

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.
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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-

tion and the future of border control in Washington, Miami, Houston, and Los Angeles.

- *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
Deputy National Director

Michael P. Peters
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



Speaker Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Senior Foreign Policy Adviser, Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, Presider Gerald M. Levin, and Speaker Harold Brown, Partner, Warburg, Pincus & Co., at the June National Conference Plenary Session, "What Foreign Policy Problems Need Urgent Solutions?"

NATIONAL PROGRAM



Speaker David R. Gergen, Contributor, The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, Speaker Kurt M. Campbell, Senior Vice President and Director, International Security Program, CSIS, Presider Winston Lord, Speaker John M. Deutch, Institute Professor, MIT, Speaker David L. Aaron, Senior International Adviser, Dorsey & Whitney, and Speaker Charles R. Larson, USN (Ret.), former CINCPAC, at the June National Conference Plenary Session, "Mock National Security Council Meeting on Taiwan."



Michael P. Peters, Helene D. Gayle, and Kathleen B. Cooper at the June National Conference, "U.S. Foreign Policy in Campaign 2000: Focusing the Debate."

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. ZOELICK

Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States

"What Should the U.S. Foreign Policy Priorities Be? Who—Bush or Gore—Will Handle Them Better and Why?"

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, 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)

PAT CHOATE

Chairman, Reform Party

BRUCE STOKES

Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade, Council on Foreign Relations

“Roundtable on Democratizing U.S. Trade Policy”

CHAIR: RAYMOND D. HILL

(COSPONSORED WITH THE SAM NUNN SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AT GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY AND THE ROBERTO C. GOIZUETA BUSINESS SCHOOL AT EMORY UNIVERSITY)

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)



Presider Brian Williams, Speaker Dov S. Zakheim, CEO, SPC International Corporation, Speaker Thomas E. Donilon, Executive Vice President, Law and Policy, Fannie Mae, Speaker Jessica T. Mathews, President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Speaker Warren B. Rudman, Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifekind, Wharton & Garrison, at the June National Conference Plenary Session, “Can Any Administration—Republican or Democrat—Make and Carry Out a Coherent and Effective Foreign Policy?”

NATIONAL PROGRAM

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

CHAIR: JOHN E. RIELLY

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’BYRAN 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)

NATIONAL PROGRAM



Chair Edward P. Djerejian on screen at the March 21, 2000, Video-conferenced Study Group on U.S. Security Policy in the Persian Gulf (between Houston and New York).

STEPHEN E. FLYNN

Senior Fellow, National Security, Council on Foreign Relations
"Online Study Group on Globalization and the Future of Border Control"

CHAIR: RICHARD J. STOLL
(COSPONSORED WITH THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY OF RICE UNIVERSITY)

RICHARD BUTLER

Diplomat in Residence, Council on Foreign Relations
"Roundtable on Dealing with Rogue States"

CHAIR: JOSEPH MCFADDEN

BRUCE STOKES

Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade, Council on Foreign Relations
"Roundtable on Democratizing U.S. Trade Policy"

CHAIR: EWELL E. MURPHY JR.
(BOTH MEETINGS COSPONSORED WITH THE HOUSTON COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS)

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

STEPHEN E. FLYNN

Senior Fellow, National Security Studies, 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)



Speaker Maurice A. Ferré, former Mayor of Miami, Presider Hodding Carter III, and Speaker Peter Hakim, President, Inter-American Dialogue, at the February 15, 2000, Campaign 2000 Debate, "U.S. Foreign Policy toward Latin America" (in Miami).

NATIONAL PROGRAM



Bill Kahel and Speaker Bruce Stokes, Senior Fellow, Economic Studies: Trade, Council on Foreign Relations, at the September 14, 1999, Study Group on a New Paradigm for U.S.-Japan Economic Relations (in Los Angeles).

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

LESLIE 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
“Campaign 2000 Series: A Look at U.S. Foreign Policy on the Eve of the California Primary”

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

LESLIE 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”

CHAIR: 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?”

NATIONAL PROGRAM

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

“Videoconferenced General Meeting on the Future
International Financial Architecture”

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 Inter-
national 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.