

# Studies Program

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The Studies Department, our “think tank,” is central to achieving the Council’s goal of adding value to the foreign policy debate. Studies does this primarily through fellows’ research and their writing on U.S. foreign policy challenges, whether long term or more immediate. This year was no exception. In addition to publishing two major books—Michael Mandelbaum’s *The Ideas That Conquered the World* and Charles A. Kupchan’s *The End of the American Era*—and over 200 op-eds and articles, the fellows offered their expert knowledge to local, national, and international media for interviews and as background for informed reporting, particularly surrounding the war in Iraq. Such highly visible activities not only supplement the fellows’ research and members’ understanding but also provide incomparable support for the Council’s new outreach initiative.

## Program Highlights

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### Middle East

**Program Director:** Rachel Bronson

#### Roundtable on the Middle East and Islam

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Rachel Bronson, *Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East and Gulf Studies*

#### U.S./Middle East Project Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Henry Siegman, *Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project*  
PROJECT COORDINATOR: Scott Lasensky, *Assistant Director, U.S./Middle East Project, and Fellow*

#### Middle East Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Richard W. Murphy, *Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East*

#### Middle East Forum

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Judith Kipper, *Director, Middle East Forum*

CHAIR: Anthony C. Zinni

#### Energy Security Group

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Judith Kipper, *Director, Middle East Forum*

CHAIR: William F. Martin, *Washington Policy and Analysis, Inc.*

Speaker Jeanette Kagame, First Lady of Rwanda, and Co-Chairs Alexandra Draxler and Gene Sperling at the March 5, 2003, Conference on the Development Connection between AIDS and Education, cosponsored by UNAIDS and the Council on Foreign Relations Center on Universal Education.



## Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies

**Acting Director: Benn Steil**

### Study Group on Appropriate Governance: Managing Free Trade in the Age of Turbulence

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jagdish N. Bhagwati, *André Meyer Senior Fellow in International Economics*  
CHAIR: W. Bowman Cutter, *Warburg Pincus*

### Study Group on Building a Transatlantic Securities Market

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Benn Steil, *Acting Director, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, and André Meyer Senior Fellow in International Economics*  
CHAIR: Peter J. Wallison, *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*

### Study Group on the Americanization of Finance

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Roger M. Kubarych, *Henry Kaufman Adjunct Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance*

### Study Group on the World Bank under James Wolfensohn

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Sebastian Mallaby, *Senior Fellow in International Development*  
CHAIR: Jessica P. Einhorn, *Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University*

### Roundtable on Global Economics

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Caroline Atkinson, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

### Roundtable on Development

PROJECT DIRECTORS:  
Morton H. Halperin, *Senior Fellow and Director, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Center for Democracy and Free Markets*  
Gene B. Sperling, *Senior Fellow for Economic Policy, and Director of the Center on Universal Education*  
Mark Malloch Brown, *Administrator, United Nations Development Programme*

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### C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Benn Steil, *Acting Director, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, and André Meyer Senior Fellow in International Economics*  
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### McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series in International Economics

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Benn Steil, *Acting Director, Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, and André Meyer Senior Fellow in International Economics*  
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Princeton N. Lyman, Ralph J. Bunche Jr., and Peter G. Peterson at the June 12, 2003, Dinner to celebrate the appointment of Lyman as the Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow in Africa Policy Studies.

### **Center on Universal Education**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Gene Sperling, *Senior Fellow for Economic Policy, and Director of the Center on Universal Education*

### **Roundtable on the Global Campaign for Education**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Gene Sperling, *Senior Fellow for Economic Policy, and Director of the Center on Universal Education*

### **Roundtable on the Development Connection between AIDS and Education**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Gene Sperling, *Senior Fellow for Economic Policy, and Director of the Center on Universal Education*

## **Africa**

**Program Director:** Princeton N. Lyman

### **Roundtable on African Governance: Regional, Continental, and Global Dynamics**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Gwendolyn Mikell, *Senior Fellow*

### **Nigeria Clearing House**

PROJECT DIRECTORS:

Princeton N. Lyman, *Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow in Africa Policy Studies*

Caroline Atkinson, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

## **Asia**

**Program Director:** Elizabeth C. Economy

### **Study Group on China and the Environment**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elizabeth C. Economy, *C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director of Asia Studies*

CHAIR: J. Stapleton Roy, *Kissinger McLarty Associates*

### **Study Group on an Asian Union: Challenges and Opportunities for the United States**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elizabeth C. Economy, *C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director of Asia Studies*

### **Study Group on Chinese Economic Development and U.S. National Security**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Adam Segal, *Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow in China Studies*

CHAIR: Kenneth G. Lieberthal, *University of Michigan*

### **U.S.-Asia Update Roundtable Series**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elizabeth C. Economy, *C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director of Asia Studies*

### **Winston Lord Roundtable on Asia, the Rule of Law, and U.S. Foreign Policy**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jerome A. Cohen, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

### **Roundtable on Japan**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Eugene A. Matthews, *Senior Fellow, Asia Studies*

### **Roundtable on Alternative Futures for South Asia and U.S. Policy**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Mahnaz Ispahani, *Senior Fellow for South and West Asia*

## **Business and Foreign Policy**

**Program Director:** David Braunschvig

### **Study Group on Judging Corporate Liability in the Global Economy**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Elliot J. Schrage, *Adjunct Senior Fellow in Business and Foreign Policy*

**Roundtable on Business and Foreign Policy**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: David Braunschvig, *Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow and Director, Business and Foreign Policy*

**Center for Preventive Action**

Program Director: William L. Nash

**Center for Preventive Action Indonesia Commission: Peace and Progress in Papua**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: David L. Phillips, *Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Center for Preventive Action*  
CHAIR: Dennis C. Blair, *Institute for Defense Analyses*

**Andes 2020: A New U.S. Strategy for the Challenges of Colombia and the Region**

PROJECT DIRECTORS:  
William L. Nash, *John W. Vessey Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Preventive Action*  
Julia E. Sweig, *Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Program*

CO-CHAIRS:  
Daniel W. Christman, *U.S. Chamber of Commerce*  
John G. Heimann, *Warburg Pincus*

**Europe**

Program Director: Charles A. Kupchan

**George F. Kennan Roundtable on Russia and Eurasia**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Stephen R. Sestanovich, *George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies*

**Roundtable on Russian Foreign Policy in the Wake of September 11**

PROJECT DIRECTORS:  
Stephen R. Sestanovich, *George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies*  
Robert Legvold, *Columbia University*

COSPONSORED WITH THE HARRIMAN INSTITUTE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

**Roundtable on NATO and Terrorism: Opportunities for the Transatlantic Relationship after September 11**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Ronald D. Asmus, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*  
CHAIR: Richard G. Lugar, *U.S. Senate (R-IN)*

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**Roundtable on Nationalism in Europe**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: James M. Goldgeier, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

**Roundtable on the Implications of EU/NATO Enlargement**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: James M. Goldgeier, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

*Presider Eli Whitney Debevoise II, Speaker Walter T. Molano, BCP Securities, Speaker Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, University of Paris, Sorbonne, and Commentator Kenneth R. Maxwell at the October 30, 2002, Latin America Roundtable, "Brazil: Political and Economic Challenges Facing the President-Elect and Implications for U.S. Policy in Latin America."*





*President Robert P. DeVecchi and Speakers Robert P.J. Finn, U.S. Embassy, Kabul, and Lawrence J. Korb, Council on Foreign Relations, at the November 13, 2002, Roundtable on Afghanistan, "Inside Afghanistan: The View from the U.S. Embassy."*

## National Security

**Program Director:** Lawrence J. Korb

### Study Group on the History of Military Revolutions

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Max Boot, *Olin Senior Fellow, National Security Studies*

**PROJECT CHAIR:** Paul M. Kennedy, *Yale University*

### Roundtable on Homeland Security

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Lawrence J. Korb, *Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies*

### Roundtable on National Security: Military Strategy and Options

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Bernard E. Trainor, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

### Pieter A. Fisher European Studies Roundtable

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Charles A. Kupchan, *Senior Fellow and Director of Europe Studies*

## Latin America

**Program Director:** Kenneth R. Maxwell

### Study Group on Brazil at 500

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies, and Director, Latin America Studies*

### Latin America Roundtable

**PROJECT DIRECTORS:**

Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies, and Director, Latin America Studies*

Julia E. Sweig, *Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Program*

### Roundtable on the Andean Region

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Julia E. Sweig, *Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Latin America Program*

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

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies, and Director, Latin America Studies*

### John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the National Security Agenda

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Richard K. Betts, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

### Roundtable on National Security

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Dennis C. Blair, *Adjunct Senior Fellow, National Security Studies*

### Roundtable on Afghanistan

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Lawrence J. Korb, *Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies*

## Peace and Conflict

**Program Director:** Arthur C. Helton

### Study Group on Palestinian Refugees

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Arthur C. Helton, *Director, Peace and Conflict Studies, and Senior Fellow, Refugee Studies and Preventive Action*

**CHAIR:** Stephen J. Friedman, *Debevoise & Plimpton*

### Roundtable on Women's Human Rights and U.S. Interests

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Jennifer Seymour Whitaker, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

### Roundtable on Refugees and the Displaced

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Robert P. DeVecchi, *Adjunct Senior Fellow, Refugees and the Displaced*

## Science and Technology

**Program Director: Richard L. Garwin**

### Study Group on Space Posture for the 21st Century

PROJECT DIRECTORS:

Richard L. Garwin, *Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow  
and Director in Science and Technology*

Bruce M. DeBlois, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

### Study Group on New Nuclear Weapons

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Robert W. Nelson, *Senior Fellow,  
Science and Technology*

CHAIR: Janne Emilie Nolan, *Georgetown University*

### Roundtable on the World Summit on Sustainable Development

PROJECT DIRECTORS:

David G. Victor, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

Jesse H. Ausubel, *Rockefeller University*

### Roundtable on Global Satellite Navigation: GPS and Galileo

PROJECT DIRECTORS:

Richard L. Garwin, *Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow  
and Director in Science and Technology*

David Braunschvig, *Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow  
and Director, Business and Foreign Policy*

## Roundtable on Health and U.S. Foreign Policy

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Jordan S. Kassalow, *Adjunct Senior  
Fellow*

## U.S. Foreign Policy

**Program Director: Morton H. Halperin**

### Study Group on the History of U.S. Foreign Policy Phase II: With God on Our Side: American Apocalypse and the Mall at the End of the World

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Walter Russell Mead, *Senior Fellow,  
U.S. Foreign Policy*

### Study Group on Democracy and Development

PROJECT DIRECTORS:

Morton H. Halperin, *Senior Fellow and Director,  
U.S. Foreign Policy, and Center for Democracy  
and Free Markets*

Joe Siegle, *Douglas Dillon Fellow*

Michael M. Weinstein, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*

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FOR GEOECONOMIC STUDIES

### Center for Democracy and Free Markets

DIRECTOR: Morton H. Halperin, *Senior Fellow  
and Director, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Center  
for Democracy and Free Markets*

*Speaker Noleen Heyzer, United Nations Development Fund for Women, Presider Isobel Coleman, and Speaker Donald Steinberg, U.S. Department of State, at the March 6, 2003, Roundtable on Women and U.S. Foreign Policy, "The Role of Women in Peacebuilding and Reconstruction."*





Discussant John B. Bellinger III, Co-Chair Lee Feinstein, Co-Chair Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Discussant William J. Durch at the April 10, 2003, Meeting of the Roundtable on "Old Rules, New Threats."

### **Roundtable on Women and U.S. Foreign Policy**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Isobel Coleman, *Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy*

### **Roundtable on "Old Rules, New Threats"**

PROJECT DIRECTOR AND CO-CHAIR: Lee Feinstein, *Deputy Director of Studies and Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy and International Law*

CO-CHAIR: Anne-Marie Slaughter, *American Society of International Law*

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### **Roundtable on Democracy Promotion**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Morton H. Halperin, *Senior Fellow and Director, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Center for Democracy and Free Markets*

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## **Other Activities**

### **Community of Scholars Roundtable**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Michael P. Peters, *Executive Vice President and Director of Studies*

### **Global Kids Roundtable**

PROJECT DIRECTORS:

Denise Gomes, *Research Associate, Science and Technology and Peace and Conflict Studies*

Jeremy Marwell, *Research Associate, Science and Technology*

### **Next Generation Fellows Roundtable**

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Theophilos Gemelas, *Associate Director of Studies*

CHAIR: Allan E. Goodman, *Institute of International Education*



Michelle R. Forrest, Daniel M. Fox, Speaker Jean O. Lanjouw, Brookings Institution and the Center for Global Development, and Presider Jordan S. Kassalow at the April 16, 2003, Roundtable on Health and U.S. Foreign Policy, "Intellectual Property Rights: Help or Hindrance?"



*Council Military Fellows Colonel (P) Salvatore F. Cambria (U.S. Army), Rear Admiral (Select) Jeffrey L. Fowler (U.S. Navy), Colonel Martin D. Peatross (U.S. Marine Corps), and Colonel Walter D. Givhan (U.S. Air Force) at the Council on Foreign Relations in the fall of 2002.*

## International Affairs Fellowship Program

The International Affairs Fellowship Program is designed to advance the professional development of outstanding Americans between the ages of 27 and 35. The fellowships seek to bridge the gap between thought and action in foreign policy by supporting both a variety of policy studies and active exposure to policymaking. The distinctive character of the program lies in the contrasting experiences it provides at the juncture of policy research and policy formulation. Thus, it encourages academics and others from the private sector to serve in a policy-oriented environment through operational experience in public service. Conversely, it permits government officials on leave to study key issues in a scholarly atmosphere free from operational pressure.

The International Affairs Fellowship in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd., enables participants to expand their intellectual and professional horizons by working and living in Japan. Fellowships are intended for American citizens between the ages of 27 and 45. The program seeks to cultivate American understanding of Japan and to strengthen communication between emerging leaders of the two nations.

The Council organizes an annual conference in New York featuring the current fellows.

## 2003–2004 International Affairs Fellows

**Ramin Asgard**, *U.S. Department of State*

**Thomas C. Beierle**, *Resources for the Future*

**Michelle Billig**, *U.S. Department of Energy*

**Katherine E. Bliss**, *University of Massachusetts*

**Barbara M. Connolly**, *University of Notre Dame*

**Paul R. Daniels**,\* *U.S. Army*

**Robert Dujarric**,\* *Hudson Institute*

**Julie E. Fischer**, *U.S. Senate Committee on Veterans Affairs*

**Jean A. Garrison**, *University of Wyoming*

**Jeffrey S. Kojac**, *U.S. Marine Corps*

**Fred T. Krawchuk**,\* *U.S. Army*

**Suzanne Maloney**, *ExxonMobil Corporation*

**Nancy Yao**,\* *Goldman Sachs (Asia), LLC*

\*International Affairs Fellow in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd.