S.-China Human Rights War.”*
James J. Shinn Roundtable on Southeast Asia
PROJECT DIRECTOR: DOV S. ZAKHEIM
The purpose of this roundtable is to identify the most salient issues that might be suitable for in-depth examination by a Council-sponsored independent task force on this subject. This series addresses a range of issues, including security, economic, environmental, and social concerns, affecting individual states in the region, the region as a whole, and major extraregional actors such as China and Japan, as well as American policy concerns relating to those issues. Each meeting addresses its theme against the backdrop of U.S. policy and highlights current and prospective issues and challenges for American policymakers.

Conference on Rethinking Cross-Strait Relations: The Contributions of Comparative and International Law to the Taiwan Problem
PROJECT DIRECTORS: JEROME A. COHEN AND ROBERT A. MANNING
Taiwan remains one of the most volatile flashpoints in the Asia-Pacific region. A confrontation in the Taiwan Strait is one of the few post–Cold War scenarios that could lead the United States into a direct armed conflict with another nuclear weapons state, China. This two-day nonpartisan “track two” conference held in February 2000 brought together leading scholars and analysts from mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the West in a neutral setting. The meeting assessed the issues and explored new approaches to shaping the future of greater China based on the contributions of comparative and international law.

AFRICA

Study Group on Thinking Regionally about Africa
PROJECT DIRECTOR: SALIH BOOKER
The study group discussed the conceptualization of American national interests in Africa and debated strategies to promote U.S. relationships with Africa in a manner conducive to building regional economic, security, and political cooperation with and among nations in each of Africa’s five regions. Consisting of American and African specialists, members of the group reviewed portions of a manuscript that offered a rationale and framework for organizing America’s Africa policy around U.S. interests in each subregion and discussed criteria for prioritizing U.S. interests in Africa by subregion and function (security; democracy; and economic development, trade, and investment).

Africa Roundtable Series
PROJECT DIRECTOR: GWENDOLYN MIKELL
Roundtables in New York and Washington, D.C., provide Council members and others engaged in work on Africa with regular opportunities for critical analysis of policy issues addressed by domestic and foreign policy experts. This ongoing roundtable has a dialogue format that focuses on the examination of different American and African perspectives on the process of globalization. Discussion topics include the African Trade Bill and trade policy; African strategic resources at the core of conflicts; multilateral aspects of African militarization; enhancing African intellectual production; AIDS and endogenous African diseases; and African women in politics and peace. The goal is to assess currently emerging African and American policy on the above issues and to provide dialogue for future policy.

Roundtable on Capital Flows to Sub-Saharan Africa
PROJECT DIRECTOR: MAHESH K. KOTECHA
CHAIR: MAURICE TEMPELSMAN
This roundtable assessed the prospects for increasing capital flows to successful African countries. It tapped the views and participation of CEOs and senior executives of American multinational corporations and investment funds, as well as academics, former and current government officials, and others with active interest in Africa, to focus on the investment prospects of the African winners, such as Botswana, Mauritius, and Uganda, among others. Participants assessed the risks and returns for investors, identified constraints to the rapid growth of investment, and determined concrete steps that might be taken by African countries, multilateral and other official agencies, and the private sector to facilitate rising debt and equity capital flows.
Studies Program

Europe

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

Study Group on Overcoming Europe’s Divide: NATO Enlargement and the Search for a New European Security Order

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RONALD D. ASMUS

This project is about American leadership, NATO enlargement, and the search for a new security order in Europe after the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War. Ronald Asmus will examine the most far-reaching and controversial debate over Europe and the U.S. role in Europe since the North Atlantic alliance was founded in 1949 under Harry Truman and Dean Acheson—the debate over expanding NATO’s membership and missions to build a Europe whole and free in ongoing alliance with the United States. This project will focus on the ideas, diplomacy, and politics that created the consensus in the United States and across the Atlantic to bring new democracies in central and eastern Europe into NATO; to intervene militarily in crises in Bosnia and Kosovo to halt ethnic cleansing; and to build a new cooperative relationship with NATO’s former adversary, Russia. The project will also examine the impact of economics on the debate. It will result in a book that tells the story of this extraordinary period and shows the lessons learned to help set the future U.S. policy agenda and an article on economics and security in U.S.-European relations.

George F. Kennan Roundtable on Russia at the Crossroads

PROJECT DIRECTOR: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY

This ongoing roundtable serves as a forum for comprehensive scrutiny of all aspects of Russia’s evolving political, economic, social, foreign policy, and defense developments. The overall goal is to assess the trends underway, with a particular focus on the current political and economic crisis gripping Moscow; to grasp the interrelationships among the factors involved; and to develop a full range of alternative scenarios for Russia’s future by highlighting the key policy drivers. This year’s roundtable focused in particular on the ramifications and influence of the recent Kosovo crisis on Russian foreign policy. It also focused on the developments leading up to the elections for the Duma and the presidency and their impact on U.S.-Russian relations.

Roundtable on Russian Nationalism and Foreign Policy

PROJECT DIRECTOR AND SESSION ONE CHAIR: ASTRID S. TUMINEZ
SESSION TWO CHAIR: KIMBERLY M. ZISK
SESSION THREE CHAIR: DAVID SPEEDIE
SESSION FOUR CHAIR: ASTRID S. TUMINEZ
SESSION FIVE CHAIR: WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

This roundtable focuses on the evolution of Russian nationalism, especially in the context of the 1999 Duma elections and the June 2000 presidential elections. What definitions of Russian national identity and national mission will dominate Russian political discourse, and how will this discourse define the role of the United States or the collective “West” in Russia’s further evolution? To what extent do Russian nationalist ideas influence, and to what extent are they influenced by, the relationship between ethnic Russians and non-Russians in the Russian Federation? Is nationalism helping to stabilize or destabilize center-periphery relations in Russia? Finally, the roundtable assesses the impact of nationalism on specific areas of U.S.-Russian relations and explores the influence of Western policies on the empowerment of benign or more aggressive strands of nationalism in Russia.
Studies Program

Project on East-West Relations
PROJECT DIRECTOR: MICHAEL MANDELBAUM
The Project on East-West Relations takes an in-depth look at areas and issues of central importance to the United States and from which large-scale conflict could arise. Since its inception in 1987, the project has produced twelve books. The most recent book, *The New European Diasporas*, explores the past, present, and future of four national groups—Hungarians, Russians, Serbs, and Albanians—scattered uneasily among several sovereign states in postcommunist eastern Europe. Edited by Michael Mandelbaum, the book includes chapters by Aurel Braun, Bennett Kovrig, Susan Woodward, and Elez Biberaj. The project’s previous book, *The New Russian Foreign Policy*, features essays by Leon Aron, Sherman Garnett, Rajan Menon, and Coit Blacker.

Latin America

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

Study Group on Brazil
PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL
Although Brazil is seen by many as a country that has yet to achieve its full potential, it is often forgotten that its economy and population are larger than those of Russia. While great disparities of income exist, Brazil has a powerful entrepreneurial class; a substantial industrial base; a middle class comprising some 40 million with a purchasing power of over $500 billion; a vibrant culture; and boisterous mass media. The study group will be organized around a series of sessions using chapters for a book by Kenneth R. Maxwell, to be titled *Brazil at 500*, as background papers. The aim is to examine some of the complex cultural, political, historical, and socioeconomic constraints that have conditioned Brazil’s development and to provide an accessible text that will help explain Brazil to those in the policy, academic, journalistic, and financial communities who find themselves baffled by the vast and surprisingly little-known giant whose successes or failures will profoundly influence the future of Latin America and the Western Hemisphere as a whole.

Study Group on U.S.–Latin America Relations
PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL
One curious consequence of the end of the Cold War for Latin America has been its relegation to a mushy zone where hard choices seem unnecessary; the great disadvantage for U.S. policymakers is that this mindset makes any realistic assessment of interests in the region virtually impossible. But to begin any fruitful debate about U.S. policy options in the Americas, such an exercise is absolutely necessary and long overdue. This study group will look at potential “hot spots” and challenges to the “Washington consensus” in Latin America, as well as the success stories in the region. It will also assess how U.S. policy might better respond to both potential crises and potential opportunities. The result of the study group will be a succinct book, *Setting Priorities for the 21st Century: The United States and Latin America*.

Roundtable on Cuba and U.S.-Cuban Relations
PROJECT DIRECTOR: JULIA E. SWEIG
CO-CHAIRS: BERNARD ARONSON AND WILLIAM D. ROGERS
This roundtable, held in Washington, D.C., addresses a range of issues such as the resolution of outstanding property claims; bilateral and regional security interests;
the status of the U.S. military base at Guantánamo Bay; the implications for the Western Hemisphere of the restoration of a Cuban sugar quota; the impact on the Caribbean economy of resuming normal bilateral trade relations; Cuban participation in the Caribbean Basin Initiative and the Free Trade Area of the Americas; prospects for Cuba’s reentry into the Organization of American States; and the integration of Cuba into the international financial system. In addition, the roundtable highlights an examination of history, culture, race, and religion as these elements pertain to current conditions on the island and to policy implications for the United States.

**Latin America Roundtable**

*Project Directors: Kenneth R. Maxwell and Julia E. Sweig*

The Latin America Roundtable provides updates on breaking economic and political events in Latin America. The seminars are designed to provide prompt, thoughtful analysis of rapidly changing political and economic developments in the region. Although the seminars may be treated as discrete topics, taken together, the series provides a broad overview and a comparative perspective on the major issues, events, and debates in the Americas. This year’s seminars examined prospects for Colombia’s future; the Chávez regime in Venezuela; Argentinian presidential elections; the politics of Mexican economic and political transition; Latin America’s response to the global economic crisis; and the problems of development and regional integration in the Caribbean. The roundtable also expanded its activities in Washington, D.C., to examine such topics as the consolidation of democracy, U.S.–Latin American relations, and country focuses on Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, and Cuba.

**Roundtable on U.S.-Mexican Relations**

*Project Directors: Kenneth R. Maxwell and Riordan Roett (School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University)*

While much has been written about recent political and economic events in Mexico, there has been little analysis of the medium- and long-term policy implications of trends in Mexico for the United States. The ongoing roundtable on U.S.-Mexican relations reviews the current atmosphere in Mexico with particular emphasis on the consequences of the democratization of the political system; the presidential elections in 2000; the increase in the responsibility and size of the Mexican military; the implications of the emergence of guerrilla groups in different regions of Mexico; the dramatic increase in drug transfers and money laundering along the border; the future of Mexican immigration to the United States; and the outlook for political and economic stability in Mexico.

**The Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Series**

*Project Director: Kenneth R. Maxwell*

The Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Series is an annual, in-depth examination of the prospects and most important issues facing Inter-American relations in the year ahead. The 2000 series will examine the economic and political outlook in Latin America.

**Middle East**

*Program Director: Richard W. Murphy*

**Middle East Roundtable**

*Project Director: Richard W. Murphy*

This roundtable series analyzes timely issues in the region and their impact on Middle Eastern countries. Meetings last year included a conversation with Kur-
dish leader Jalal Talabani on the tensions and shifting winds of the Kurdish situation in Iraq, a debate between an Israeli and a Palestinian academic who are leading the way for a revisionist history of Israel and the Palestinians, and a panel of female film directors from Iran on the role of working women in that country.

**Middle East Forum**  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR: JUDITH KIPPER**  
The Middle East Forum, a regional program established in 1985 in Washington, D.C., engages key policy and opinion makers from many countries to probe vital Middle East political, economic, and strategic issues. The forum promotes analysis of regional developments and historical perspectives in discussions of U.S. policy, as well as current political, economic, and strategic realities that influence foreign policy decision-making. The forum focuses on American interests in the Middle East in its candid examination of regional developments with key players and a wide spectrum of area specialists and practitioners.

**U.S./MIDDLE EAST**

**U.S./Middle East Project**  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN**  
**PROJECT COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS**  
The U.S./Middle East Project organizes study groups, conferences, missions, roundtables, and consultations to forge new private/public-sector coalitions to advance the peace process in the Middle East in both its political and its economic dimensions. The International Board of the U.S./Middle East Project, which advises the project, is co-chaired by Osama el Baz, political adviser to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, and Robert K. Litton, Council member and Chairman of Medis Technologies, with Saudi Ambassador Bandar Bin Sultan as honorary chair; it comprises senior public- and private-sector leaders from the Middle East, the United States, and Europe.

**U.S./Middle East Project Roundtable**  
**CHAIR: HENRY SIEGMAN**  
**PROJECT COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS**  
The U.S./Middle East Project organizes roundtable discussions featuring major participants in the Middle East peace process. Senior political and diplomatic figures such as Ehud Barak, Amre Moussa, and Dennis Ross were featured in previous roundtables. This year’s speakers presented a wide array of perspectives on the peace process. They included Yousef bin al-Alawi, foreign minister of Oman; Yossi Beilin, justice minister of Israel; and Shaikh Jassem Al-Thani, crown prince and heir apparent of Qatar, with Shaikh Hamad Al-Thani, foreign minister of Qatar. Prominent academics who spoke at the U.S./Middle East Project Roundtable include Dominique Moïsi of the French Institute of International Relations; Khalil Shikaki of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research; and Ephraim Kleiman and Moshe Maoz of the Hebrew University.

**Conference on the Middle East in the 21st Century**  
**PROJECT COORDINATORS: HENRY SIEGMAN AND JONATHAN S. PARIS**  
**COSPONSORED WITH TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY**  
The second U.S./Middle East Project–Tel Aviv University conference took place at the Council on December 6–7, 1999. The conference addressed topics critical to the future of the Middle East: political transitions and security issues in the region, the implications of the Wye peace accords, the peace process, and the future of the region’s economy. Speakers included Stuart E. Eizenstat, deputy secretary, U.S. Treasury; Nabil Shaath, minister of planning and international cooperation, Palestinian Authority; Jacob Frenkel, former governor of the Bank of Israel; Stanley Fischer, deputy director of
Studies Program

the International Monetary Fund; Itamar Rabinovich, president of Tel Aviv University; Geoffrey Kemp of the Nixon Center; and Richard W. Murphy and Henry Siegman of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Study Group on Middle East Trade

STUDY DIRECTOR: BERNARD HOEKMAN (WORLD BANK)
PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN
PROJECT COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

The U.S./Middle East Project has formed a study group on trade and investment in the Middle East in the context of a general state of peace in the region. The study group identifies the comparative advantages of various geographic and structural arrangements and examines political and economic obstacles to greater economic integration. To undergird the study’s policy recommendations, a representative sample of the private sector in the Middle East and North Africa region was surveyed to generate information on obstacles to expanding intraregional trade (exports and imports) and investments. The study also conducted a computable general equilibrium analysis (including a gravity model) of the impact of removing barriers on overall trade and investment between Egypt and Tunisia. Following the final meeting of the group, Bernard Hoekman will complete a short book.

U.S.-European Consultation on the Middle East

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN
PROJECT COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS
COSPONSORED WITH THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTRY

The fourth annual U.S.-European Consultation on the Middle East was held in Berlin on March 14–15, 2000. The consultation brought together senior government officials in the U.S. Departments of State and Defense and the U.S. intelligence community with their counterparts from seven European Union countries and the European Commission to conduct informal and confidential discussions on developments in the Middle East. The Berlin program included panels on the peace process, Iran and Iraq, regional cooperation, and the future of the Middle East in a state of peace.

International Board Missions to the Middle East

PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN
PROJECT COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS

The International Board of the U.S./Middle East Project undertook two missions to the Middle East this year. The October 1999 mission covered six countries, where the board held meetings with government and business leaders, including Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia; Sultan Qaboos of Oman; Sheikh Hamad, emir of Qatar; President Ali Abdullah Saleh of Yemen; and King Abdullah of Jordan. In March 2000, the board met Moroccan government and business leaders in a mission to Rabat and Casablanca. Led by Senior Fellow Henry Siegman, the delegation included International Board members from the United States, France, Israel, Kuwait, Lebanon, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia.

Peace and Conflict

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN

Study Group on Ethnic Conflict, Partition, and Postconflict Reconstruction

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RADHA KUMAR
CO-CHAIRS: MAHNAZ ISPAHANI AND ANTHONY LAKE

This study group is assessing the pros and cons of partition as a solution to the growing number of ethnic conflicts around the world, with a special emphasis on peace processes to bypass or overcome the hostilities of partition. The participating scholars and practitioners are undertaking a comparative study of...
five cases of de facto or de jure ethnic partition—India-Pakistan, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Israel-Palestine, and Bosnia-Herzegovina—to determine what lessons can be drawn for future conflict prevention, resolution, stabilization, and reconstruction. The group’s analysis and recommendations will be highlighted in a book by Radha Kumar as well as on a website and possibly a CD-ROM.

Study Group on Refugee Policy

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: ARTHUR C. HELTON**

**CHAIR: STEPHEN J. FRIEDMAN**

This study group analyzes recent international responses to forced migration emergencies. Particular emphasis is placed on responses to complex humanitarian crises that unfolded over the past decade in the former Yugoslavia and East Timor. To illuminate broader points, comparisons are undertaken with other recent cases, including Cambodia, northern Iraq, Haiti, and Rwanda.

Specifically, the study group reviews and comments upon drafts of a book-length manuscript by Arthur C. Helton. The book will treat issues for decision-makers of managing forced migration, including encouraging preventive policy approaches, identifying criteria for humanitarian intervention and for involving the military, evaluating the efficacy of responses to humanitarian catastrophes, and recommending a set of calibrated tools to protect refugees and the displaced. Ways to strengthen the emerging international framework to build sustainable peace after a crisis abates will also be treated in the book.

Roundtable on Refugees and the Displaced

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: ROBERT P. DEVECCHI**

This roundtable brings together policymakers, practitioners, journalists, academics, and other concerned individuals for face-to-face dialogue on specific issues concerning refugees and the internally displaced. Recent subjects have included East Timor, Kosovo, Chechnya, the continuing refugee emergencies in Africa, the internally displaced in Haiti, the problem of land mines as an impediment to refugee repatriation, the role of the illicit diamond trade in perpetuating civil strife, and ways to improve collaboration among governments, the United Nations, humanitarian relief organizations, and human rights groups. The roundtable targets members and staff who have a special interest in refugees, the displaced, and humanitarian issues. The roundtable continues to monitor ongoing and emerging complex humanitarian emergencies and provides a forum for discussion and exchange of information. Roundtable summaries, including policy recommendations, are posted on the Council’s website.

Roundtable on Partnering for Peace: A Unified-Field Approach for the New Millennium: The United Nations, the World Bank, NGOs, and the Private Sector

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALLAN GERSON**

This roundtable reviewed the dilemmas of peace building through an examination, in particular, of events in Bosnia, West Bank/Gaza, and Mozambique. It analyzed the efforts being made at the United Nations under Secretary-General Kofi Annan, and at the World Bank under President James D. Wolfensohn. Drawing on this analysis, it recommended creation of a new entity—a Peace Transitions Council—to engage the United Nations, the World Bank, nongovernmental organizations, and the private sector in coordina-
tion of functions and implementation of strategy. If successful, resurgence of popular and governmental support for relief, reconstruction, and creation of “civil” societies could be expected. The product was a report submitted to the World Bank in April 2000.

**U.N. Roundtable**

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: RUTH WEDGWOOD**

The U.N. roundtable discusses the international security crises and political problems that can be addressed by U.S. foreign policy through the United Nations. The roundtable has looked at East Timor, Kosovo, Iraq, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and nuclear nonproliferation, as well as U.N. reform. Roundtable discussants are drawn from the senior ranks of U.N. diplomatic missions, nongovernmental organizations, the U.N. Secretariat, academia, business, and journalism, as well as the U.S. government.

**Roundtable on Women’s Human Rights and U.S. Interests**

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER**  
**CO-CHAIRS: JACK SNYDER AND ADELE SIMMONS**

During the past decade, the extraordinary growth of activity and effectiveness on the part of women’s nongovernmental organizations has helped put in place a new human rights framework for advancing the claims of women internationally. This roundtable explored the ways the increased economic and political participation of women within their various societies and at the international level may further U.S. international security goals. While women’s rights have been viewed heretofore chiefly as a moral concern, the project aims to help situate the issue within the discussion of U.S. interests for both scholars and officials. Sessions focused on the impact of women’s agendas on international norms and interaction, the effectiveness of grassroots women’s groups as building blocks for civil society, the role of women’s capacity in economic growth, and the implications of these developments for U.S. goals of democratization and stable governance. The end product will be a monograph and several op-ed pieces.

**Center for Preventive Action***

**DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN**

The Center for Preventive Action (CPA) was established in 1994 to study and test conflict prevention. Many of today’s most serious international problems—ethnic conflicts, failing states, and humanitarian disasters—could have been averted or ameliorated with effective early attention. In order to investigate the prevention of such crises, the CPA selected four case studies through which to test the viability of conflict prevention: the Great Lakes region of Africa, the Ferghana Valley of Central Asia, Nigeria, and the south Balkans. The CPA draws on the knowledge gained from all four case studies, the experience of others, and previous studies to determine what strategies are the most effective in the field of conflict prevention. In collaboration with the Century Foundation, the CPA has established a series of preventive action reports to disseminate its recommendations and other findings.

*In July 2000, the Center for Preventive Action was relaunched with a more operational focus under the leadership of a new director, Frederick S. Tipson. See page 62 for more details.*
Study Group on Preventing Deadly Conflict

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN**

**CO-CHAIRS: ANTONIA HANDEL CHAYES AND JOHN W. VESSEY**

This study group is considering the Center for Preventive Action’s work on its four case studies—the Great Lakes region of Africa, the Ferghana Valley, Nigeria, and the south Balkans—to draw broader lessons about conflict prevention. The group brought together experts in the field to discuss draft chapters of a forthcoming book on conflict prevention by Barnett R. Rubin.

Great Lakes Policy Forum

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN**

In 1994, Rwanda suffered an outbreak of ethnic conflict that ended with the military defeat of the regime that initiated the violence. After the end of the genocide, tension remained and violence subsequently spread throughout the region, especially to neighboring Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The CPA, along with Refugees International, Search for Common Ground, and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, established the Great Lakes Policy Forum to address the problems in the region. The Great Lakes Policy Forum meets monthly to enable international actors working to prevent further violence in the region to exchange information, coordinate strategies, evaluate activities, and advocate policies to the United States and other governments. This forum meets in Washington, D.C., and is open to all. Other activities include the confidential Security Working Group, which also meets monthly.

Ferghana Valley Working Group

**PROJECT DIRECTORS: BARNETT R. RUBIN AND NANCY LUBIN**

**CHAIR: SAM NUNN**

The Ferghana Valley region of Central Asia cuts across the three newly independent states of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan and is one of the most densely populated and volatile areas of the former Soviet Union. Regional tensions arise from ethnic, religious, environmental, and economic problems. The CPA Ferghana Valley Working Group was formed to assess the potential for future conflict in the region and to suggest ways to move the region toward economic and political reform and stability. A delegation of the working group visited the region in March 1997, met with a wide range of actors, and prepared a report based on its findings. The report, “Stabilizing the Ferghana Valley: Promoting Peace in Central Asia,” was released in November 1999 at a conference in Washington, D.C., cosponsored with the Open Society Institute of the Soros Foundation.

Science and Technology

**PROGRAM DIRECTOR: RICHARD L. GARWIN**

Study Group on Global Warming

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: DAVID G. VICTOR**

**CHAIR: RODNEY NICHOLS**

With U.S. industry accounting for one-fifth of annual global emissions of carbon dioxide—the leading cause of global warming—this study group explores U.S. policies that directly target the development and deployment of less-carbon-intensive energy technologies. Since cutting emissions will require massive technological change toward clean, carbon-free fuels, the group sets its sights on long-term technological solutions for the United States and other industrial countries as well as for the developing world. The end
product will be a book by David G. Victor on U.S. policy options.

Study Group on the Great Restoration: Protecting the World’s Forests to 2050

**Project Director: David G. Victor**

**Co-Chairs: Jesse Ausubel and John Spears**

Despite widespread concern about the world’s dwindling forestland, major international efforts to protect forests have not been very effective. This project identifies the technical potential for protecting forests around the world over the next half century. It focuses on the role of high-yield forests, such as plantations, which make it possible to shrink the area of forests that are used for supplying timber to world markets, leaving the rest of forests for other purposes such as protection of biological diversity and watersheds. Already there is evidence that this shift is under way—in all temperate and boreal forests, a “restoration” is occurring as forests expand into abandoned croplands and foresters find ways to increase the yield they squeeze from production forests. The project is exploring the technical and political obstacles to accelerating this restoration. Products include a major article on effective long-term strategies for forest protection, as well as numerous technical papers on the project website (greatrestoration.rockefeller.edu). The project has led to follow-up efforts at the Food and Agriculture Organization and at the Liu Center (University of British Columbia), and the “vision” for future forests developed by the project is now being used in regional forestry planning meetings and in planning efforts by business and environmental groups.

Study Group on U.S. Foreign Policy and the Challenges of Improving the Health of Populations

**Project Director: Jordan S. Kassalow**

**Co-Chairs: Princeton Lyman and Jo Ivey Boufford**

In the post–Cold War world, the forces of globalization are making countries increasingly interdependent. Thus, transnational issues like global health threats will pose greater dangers to national security, economics, trade, and human development. Despite this new reality, the U.S. foreign policy infrastructure is not well equipped to take a leadership position in this field. This project will create the rationale for placing global health threats more squarely on the U.S. foreign policy agenda and identify effective strategies for doing so. The project will hold at least four sessions, with final products that will include a global health agenda in line with U.S. national interests.

Roundtable on Advances in Science and Technology: How Will They Affect U.S. Foreign Policy?

**Project Directors: David G. Victor and Richard L. Garwin**

Advances in science and technology are transforming people’s lives, but are they affecting U.S. foreign policy—how the United States establishes its interests and perceives dangers as well as opportunities? Experienced U.S. foreign policy leaders were brought together with leaders in science and technology to address this question during a one-day roundtable on March 31, 2000. The group explored three important fields of science and technology—information technology, molecular biology and its applications, and national security technology—which will be revisited individually in three follow-up sessions over the next year.

**U.S. Foreign Policy**

Study Group on the Effect of U.S. Hegemony on Relations with Russia, China, France, and Japan

**Project Director: Victoria Nuland**

The purpose of this project was to examine changing attitudes of Russia, China, France, and Japan toward the United States. The goal was to assess the effect of increasing U.S. international dominance on these countries’ willingness and ability to cooperate with the United States. The study looked at public and government attitudes toward the United States in the four countries and U.S. interaction with them on recent major issues, including Kosovo, Iraq, the Asian financial crisis, and Taiwan. The final product will be an article by Victoria Nuland.

Study Group on the History of U.S. Foreign Policy

**Project Director: Walter Russell Mead**

**Chair: Mario Baeza**

The goal of this project is to support the completion of a book by Walter Mead, *Understanding the American Foreign Policy Tradition*. The book will explain how foreign policy has played a major role in domestic American politics throughout the country’s history; how
foreign policy and domestic politics are much more deeply connected than the conventional wisdom acknowledges; how interest in international relations has long been a major concern of nonelite, nonmercantile elements of the American polity; and how persistent schools of thought about American foreign policy have shaped and continue to shape public debates and government policy.

**Roundtable on U.S. Foreign Policy at the Millennium: Moving from Political Theory to Political Engineering**

*Project Director: Kiron K. Skinner*

This roundtable examines the relationship between domestic considerations and U.S. foreign policy during the upcoming presidential election year. The goal of the roundtable is to provide a systematic set of policy lessons about how to interpret and manage the domestic political terrain of U.S. foreign policy. Topics for discussion include the policy implications of democratic peace theory, the identification of foreign policy leadership in the United States and abroad, and the perception of domestic-international connections in the United States by other countries. The end product of this roundtable will be an article by Kiron K. Skinner.

**Other Activities**

**Managing Global Security and Rogue States: Lessons from UNSCOM**

*Project Director: Richard Butler*

Eight years after the establishment of the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) to “destroy, remove, or render harmless” Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction (WMD), Saddam Hussein declared that UNSCOM would no longer be permitted to conduct its disarmament work. In the face of such overt defiance, the Security Council has been paralyzed by the conflicting national interests of its permanent members. Iraq’s continuing refusal to fulfill its disarmament obligations has thus not only undermined the Security Council’s capacity to enforce its resolutions as international law but may also jeopardize the international commitment to the WMD nonproliferation regime.

Richard Butler has been studying the implications of these developments while writing a book based on his recent position as UNSCOM’s executive chairman. This recently published book, *The Greatest Threat: Iraq, Weapons of Mass Destruction, and the Crisis of Global Security*, presents an analysis of specific events from his two-year tenure as the organization’s chief disarmament expert and negotiator. He specifically draws upon his experiences in guiding all UNSCOM operations; directing negotiations with the government of Iraq; leading discussions with heads of government, foreign and defense ministers, and intelligence chiefs; and advising the Security Council on relevant policy matters.

**Global Kids Roundtable**

*Project Directors: Tracey A. Dunn and Robert Thomson*

*Cosponsored with Global Kids, Inc.*

The Global Kids Roundtable is a community outreach initiative that introduces high school students to international relations issues with the hope that some will pursue degrees or careers in this area. In conjunction with Global Kids, Inc., the roundtable brings together a racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically diverse group of students from all five boroughs of New York City and younger Council staff to explore broad foreign policy issues.
Next Generation Fellow Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: LAWRENCE J. KORB
CHAIR: ALLAN E. GOODMAN
COSPONSORED WITH THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

This roundtable brings together the Council’s Next Generation Fellows and term members with a group of Fulbright scholars and students in New York and Washington, D.C., to discuss breaking issues on the foreign policy agenda. The Council’s younger scholars are the featured speakers in this series, which aims to foster networks among the next generation of foreign policy professionals as they debate the questions that drive the international agenda today and in the years to come.

Fellows

LAWRENCE J. KORB
Vice President and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies
EXPERTISE: National security organization, policy, and process; U.S. foreign policy, arms control, and defense budget; NATO.
EXPERIENCE: Director, Center for Public Policy Education, and Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program, Brookings Institution (1988–98); Adjunct Professor, National Security Studies, Georgetown University (1981–93); Dean, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh (1986–88); Vice President, Corporate Operations, Raytheon Company (1985–86); Assistant Secretary of Defense (1981–85); Professor of Management, U.S. Naval War College (1975–80).
HONORS: Department of Defense’s Medal for Distinguished Public Service.
EDUCATION: Ph.D., State University of New York; M.A., St. John’s University.

THEOPHILOS C. GEMELAS
Associate Director of Studies
EXPERTISE: European security; U.S. foreign and security policy; arms control; NATO.
SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Managing Instability: A Pre-Crisis Approach (coauthor, 2000); “The Future of the Trans-Atlantic Link in the Aftermath of the Madrid Summit” (coauthor, 1999); Formative Peacetime Engagement (coauthor, 1999); NATO Naval Workshop: Change and Stability in the Southern Region (coauthor, 1997).

RONALD D. ASMUS
Senior Fellow, Europe Studies
EXPERTISE: U.S.-European relations and European security; central, eastern, and northern Europe; and U.S. foreign policy.
HONORS: U.S. Department of State’s Order of Merit; the Republic of Poland’s Commander’s Cross, Order of Merit; and the Republic of Lithuania’s Order of the Grand Duke Gediminas (Second Class).
EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies; B.A., University of Wisconsin, Madison.

RICHARD K. BETTS
Adjunct Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies
EXPERTISE: International conflict; U.S. defense policy; military strategy; political and military intelligence.
Studies Program

EXPERIENCE: Professor of Political Science and Director of the Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University (current); Member, National Commission on Terrorism (1999–2000); Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution (1981–90); Staff Member, National Security Council (1977); Staff Member, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (1975–76); Lecturer in Government, Harvard University (1975–76).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Military Readiness (1995); Conflict after the Cold War (editor, 1994); Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises, 2d ed. (1991); Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance (1987); Surprise Attack (1982); Cruise Missiles (editor, 1981); The Irony of Vietnam (editor, 1979).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., B.A., Harvard University.

SALIH BOOKER
Senior Fellow, Africa Studies

EXPERTISE: Economic, political, and security issues in Africa; Congress and U.S. foreign policy; diversity in U.S. international relations; international development cooperation in Africa.


EDUCATION: London School of Economics; University of Ghana (Legon); B.A., Wesleyan University.

RACHEL BRONSON
Olin Fellow, National Security Studies, and Next Generation Fellow

EXPERTISE: National security; Middle East.

EXPERIENCE: Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies (1997–99); Consultant, Center for Naval Analyses (1998–99); Fellow, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University (1994–96); Adjunct Professor, Columbia University (1995).


EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Columbia University; B.A., University of Pennsylvania.

RICHARD BUTLER
Diplomat in Residence

EXPERTISE: Arms control; international security issues; United Nations; Middle East.


HONORS: Smith Richardson research grant (1996–97); Alice Paul Dissertation Award (1995).

EDUCATION: D.Univ., University of New England; M.Ec., Australian National University; B.Ec., University of Sydney.

JEROME A. COHEN
Senior Fellow, Asia Studies

EXPERTISE: Legal and business transactions in Asia; international law; international relations of East Asia.
EXPERIENCE: Professor, New York University Law School (current); Senior Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (current); Professor, Director of East Asian Legal Studies, and Associate Dean, Harvard University Law School (1964–81); Professor of Law, University of California, Berkeley (1959–64).


EDUCATION: J.D., A.B., Yale University.

ROBERT P. DEVECCHI
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Refugees and the Displaced

EXPERTISE: Refugee policy issues; emergency relief operations; humanitarian assistance programs; refugee movements and resettlement.


EDUCATION: M.B.A., Harvard University; B.A., Yale University.

PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY

George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Vice President, and Washington Program Director

EXPERTISE: European political and military affairs; Russia and Ukraine; democracy and human rights; U.S. foreign policy.


HONORS: State Department’s Superior Honor Award; Poland’s highest medal of merit.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Harvard University; B.S.F.S., Georgetown University.

DAVID A. DUFFIÉ

1999–2000 Military Fellow

EXPERTISE: Naval warfare; employment of naval forces in Europe; submarines; Europe and Central America; NAFTA; international security studies.

EXPERIENCE: Commanding Officer, USS *Simon Lake* (AS-33), La Maddalena, Sardinia, Italy (1997–99); Joint Secretariat to the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Pentagon (1995–97); Prospective Commanding Officer Instructor, COMSUBPAC Staff, Pearl Harbor (1992–94); Commanding Officer, USS *Helena* (SSN 725) (1990–92).

EDUCATION: M.S., National Defense University; B.S., United States Naval Academy.

ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY
Senior Fellow, China Studies, and Deputy Director, Asia Studies

EXPERTISE: Chinese domestic and foreign policy; global environmental issues.


SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: “Reforming China,” *Survival* (1999); “Painting China Green,” *Foreign Affairs* (1999); *China Joins the World: Progress and Prospects* (co-editor, 1999); *Reforms and Resources: The Implications for State Capacity in the People’s Republic of China* (1997); *The In-
internationalization of Environmental Protection (co-editor, 1997).

HONORS: University of Michigan Outstanding Teaching Award (1990); SSRC–MacArthur Foundation Fellowship in International Peace and Security Studies.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., University of Michigan; A.M., Stanford University; B.A., Swarthmore College.

STEPHEN E. FLYNN
Senior Fellow, National Security Studies

EXPERTISE: Border control; international crime and the drug trade; transportation security.

EXPERIENCE: Commander, U.S. Coast Guard (current); Associate Professor, U.S. Coast Guard Academy (current); Director, Office of Global Issues, National Security Council (1997); Guest Scholar, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution (1991–93); Commanding Officer, U.S. Coast Guard (1992–93, 1984–86).


EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A.L.D., Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University; B.S., U.S. Coast Guard Academy.

ALTON FRYE
Presidential Senior Fellow, and Director, Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy

EXPERTISE: National security strategy; arms control; legislative-executive branch relations.

EXPERIENCE: Visiting Professor of Political Science, Harvard University (1996); President, Council on Foreign Relations (1993); Visiting Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles (1964); Staff member for strategic analysis, RAND Corporation (1961–68); frequent consultant to both legislative and executive branches of the U.S. government.


EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Yale University; B.S., St. Louis University.

RICHARD L. GARWIN
Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow for Science and Technology, and Director, Science and Technology Studies

EXPERTISE: Science and technology for communication; computation; transportation; national security; and health care.

EXPERIENCE: IBM Fellow Emeritus, IBM Research Division (current); Adjunct Professor of Physics, Columbia University (current); Chair, Arms Control and Non-proliferation Advisory Board, Department of State (current).


HONORS: 1996 Enrico Fermi Award of the President and the Department of Energy; 1996 R.V. Jones Intelligence Award of the U.S. Government Foreign Intelligence Community; Member, National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering, Institute of Medicine.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., University of Chicago; B.S., Case Institute of Technology.

ALLAN GERSON
Senior Fellow, International Law and Organizations

EXPERTISE: International law and international organizations; Middle East and North Africa; terrorism; government accountability and immunity.

EXPERIENCE: Executive Director, Morocco-U.S. Council on Trade and Investment (1997–98); Distinguished Professor of International Law and Transactions, George Mason University (1991–97); Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute (1987–91); Deputy Assistant Attorney General, International and National


EDUCATION: J.S.D., Yale Law School; LL.M., Hebrew University of Jerusalem; J.D., New York University School of Law; B.A., University of Buffalo.

MICHAEL J. GREEN

*Olin Senior Fellow, Asia Security Studies*

EXPERTISE: Japan; Korea; East Asian security; U.S. foreign policy toward Asia.

EXPERIENCE: Acting Director, Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (current); Consultant, Office of the Secretary of Defense (current); Professional Research Staff Member, Strategy, Forces, and Resources Division, Institute for Defense Analyses (1995–97); Visiting Assistant Professor of Asian Studies, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (1994–95); Senior Research Associate, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1990–1997); Special Assistant, Japanese National Diet (1987–89).


EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies; B.A., Kenyon College.

PAUL J. HEER

1999–2000 *Intelligence Fellow*

EXPERTISE: Chinese foreign policy and internal politics; East Asian regional relations; U.S. diplomatic history.

EXPERIENCE: Senior Analyst, Central Intelligence Agency; former chief, Chinese political assessments.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., George Washington University; M.A., University of Iowa; B.A., Loras College.

ARThUR C. HELTON

*Senior Fellow, Refugee Studies and Preventive Action*

EXPERTISE: Human rights; refugee and asylum policy; complex emergencies; humanitarianism; immigration; crisis prevention; international law and organizations.

EXPERIENCE: Visiting Professor, International Relations and European Studies Department, Central European University (current); Adjunct Professor, New York University School of Law (1986–99); Founder and Director, Forced Migration Projects, the Open Society Institute (1994–99); Director, Refugee Project of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (1982–94).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Over 80 scholarly articles and several books concerning refugees and the displaced; op-eds in several major newspapers.

HONORS: The President of the Republic of the Philippines’ Ninoy Aquino Refugee Recognition Award; NYU Law Alumni Association’s Public Interest Award.

EDUCATION: J.D., New York University School of Law; A.B., Columbia College.

MORTON HOLBROOK

1999–2000 State Department Fellow

EXPERTISE: U.S.-China relations; Chinese foreign policy; Chinese domestic events.

EXPERIENCE: Foreign Service Officer since 1975: Commercial Officer, Beijing (1998–99); Deputy Chief, Political Section, Beijing (1996–98); Deputy Chief, Political Section, Tokyo (1993–96); Consul General, Shenyang, China (1990–93); Attorney Adviser, Legal Adviser’s Office, U.S. Department of State (1986–87); Country Officer, Office of Chinese and Mongolian Affairs, U.S. Department of State (1984–86); Political Officer and Special Assistant to the Ambassador, Beijing (1979–83); Economics Officer, Taipei (1977–78).

EDUCATION: LL.M., Columbia University; J.D., University of Chicago; M.A., University of Michigan; B.A., Vanderbilt University.

JORDAN S. KASSALOW

*Adjunct Senior Fellow, Global Health Policy*

EXPERTISE: International global health policy; international development; humanitarian assistance programs; multilateral institutions.
EXPERIENCE: Partner, Drs. Farkas, Kassalow, Farkas PC (current); Lecturer, Faculty of Medicine, Columbia University (current); Chairman, Nongovernmental Development Organization for Ivermectin Distribution (1998–99); Senior Adviser (current) and Director, Onchocerciasis Division (1993–99), Helen Keller International; Technical Adviser, World Health Organization (1996–99); Consultant, River Blindness Foundation (1990–91).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Various articles and manuals in the public health literature.

EDUCATION: M.P.H., Johns Hopkins University; O.D., New England College of Optometry; B.A., University of Vermont.

JUDITH KIPPER
Director, Middle East Forum

EXPERTISE: Regional developments and threats; Arab-Israeli peace process; Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Syria; Persian Gulf; Iran; Iraq; Islamic trends; U.S. Middle East policy.

EXPERIENCE: Codirector, Middle East Studies Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies (current); consultant to ABC News (current); Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution (1987–95); Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute (1980–86); former consultant to the RAND Corporation on international affairs.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: The Middle East in Global Perspective (co-editor, 1991).

EDUCATION: B.A., University of California, Los Angeles.

MAHESH K. KOTECHA
Adjunct Senior Fellow

EXPERTISE: International capital markets; securitization; credit ratings; investment banking; multilateral lending institutions.

EXPERIENCE: President, Structured Credit International Corp. (current); International Security Adviser, Thailand (current); Managing Director, MBIA Insurance Corp. and Capital Markets Assurance Corp. (1989–98); Senior Vice President, Kidder, Peabody & Co. (1987–89); Senior Vice President, Standard & Poor’s (1979–87); Senior Investment Officer, Federal Reserve Bank of New York (1975–79); Planning Officer, United Nations Development Program (1973–75).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Numerous articles in professional publications and journals; contributes to several investment handbooks concerning credit ratings, sovereign risks, and international securitization.

HONORS: Member, International Advisory Panel, East African Development Bank.

EDUCATION: S.M., Alfred P. Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; B.S., Harvey Mudd College.

MARIE-JOSÉE KRAVIS
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Economics

EXPERTISE: International economics; public policy analysis; strategic planning.

EXPERIENCE: Columnist, National Post (current); Member of the Board and Senior Fellow (current), and Executive Director (1973–94), Hudson Institute, Inc.; Director, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Ford Motor Company, Hasbro, Inc., Hollinger International, Inc., and Seagram Company Ltd.; Trustee, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; Director, StarMedia Networks, Inc.; Trustee, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Western European Adjustment to Structural Economic Problems (coauthor, 1987); Canada HAS a Future (1978).

EDUCATION: LL.D., University of Windsor; Ph.D., University of Sudbury; M.A., B.A., University of Ottawa.

ROGER M. KUBARYCH
Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow, International Economics and Finance

EXPERTISE: International finance and economics.


SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Foreign Exchange Markets in the United States (1978); numerous papers and articles in leading journals and newspapers.
**Studies Program**

**EDUCATION:** A.M., Harvard University; M.A., Oxford University; B.A., Williams College.

**RADHA KUMAR**

*Fellow, Peace and Conflict Studies*

**Expertise:** Ethnic conflict; partition; civil society; South Asia; the Balkans.

**EXPERIENCE:** Weaver Fellow, Rockefeller Foundation (1996–97); Associate Fellow, Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University (1994–96); Executive Director, Helsinki’s Citizen’s Assembly, Prague (1992–94); Research Fellow, World Institute of Economics Research, Helsinki (1989–91); Research Fellow, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University (1988).

**SELECTED PUBLICATIONS:** *Divide and Fall? Bosnia in the Annals of Partition* (1997); *Bosnia-Herzegovina: Between War and Peace* (editor, 1993); *A History of Doing: An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women’s Rights and Feminism in India, 1800–1900* (1993); and articles in such publications as *Foreign Affairs, Feminist Review, The Times of India,* and *The Nation* (Pakistan).

**HONORS:** U.S. Committee, Index on Censorship.

**EDUCATION:** Ph.D., M.Phil, Jawaharlal Nehru University; M.A., B.A., Cambridge University.

**CHARLES A. KUPCHAN**

*Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies*

**Expertise:** U.S.–European relations; NATO; European Union; economics; national security; regionalism; nationalism; the Balkans.

**EXPERIENCE:** Associate Professor of International Relations, Georgetown University (current); Director for European Affairs, National Security Council (1993–94); Assistant Professor of Politics, Princeton University (1986–92).

**SELECTED PUBLICATIONS:** *Civic Engagement in the Atlantic Community* (1999); *Atlantic Security: Contending Visions* (1998); *Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe* (1995); *The Vulnerability of Empire* (1994); *The Persian Gulf and the West: The Dilemma of Security* (1987); and numerous articles on international and strategic affairs in prominent newspapers, magazines, and academic journals.

**EDUCATION:** D.Phil., M.Phil., Oxford University; B.A., Harvard University.

**MARCUS MABRY**

1999–2000 *Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow*

**Expertise:** Africa; France; European Union; corporate responsibility; genocide and ethnic conflict.


**SELECTED PUBLICATIONS:** *White Bucks and Black-eyed Peas: Coming of Age Black in White America* (1995); articles in the *New Republic, EMERGE, The Source,* the online magazine *Cirius-B,* and the *Yearbook of the South African Institute on International Affairs.*

**EDUCATION:** M.A., B.A., Stanford University; Certificat, Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris.

**MICHAEL MANDELBAUM**

1999–2000 *Whitney H. Shepardson Fellow*

**Expertise:** Eastern Europe; Russia; CIS; U.S. foreign policy.

**EXPERIENCE:** Christian A. Herter Professor of American Foreign Policy, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (current); faculty member at Harvard University, Columbia University, and the U.S. Naval Academy.

**SELECTED PUBLICATIONS:** *The New European Diasporas* (editor, 2000); *The New Russian Foreign Policy* (editor, 1998); *The Social Safety Net in Postcommunist Europe* (editor, 1997); *Postcommunism: Four Perspectives* (editor, 1996); *The Strategic Quadrangle: Russia, China, Japan, and the United States in East Asia* (editor, 1995); *Central Asia and the World* (editor, 1994).

**EDUCATION:** Ph.D., Harvard University; M.A., King’s College, Cambridge University; B.A., Yale University.

**ROBERT A. MANNING**

C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies, and Director, Asia Studies

**Expertise:** Nuclear issues; national security; Asia-Pacific region (Korea, Japan, China, ASEAN); international economics; energy policy.


EDUCATION: B.A., State University of California, Northridge.

ANN R. MARKUSEN
Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy

EXPERTISE: Defense economics; international economics; arms trade; defense industry; regional development.

EXPERIENCE: Professor and Director, Urban and Regional Planning Program, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota (current); Director, Project on Regional and Industrial Economics, and State of New Jersey Professor of Urban Planning and Policy Development, Rutgers University (1989–99); economic adviser to the Clinton administration (1992–96), to the city of Chicago (1985–87), and to the states of California (1978–82) and Michigan (1971–73); faculty positions at Northwestern University (1986–89), University of California, Berkeley (1977–86), and University of Colorado (1973–77).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Arming the Future: A Defense Industry for the 21st Century (co-editor, 1999); Second Tier Cities (co-editor, 1999); Trading Industries, Trading Regions (1993); articles in such journals as Economic Affairs and American Prospect.

HONORS: Brookings Institution Economic Policy Fellowship; Fulbright Lectureship in Brazil.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Michigan State University; B.A., Georgetown University.

KENNETH R. MAXWELL
Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow, Inter-American Studies, and Director, Latin America Studies

EXPERTISE: U.S.–Latin American relations; Brazil; Portuguese-speaking world.

EXPERIENCE: Book reviewer for Foreign Affairs (current); Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations (1996); Program Director, Tinker Foundation (1979–85); Professor at Yale, Princeton, and Columbia Universities (1976–84).


HONORS: Corresponding Member, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro (1994–present); Commander of the Order of Rio Branco, Brazil (1997).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Princeton University; M.A., B.A., St. John’s College, Cambridge University.

STANLEY A. MCCHRISTAL
1999–2000 Military Fellow

EXPERTISE: Information age warfare; joint special operations.


EDUCATION: M.A., Salve Regina University; M.A., Naval War College; B.S., U.S. Military Academy.

KIMBER L. MCKENZIE
1999–2000 Military Fellow

EXPERTISE: Aerospace warfare; global employment of aerospace forces.
STUDIES PROGRAM


EDUCATION: M.A., Webster University; B.A., Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

WALTER RUSSELL MEAD
Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy

EXPERTISE: U.S. foreign policy; international political economy; Cuba.

EXPERIENCE: Senior Contributing Editor, Worth (current); Contributing Editor, Opinion Page, Los Angeles Times (current); President's Fellow, World Policy Institute at the New School (1987–97); Contributing Editor, Harper's Magazine (1986–91).


EDUCATION: B.A., Yale University.

GWENDOLYN MIKELL
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Africa Studies

EXPERTISE: Economic and political development; African women and development; the politics of peace in Africa.

EXPERIENCE: Director of the Africa Studies Program in the School of Foreign Service and Professor of Anthropology, Georgetown University (current); Visiting Fellow, Institute for Developing Economies (JETRO), Japan (1999); President of the African Studies Association (1996–97); Senior Fellow, United States Institute of Peace (1995–96); Chair, Sociology Department, Georgetown University (1992–95); Visiting Fellow, University of Natal, South Africa (1992); Visiting Fellow, University of Ghana, Legon (1985, 1990).


EDUCATION: Ph.D., Columbia University; M.A., Columbia University; B.A., University of Chicago.

STANLEY MOSKOWITZ
1999–2000 Intelligence Fellow

EXPERTISE: Arab-Israeli affairs; international terrorism; U.S. intelligence system.

EXPERIENCE: Associate Deputy Director, Intelligence; Director of Training; Director of Congressional Affairs; National Intelligence Officer—Soviet Union, Central Intelligence Agency.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Duke University; M.P.A., Harvard University; A.B., Alfred University.

RICHARD W. MURPHY
Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East, and Director, Middle East Studies

EXPERTISE: Middle East; South Asia.

EXPERIENCE: President, Chatham House Foundation, United States (current); Chairman, Middle East Institute (current); Trustee, American University of Beirut (current); John Adams Memorial Lecturer in the United Kingdom on a grant from the Fulbright Commission (1989); Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (1983–89); U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia (1981–83), the Philippines (1978–81), Syria (1974–78), and Mauritania (1971–74).

HONORS: Honorary Doctorates from New England College and Baltimore Hebrew University.

EDUCATION: B.A., Harvard University; A.B., Emmanuel College, Cambridge University.

VICTORIA NULAND
Next Generation Fellow

EXPERTISE: Russia and the former Soviet Union; Europe, national security, and arms control; nonproliferation; international peacekeeping.

EXPERIENCE: Deputy for Russia and Eurasia, Office of Newly Independent States, Department of State (1997–99); State Department Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations (1996–97); Chief of Staff to the Deputy Secretary of State (1994–96); Political Officer, U.S. Em-
bassy, Moscow (1991–93); Tours of duty for the Department of State in Ulan Bator, Mongolia; the Bureaus of European and East Asian and Pacific Affairs; and Guangzhou, China (1984–91).


HONORS: Defense Meritorious Civilian Service Award (1999); several Department of State Superior and Meritorious honor awards.


JONATHAN S. PARIS  
Fellow, U.S./Middle East Project

EXPERTISE: Arab-Israeli conflict; Palestinian-Israeli relations; Middle East/North Africa; Indonesia and Southeast Asia; economic development; ethnic conflict.

EXPERIENCE: Visiting lecturer, modern Middle East, Yale University (1997–98); Vice President, European Investors, Inc. (1989–92); investment banker, Salomon Brothers (1983–89); attorney, Coudert Brothers, Singapore office (1980–83).


EDUCATION: J.D., Stanford Law School; B.A., Yale University.

GIDEON ROSE  
Olin Senior Fellow, Deputy Director, National Security Studies

EXPERTISE: International conflict; Middle East/Persian Gulf/South Asia; terrorism; economic sanctions.

EXPERIENCE: Visiting Professor, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University (1998–99); Lecturer, Department of Politics, Princeton University (1996–97); Associate Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs, National Security Council (1994–95);


EDUCATION: Ph.D., Harvard University; B.A., Yale University.

BARNETT R. RUBIN  
Senior Fellow, Director, Center for Preventive Action, and Director, Peace and Conflict Studies

EXPERTISE: Conflict prevention (Afghanistan, Nigeria, Central Africa, Central Asia, South Balkans); human rights; failed states.

EXPERIENCE: Associate Professor of Political Science, and Director of the Center for the Study of Central Asia, Columbia University (1990–96); Assistant Professor of Political Science, Yale University (1982–89); Jennings Randolph Peace Fellow, United States Institute of Peace (1989–90); consultant to the United Nations on Afghanistan.


HONORS: Member, Secretary of State’s Advisory Committee on Religious Freedom Abroad.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., University of Chicago; B.A., Yale University.

HENRY SIEGMAN  
Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project

EXPERTISE: Middle East peace process; Arab-Israeli relations; U.S.–Middle East policy; interreligious relations.

EXPERIENCE: Executive Director, American Jewish Congress (1978–94); Resident Scholar, Rockefeller Study Center, Bellagio, Italy (1992); Founder, International
Jewish Committee for Inter-religious Consultations (1968); Director, American Association for Middle East Studies, and Editor, Middle East Studies (1958–63).


KIRON K. SKINNER
Adjunct Next Generation Fellow

EXPERTISE: International relations and security.

EXPERIENCE: Assistant Professor, Carnegie Mellon University (current); Research Fellow, Hoover Institution (current); Assistant Professor, Hamilton College (1998–99); President’s Fellow (1996–98) and Visiting Assistant Professor (1994–95), University of California, Los Angeles.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Turning Points in the Ending of the Cold War (co-editor, forthcoming); Linkage and Power: The Demise of Carter’s Détente (forthcoming); and articles in such journals and publications as the Wall Street Journal and National Interest.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Harvard University; B.A., Spelman College.

BENN STEIL
Linda J. Wachner Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Economic Policy

EXPERTISE: International finance and economics: securities trading; financial market regulation; risk management; decision theory; international trade.

EXPERIENCE: Editor, International Finance (current); Member, European Shadow Financial Regulatory Committee (current); consultant and analyst, investment banks, securities exchanges, and governments (1985–present); Director of the International Economics Programme, Royal Institute of International Affairs (1992–98).


HONORS: Fellow, British-American Project.

EDUCATION: D.Phil, M.Phil, Oxford University; B.S., Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.

JESSICA STERN
Adjunct Fellow, Superterrorism

EXPERTISE: Terrorism; weapons of mass destruction; chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons; proliferation; Russia.

EXPERIENCE: National Fellow, Hoover Institution (1995–96); Director, Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs, National Security Council (1994–95); Postdoctoral Fellow, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (1991–94); Assistant to the Commercial Attaché, Russia (1983–84).


HONORS: MacArthur Foundation, Reading and Writing Grantee; Sigma Xi (engineering honors society).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Harvard University; M.S., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; B.A., Barnard College.

BRUCE STOKES
Senior Fellow, Economics Studies: Trade

EXPERTISE: International trade; U.S. economic relations with Asia and Europe.

STUDIES PROGRAM


EDUCATION: M.A., Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies; B.A., Georgetown University.

JULIA E. SWEIG
Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Studies

EXPERTESE: U.S.–Latin American relations; Cuba; Caribbean basin.

EXPERIENCE: Consultant, American Association of World Health (1997–98); Adjunct Professor, American University (1996); Editor, CubaINFO, Johns Hopkins University (1992–96).


EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies; B.A., University of California, Santa Cruz.

BERNARD E. TRAINOR
Adjunct Senior Fellow, National Security

EXPERTESE: Defense and national security.

EXPERIENCE: Associate, Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (current); Military Analyst, NBC News (current); Director, National Security Program, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (1990–96); Military Analyst, ABC News (1990–91); Military Correspondent, New York Times (1986–90); career in the Marine Corps, retiring as Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans, Policies, and Operations, and Marine Corps Deputy to the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1951–85).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: The Generals’ War (coauthor, 1995); After the Storm (1993).

HONORS: Member, Presidential Commission on Roles and Missions; Member, International Institute of Strategic Studies; Member of the Board of Visitors, Air Force Academy; Member of the Board of Directors, World Affairs Council; Member of the Editorial Board, Joint Force Quarterly; Editorial Adviser, Naval War College Review; Adviser, Center for Naval Analysis.

EDUCATION: Graduate, Air War College; M.A., University of Colorado; B.A., Holy Cross College.

ASTRID S. TUMINEZ
Adjunct Next Generation Fellow, Europe Studies

EXPERTESE: Russia and the former Soviet Union; nationalism and conflict prevention; private equity in developed markets; corporate, banking, and sovereign credit risk.

EXPERIENCE: Associate Director of Research, Alternative Investments, AIG Global Investment Corp. (current); Executive Associate, Credit Risk Management, AIG (1999); Consultant, Carnegie Corporation of New York (current); Consultant, World Bank (1998–99); Institutional Equity Sales/Research, Brunswick Warburg, Inc. (1998); Program Officer, Carnegie Corporation of New York (1994–98); Director, Moscow Office, Harvard Project on Strengthening Democratic Institutions (1991–92).


EDUCATION: Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; A.M., Harvard University; B.A., Brigham Young University.

DAVID G. VICTOR
Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow in Science and Technology

EXPERTESE: International environmental law; trade and environment; energy technology; global warming.
EXPERIENCE: Director, project on implementation of international environmental treaties, the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) (1993–97).


EDUCATION: Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; B.A., Harvard University.

RUTH WEDGWOOD
Senior Fellow, International Organizations and Law

EXPERTISE: United Nations; peacekeeping and peace operations; international law.

EXPERIENCE: Professor of Law, Yale University Law School, and faculty member, International Security Studies Program, Yale University (current); Director of Studies, American Society of International Law (current); Stockton Professor of International Law, U.S. Naval War College (1998–99); amicus curiae, Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal (1997); federal prosecutor (1980–86); Supreme Court law clerk (1977–78).


HONORS: Member, Secretary of State’s Advisory Committee on International Law; Member, National Security Study Group Hart-Rudman Commission on Security in 2025.

EDUCATION: J.D., Yale University Law School; B.A., Harvard University.

JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER
Adjunct Senior Fellow

EXPERTISE: Women and foreign policy; Africa; international environment.


EDUCATION: M.A., Stanford University; B.A., Trinity College.

DOV S. ZAKHEIM
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Asia Studies

EXPERTISE: National security; arms control; western Europe; Middle East; East Asia.

EXPERIENCE: Chief Executive Officer, SPC International and Corporate Vice President, System Planning Corp. (current); Member, Secretary of Defense Task Force on Defense Reform (1997); Deputy Undersecretary of Defense (Planning and Resources) (1985–87); Adjunct Professor at Trinity College, Yeshiva University, Columbia University, and the National War College.


HONORS: Member, Defense Science Board Task Force on Health of U.S. Defense Industry (current); Bronze Palm to the DoD Distinguished Public Service Medal (1987); Department of Defense Distinguished Public Service Medal (1986); Congressional Budget Office Director’s Award for Outstanding Service (1979).

EDUCATION: D.Phil., Oxford University; B.A., Columbia University.

Special Fellowships

Next Generation Fellowship
The Next Generation Fellowship Program nurtures outstanding thinkers and writers from a variety of fields who have the potential to become foreign policy leaders. The program recruits individuals whose principal mission will be frontier policy scholarship, leading to several major published articles or a book during the
fellowship tenure. Next Generation Fellows (NGFs) are an integral component of the Studies Department staff and have substantial contact with other Fellows, Council members, and experts in their field. Working with Council term members and International Affairs Fellows, NGFs form the heart of a larger community and network of people at the outset of their careers who are interested in international relations.

NGFs from the 1999–2000 program year were Rachel Bronson, Victoria Nuland, Kiron Skinner, and Astrid Tuminez. Rachel Bronson directed a study group on “U.S. Security Policy in the Persian Gulf,” Victoria Nuland ran a study group on “The Effect of U.S. Hegemony on Relations with Russia, China, France, and Japan,” Kiron Skinner conducted a roundtable series on “U.S. Foreign Policy at the Millennium,” and Astrid Tuminez led a roundtable series on “Russian Nationalism and Foreign Policy.”

**Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship**

The Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship is periodically awarded to persons with experience and recognized professional stature in public or academic affairs related to the study of international relations. A Shepardson Fellow is expected to spend about a year affiliated with the Council, participating in Council programs while working on a book or other significant publications related to a major foreign policy issue.

The 1999–2000 Shepardson Fellowship was awarded to Michael Mandelbaum, who is a professor of American foreign policy at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. He directed the Project on East-West Relations and edited a book titled *The New European Diasporas*.

**Military Fellowships**

Every year, the chiefs of staff of the Army and the Air Force, the chief of naval operations, and the commandant of the Marine Corps each nominate an outstanding candidate for a Military Fellowship. The Council usually awards two or three such fellowships annually. The program enables the officers selected to broaden their understanding of foreign affairs by spending a year in residence at the Council’s headquarters in New York, or, in special circumstances, at Council offices in Washington, D.C. Fellows participate in programs, meet with members and staff, and engage in Council studies. They also arrange several military trips for Council members during the year.


**Intelligence Fellowship**

Modeled after the Council’s successful Military Fellowships, the Intelligence Fellowship provides an opportunity for an outstanding person from the U.S. intelligence community on the cusp of a senior position to expand his or her knowledge of international relations through a program of individual study, research and reflection, extensive participation in the Council’s program of meetings and study groups, and interaction with the Council’s diverse and knowledgeable membership.


**Edward R. Murrow Fellowship**

Each year, the Council offers a resident fellowship for a correspondent serving abroad. Named in honor of legendary newsman Edward R. Murrow and funded by the CBS Foundation, the Fellowship gives the recipient a period of nine months for sustained study and writing, free from the usual pressure of deadlines that characterize journalistic life.


**Department of State Fellowship**

The Department of State Fellowship is offered to a foreign service officer chosen by a selection committee from candidates nominated by the U.S. Department of State. The Fellow spends about a year affiliated with the Council, with time away from public service to reflect on issues of foreign policy and to participate in Council programs. The recipient of the 1999–2000 Fellowship was Morton Holbrook.
Launched in 1967, the International Affairs Fellowship (IAF) Program offers approximately a dozen outstanding young American men and women between the ages of 27 and 35 an opportunity to broaden their understanding of international affairs and to add a unique dimension to their careers. The fellowship encourages a cross-fertilization of experience, offering academics and others from the private sector operational experience in a policy-oriented environment. Conversely, the IAF program allows government officials to study issues in the scholarly atmosphere of universities or think tanks. Through this exchange, the Fellows and their projects help to bridge the gap between thought and action in foreign policy. The main source of funding for the program is an endowment of $10 million, sufficient to support ten fellows annually.

In 1997, the Council established a new International Affairs Fellowship in Japan, funded by Hitachi, Ltd., to enable outstanding young Americans to expand their intellectual and professional horizons by working and living in Japan. The program seeks to cultivate American understanding of Japan and to strengthen communication between the emerging leaders of the two nations. The following are the Fellows, their home institution, and their fellowship project.

### 2000–2001 International Affairs Fellows

**ERICA J. BARKS-RUGGLES**
U.S. Department of State

**DELIA BOYLAN**
University of Chicago
“The Political Economy of Bank Regulation in the Developing World”

**SCOTT A. COOPER**
U.S. Marine Corps
“Carry a Big Stick, but Be Careful about Using It”

**KIMBERLY C. FIELD**
U.S. Military Academy
“Toward a U.N. Police Force: Demonstrating the Determination of the World Community”

**ANNA GELPERN**
U.S. Department of the Treasury
“Buying Policy: A Review of Cofinancing Strategies in the New Markets”

**LAURA HAYES HOLGATE**
U.S. Department of Energy
“Applying Threat Reduction Techniques outside the Former Soviet Union”

**THEODORE OSIUS***
Office of the Vice President
“The Evolving U.S.-Japan Security Alliance”

**ADAM POSEN**
Institute for International Economics
“Strategies and Limits of G-3 Macroeconomic Coordination after Globalization”

**SAMANTHA POWER**
Harvard University
“U.S. Genocide Prevention: A Structural, Semantic, and Domestic Examination”

**NICHOLAS J. RASMUSSEN**
U.S. Department of State
“Is Cold Peace the Best We Can Do? Lessons from the Israel-Egypt Experience and Implications for U.S. Peacemaking in the Middle East”

**SAMANTHA F. RAVICH**
Center for Strategic and International Studies
“Crafting the Foundation for a New U.S.-Indonesian Relationship”

**DANIEL C. THOMAS**
University of Illinois, Chicago
“Dual or Dueling Institutions? NATO and the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy”

* International Affairs Fellow in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd.
ANDREW S. WEISS  
National Security Council  
“The Sources of Russian Behavior in the Post-Yeltsin Era”  

KIMBERLY MARTEN ZISK*  
Barnard College  
“Japan’s U.N. Peacekeeping Dilemma”  

COUNCIL FELLOWS ROUNDTABLE SERIES  

SALIH BOOKER  
Senior Fellow for Africa Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
“The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: U.S. Policy toward Africa”  
President: Melanie Bixby (IAF, 1996–97)  

STEVE COLL  
Managing Editor, Washington Post  
“India and Pakistan: Emerging Nuclear Doctrines and Deterrents”  
President: Paula Newburg  

ROSE E. GOTTEMOELLER  
Assistant Secretary for Nonproliferation and National Security (IAF, 1989–90)  
“Changing Nonproliferation Dynamics between the United States and Russia: The Rise of Threat Reduction Cooperation”  
President: Lee Wolosky (IAF, 1999–2000)  

MORTON H. HALPERIN  
Director of Policy Planning, U.S. Department of State  
“The Development of the Community of Democracies Project as a Case Study in Bureaucratic Politics”  
President: Puneet Talwar (IAF, 1999–2000)  

BRUCE STOKES  
Senior Fellow, Economics Studies: Trade, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Seattle: The WTO and the Future of World Trade”  
President: Marcus Noland (IAF, 1990–91)  

LARRY D. WELCH  
President and CEO, Institute for Defense Analyses  
“National Missile Defense: Progress and Challenges”  
President: Jon J. Rosenwasser (IAF, 1999–2000)  

ANNUAL SEMINAR, PRESENTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWS  

GRAHAM T. ALLISON  
Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University (IAF, 1968–69)  
“Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Russia but Were Afraid to Ask”  
President: Leslie H. Gelb  

MICHAEL MANDELBUM  
Whitney H. Shepardson Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations (IAF, 1982–83)  
“The Post–Cold War World Is a Three-Ring Circus”  
President: Lawrence J. Korb
Named Chairs and Fellowships

1) Paula J. Dobriansky, George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies

2) Richard L. Garwin, Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow for Science and Technology

3) James F. Hoge Jr., Peter G. Peterson Chair, Editor, Foreign Affairs

4) Lawrence J. Korb, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies

5) Roger M. Kubarych, Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow for International Economics and Finance

6) Robert A. Manning, C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies

7) Kenneth R. Maxwell, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies

8) Richard W. Murphy, Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East

9) Benn Steil, Linda J. Wachner Senior Fellow in U.S. Foreign Economic Policy

10) David G. Victor, Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow in Science and Technology