National Program

- Engages members outside of New York and Washington in discussions on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy.
- Holds Council studies seminars, task forces, and policy debates in ten key U.S. cities—San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Atlanta, Dallas–Fort Worth, Miami, Seattle, Boston, and Minneapolis.
- Provides a forum for members to contribute their expertise and knowledge to the Council’s intellectual work directly and via videoconferencing and the Internet.

One of the Council’s institutional priorities, the National Program engages members outside of New York and Washington in discussions on international affairs and provides a forum for foreign policy problems to be worked through in nontraditional and innovative ways.

Intimate foreign policy dinner seminars, featuring Council Senior Fellows and their research, are the cornerstone of the National Program. These conversations provide Fellows valuable feedback on their research projects and take place in ten key U.S. cities.

Technology is a key element of the National Program—linking members from coast to coast for a truly national conversation through the regular use of videoconferencing and the Internet.

The June National Conference is the premier event of the National Program—convening members from across the country in New York to discuss current foreign policy questions with leaders from business, government, non-governmental organizations, the media, and academia.

The National Program moved into the new century with remarkable growth—bringing together more national members than ever before. This was a year of “firsts”:

- The first regional working group. Based in San Francisco, the Working Group on Colombia was linked to the Council and Inter-American Dialogue–sponsored Independent Task Force on Colombia to bring the West Coast perspective to the deliberations. Council and task force member Mathea Falco chaired the sessions and conveyed the working group’s views to the task force.
- The first national Campaign 2000 series. Debates and meetings, launched by Council President Leslie H. Gelb, extended the Campaign 2000 series offered in New York and Washington to encourage a nationwide discussion on America’s foreign policy during the presidential campaign.
- The first videoconferenced study group. Led by Council member and Baker Institute Director Edward P. Djerejian in Houston and Council Fellow Rachel Bronson in New York, the Council and the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University connected the two cities for interactive sessions on U.S. security policy in the Persian Gulf.
- The first online national study group. Council Fellow Stephen E. Flynn integrated a national dialogue on the Internet with face-to-face sessions on globaliza-
The National Program

• The first live webcast general meeting. Secretary of Energy Bill Richardson discussed U.S. policy on energy and answered questions from around the country.

• The first videos on the public and members’ websites. Videos of general meetings with world leaders, government officials, and experts included Yasir Arafat, John Major, Samuel R. Berger, and Condoleezza Rice.

• The first series of interactive conference calls. Through the Corporate Program, national members were able to have extended conversations from their homes and offices with Council Fellows in their areas of expertise—from David G. Victor on global warming to Jerome A. Cohen on the Taiwan elections.

The Council continued to work with its Western partner, the Pacific Council on International Policy, and with local foreign policy organizations elsewhere to hold Council foreign policy dinner seminars. In addition, the National Program cooperated with the leading law schools in Atlanta, Boston, and Chicago to stage Council Policy Initiative debates on the pros and cons of establishing an International Criminal Court.

Pushing ahead with the technological innovations launched last year, the National Program videoconferenced key U.S. cities with New York for study group sessions and larger meetings. Former Secretary of Defense William J. Perry spoke from Menlo Park, California, to members there and in New York on the transnationalization of the defense industry. Members gathered with Laura D’Andrea Tyson in San Francisco and with Peter G. Peterson, Paul A. Volcker, and Morris Goldstein in New York for a videoconferenced meeting on the future international financial architecture.

The fifth annual National Conference brought more than 200 national members to New York on June 9 and 10 to discuss “U.S. Foreign Policy in Campaign 2000: Focusing the Debate.” The turnout—the largest to date—ended the year on a high note as participants talked with policymakers, scholars, business leaders, and journalists about foreign policy in the next administration. A mock National Security Council meeting led by Winston Lord provided an inside look at how the inner circle of the White House formulates policy recommendations for the president.

The foreign policy dinner seminars, the increased use of videoconferencing and the Internet, and the National Conference are at the heart of the National Program. With the expansion of events and advances in technology, the National Program is bringing even more members and community leaders together for serious and sustained conversations on pressing foreign policy issues of the day—and laying the foundation for a dynamic future for the Council nationwide.

Irina A. Faskianos  Michael P. Peters
Deputy National Director  National Director

National Conference

“U.S. Foreign Policy in Campaign 2000: Focusing the Debate”

HAROLD BROWN
Partner, Warburg, Pincus & Co.

LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER
Senior Foreign Policy Adviser, Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell

“What Foreign Policy Problems Need Urgent Solutions?”

Presider: Gerald M. Levin

RICHARD BUTLER
Diplomat in Residence, Council on Foreign Relations

RICHARD N. PERLE
Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

“Is Regime Change Essential to Our Strategy toward Iraq?”

Presider: Edward P. Djerejian
THOMAS E. DONILON
Executive Vice President, Law and Policy, Fannie Mae

JESSICA T. MATHEWS
President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

WARREN B. RUDMAN
Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison

DOV S. ZAKHEIM
CEO, SPC International Corporation

“Can Any Administration—Republican or Democrat—Make and Carry Out a Coherent and Effective Foreign Policy?”

PRESIDER: BRIAN WILLIAMS

THOMAS GRAHAM JR.
President, Lawyers Alliance for World Security

STEPHEN J. HADLEY
Partner, Shea & Gardner

“Should the United States Deploy a National Missile Defense?”

PRESIDER: JAMES F. HOGE JR.

GRAHAM T. ALLISON
Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University

ROBERT B. ZOELLICK
Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States


PRESIDER: LEE CULLUM

DAVID L. AARON
Senior International Adviser, Dorsey & Whitney

In the role of Secretary of State

KURT M. CAMPBELL
Senior Vice President and Director, International Security Program, CSIS, Center for Strategic and International Studies

In the role of Secretary of Defense

JOHN M. DEUTCH
Institute Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

In the role of Director of Central Intelligence

DAVID R. GERGEN
Editor-at-Large, U.S. News & World Report; Contributor, The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer

In the role of White House Political Adviser

CHARLES R. LARSON
U.S. Navy (Ret.); former Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Command

In the role of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

WINSTON LORD
Co-chairman, International Rescue Committee

Presiding in the role of National Security Council Adviser

“Mock National Security Council Meeting on Taiwan”
**National Program Events**

**Atlanta**

**JOHN R. BOLTON**  
Senior Vice President, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research  

**KENNETH ROTH**  
Executive Director, Human Rights Watch  

“Council Policy Initiative: Toward an International Criminal Court?”  

**PRESIDER: GRIFFIN BELL**  
(COSPONSORED WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAM AT EMORY UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW; THE CLAUS M. HALLE INSTITUTE FOR GLOBAL LEARNING AT EMORY UNIVERSITY; AND THE SAM NUNN SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AT GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY)

**JIMMY CARTER**  
Chairman, The Carter Center  

**LEE HONG-KOO**  
Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United States  

**JAMES T. LANEY**  
Former U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Korea  

“Campaign 2000 Series: North Korea and Security on the Korean Peninsula”  

**PRESIDER: EASON T. JORDAN**  
(COSPONSORED WITH THE CLAUS M. HALLE INSTITUTE FOR GLOBAL LEARNING AT EMORY UNIVERSITY; THE SAM NUNN SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AT GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY; AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE; CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY; MOREHOUSE COLLEGE; AND SPelman COLLEGE)

**Boston**

**JOHN R. BOLTON**  
Senior Vice President, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research  

**RUTH WEDGWOOD**  
Senior Fellow for International Organizations and Law, Council on Foreign Relations  

“Council Policy Initiative: Toward an International Criminal Court?”  

**PRESIDER: ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER**  
(COSPONSORED WITH THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL GRADUATE PROGRAM; CARR CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AT THE KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, AND THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; AND THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES)

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**Chicago**

**JOHN R. BOLTON**  
Senior Vice President, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

**KENNETH ROTH**  
Executive Director, Human Rights Watch  
“Council Policy Initiative: Toward an International Criminal Court?”

**PRESIDER: JOHN R. SCHMIDT**  
(COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS AND THE CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS AT NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW)

**LESLIE H. GELB**  
President, Council on Foreign Relations

**JOHN J. MEARSHEIMER**  
R. Wendell Harrison Distinguished Service Professor, University of Chicago  
“Campaign 2000 Series: What’s Worth Fighting and Dying For?”

**PRESIDER: JOHN E. RIELLY**

**JEAN-MARIE GUÉHENNO**  
Chief Auditor, Department of Defense at the Cour des Comptes, France

**STEFANO SILVESTRI**  
Vice President, International Affairs Institute, Italy  
“Roundtable on Perspectives on European Security”

**PRESIDER: JOHN E. RIELLY**

**RICHARD W. MURPHY**  
Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

**GIDEON ROSE**  
Olin Senior Fellow and Deputy Director for National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Study Group on a New Security Structure for the Middle East”

**CHAIR: JOHN E. RIELLY**

**SASKIA SASSEN**  
Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago  
“Roundtable on Chicago as a Global City”

**DISCUSSANT: RICHARD C. LONGWORTH**

**PAUL SIMON**  
Director, Public Policy Institute, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

**RICHARD SALISBURY WILLIAMSON**  
Partner, Mayer, Brown & Platt  
“Campaign 2000 Series: Democracy or Balance of Power: Which Should Take Precedence in U.S. Foreign Policy?”

**PRESIDER: JEROME MCDONNELL**  
(ALL SIX MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS)

**Dallas**

**RICHARD BUTLER**  
Diplomat in Residence, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Roundtable on Dealing with Rogue States”

**CHAIR: PHILIP O’BRYAN MONTGOMERY III**

**ROGER M. KUBARYCH**  
Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow in International Economics & Finance, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Roundtable on ‘Is There Light at the End of the Tunnel for Japan?’”

**CHAIR: STEPHEN M. CHIPMAN**

**ROBERT A. MANNING**  
C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director, Asia Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Study Group on Asian Energy-Security”

**CHAIR: WILLIAM E. HALE**  
(ALL THREE MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE DALLAS COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS)

**Houston**

**RACHEL BRONSON (NEW YORK)**  
Olin Fellow, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
“Videoconferenced Study Group on U.S. Security Policy in the Persian Gulf”

**FIRST SESSION:** “Containment: Can and Should It Be Sustained?”

**SECOND SESSION:** “The U.S. Military in the Persian Gulf—Postured for Success?”

**THIRD SESSION:** “A Static U.S. Policy toward a Changing Persian Gulf”

**CHAIR: EDWARD P. DJEREJIAN (HOUSTON)**  
(COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY OF RICE UNIVERSITY)
STEPHEN E. FLYNN
Senior Fellow, National Security, Council on Foreign Relations
“Online Study Group on Globalization and the Future of Border Control”
CHAIR: AMBLER H. MOSS JR.
(Both meetings cosponsored with the Dante B. Fascell North-South Center at the University of Miami)

Minneapolis
MICHAEL J. GREEN
Olin Senior Fellow, Asia Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
“Study Group on Japanese Foreign Policy and U.S. Interests in Asia”
DISCUSSANT: WALTER F. MONDALE
CHAIR: KENNETH H. KELLER

ANN R. MARKUSEN (MINNEAPOLIS)
Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy, Council on Foreign Relations
LEE FEINSTEIN (NEW YORK)
Principal Deputy Director, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State
LORA LUMPE (NEW YORK)
Consultant, International Peace Research Institute
“Videoconferenced Study Group on the Arms Trade and Transnationalization of the Defense Industry”
CHAIR: KENNETH H. KELLER (MINNEAPOLIS)
CHAIR: RICHARD RAVITCH (NEW YORK)
(Both meetings cosponsored with the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota)

Miami
MAURICE A. FERRÉ
Former Mayor of Miami
PETER HAKIM
President, Inter-American Dialogue
“Campaign 2000 Series: U.S. Foreign Policy toward Latin America”
PRESIDER: HODDING CARTER III

Los Angeles

RICHARD BUTLER
Diplomat in Residence, Council on Foreign Relations
“Roundtable on Rogue States”
CHAIR: GREGORY F. TREVERTON

STEPHEN E. FLYNN
Senior Fellow, National Security, Council on Foreign Relations
“Online Study Group on Globalization and the Future of Border Control”
CHAIR: JUDITH HICKS STIEHM

LESLEI H. GELB
President, Council on Foreign Relations
RICHARD V. ALLEN
Chairman, Richard V. Allen Co.
“Campaign 2000 Series: What’s Worth Fighting and Dying For?”
PRESIDER: RONALD L. OLSON

RADHA KUMAR
Fellow, Peace and Conflict, Council on Foreign Relations
“Study Group on Ethnic Conflict, Partition, and Postconflict Reconstruction”
CHAIR: EDWIN BACON

WALTER RUSSELL MEAD
Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations
CHAIR: STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM

BRUCE STOKES
Senior Fellow, Economics Studies: Trade, Council on Foreign Relations
“Study Group on a New Paradigm for U.S.-Japan Economic Relations”
DISCUSSANT: ROBERT M. URIU; CHAIR: DEBBIE LEILANI SHON

Menlo Park

WILLIAM J. PERRY (MENLO PARK)
Michael and Barbara Berberian Professor, Stanford University; Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution
“Videoconferenced Study Group on the Arms Trade and the Transnationalization of the Defense Industry”
DISCUSSANT: JOHN M. SHALIKASHVILI (MENLO PARK)
CHAIR: ANN R. MARKUSEN (MENLO PARK)
HOST: SHARON I. MEERS (MENLO PARK)
CHAIR: RICHARD RAVITCH (NEW YORK)

San Diego

LESLEI H. GELB
President, Council on Foreign Relations
“Campaign 2000 Series: Are We Crazy to Expect a Serious Foreign Policy Debate?”
PRESIDER: MILES KAHLER
(COSPONSORED WITH THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND PACIFIC STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO; AND PCIP)

San Francisco

RICHARD K. BETTS
Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
“Study Group on Assessing the Future of Chinese Power”
PRESIDER: ROBERT A. THELEEN


John E. Rielly, Chair Garrick Utley, Roy M. Huffington, and Juan M. Garcia-Passalacqua at the June National Conference Discussion Group, “Was the Clinton Administration a Success or a Failure in U.S. Foreign Policy?”
PAT CHOATE
Chairman, Reform Party

BRUCE STOKES
Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade, Council on Foreign Relations
“Roundtable on Democratizing U.S. Trade Policy”
CHAIR: STEPHEN S. COHEN

MATHEA FALCO
President, Drug Strategies
First Session: MICHAEL SHIFTER
Senior Fellow and Program Director, Inter-American Dialogue
Second Session: LINDA ROBINSON
Latin America Bureau Chief, U.S. News & World Report
LUIS FERNANDO RAMÍREZ ACUÑA
Minister of Defense, Colombia
Third Session: THOMAS A. MARKS
Professor, Academy of the Pacific in Honolulu
“Working Group on Colombia”
HOST: GEORGE H. SHENK

LESLIE H. GELB
President, Council on Foreign Relations
“Campaign 2000 Series: Are We Crazy to Expect a Serious Foreign Policy Debate?”
PRESIDER: JANE M. WALES

MORRIS GOLDSTEIN (NEW YORK)
Dennis Weatherstone Senior Fellow in International Finance, Institute for International Economics

GEORGE J.W. GOODMAN (NEW YORK)
Chairman and CEO, Adam Smith Global Television

LAURA D’ANDREA TYSON (SAN FRANCISCO)
BankAmerica Dean, Haas School of Business, University of California, Berkeley

PAUL A. VOLCKER (NEW YORK)
Henry Kaufman Visiting Professor, Stern School of Business, New York University

PRESIDER: PETER G. PETERSON (NEW YORK)

MICHAEL J. GREEN
Olin Senior Fellow, Asia Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
“Study Group on Japanese Foreign Policy and U.S. Interests in Asia”
CHAIR: CHRISTOPHER J. SIGUR

LAWRENCE J. KORB
Vice President, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, and Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

CHARLES A. KUPCHAN
Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
“Study Group on Contending Visions of International Order”
CHAIR: PETER TARNOFF

Seattle

JAMES ELLES
Member, European Parliament

BRUCE STOKES
Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade, Council on Foreign Relations
“Roundtable on the WTO and the Future of World Trade”
CHAIR AND HOST: DAVID K.Y. TANG

LESLIE H. GELB
President, Council on Foreign Relations
“Campaign 2000 Series: Are We Crazy to Expect a Serious Foreign Policy Debate?”
CHAIR AND HOST: DAVID K.Y. TANG

PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY
Western Partner of the Council on Foreign Relations

During 1999–2000, the Pacific Council on International Policy (PCIP) offered more than 30 meetings in Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego, and Seattle, which were open to joint Council and PCIP members. The Council enriched the partnership with foreign policy dinner seminars, featuring Council Fellows and their work, and with a select number of other events on the West Coast as listed above.