

# David Rockefeller Studies Program

The David Rockefeller Studies Program's thirty-one full-time fellows, eighteen adjunct fellows, nine visiting fellows, and ten international affairs fellows at other institutions published ten books, made progress on an additional twenty, produced six Council Special Reports, wrote two Policy Options Papers, directed forty-four roundtable series, held seven policy symposia, authored more than 350 articles and op-eds, gave countless media interviews, testified nineteen times before Congress, and won five awards.

Vice President and Director of Studies **Gary Samore** and Deputy Director of Studies and Director of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Goeconomic Studies **Sebastian Mallaby** led the Studies Program with a focus on the most significant foreign policy issues facing the United States and the international community at the start of the twenty-first century, including Middle East conflicts, Asia's

rising powers, globalization, and the means and ends of U.S. foreign policy. This year, the Studies Program deepened its expertise in the Middle East, Africa, Russia, Japan, geoeconomics, conflict prevention, and global governance with the addition of seven new fellows.

The program's range allows it both to contribute to current foreign policy discussions and to explore longer-term trends affecting the United States and the world. On breaking events and issues in the news, Council fellows serve as a trusted resource for policymakers, the media, and interested citizens. They were leading voices in the most significant foreign policy debates of the past year, such as those on U.S. policy in Iraq, the subprime mortgage crisis and its effects on the broader global economy, climate change, and U.S.-China relations in the context of the Beijing Olympics.

This year, one focal point was the greater Middle East. As his

book *Ruling But Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey* entered its second printing, **Steven A. Cook** worked on a new book on the United States and Egypt. **Stephen Biddle** continued to influence the Iraq policy debate as he testified before Congress, briefed senior officials, and published his views for wider audiences. **Max Boot** also contributed to the Iraq debate, started a new book on the history of guerrilla warfare, and published his latest title, *War Made New: Technology, Warfare, and the Course of History: 1500 to Today*, in paperback. **Isobel Coleman** finished her manuscript on women and reform in the Middle East and directed a roundtable series on economic and political development in the region. **Steven Simon** directed a strategic dialogue between Israel and the United States that brought together senior Israeli officials and U.S. policymakers and authored a *Foreign Affairs* article on a post-surge

## New Arrivals

*Michelle D. Gavin, a former senior U.S. Senate staffer and recent international affairs fellow at the Council, was named adjunct fellow for Africa studies.*

*Jeffrey Mankoff, postdoctoral fellow in International Security Studies, Yale University, became adjunct fellow for Russia studies.*

*Stewart M. Patrick, a former research fellow at the Center for Global Development and State Department policy planning staff member, joined the Studies Program as senior fellow and director of a new program on international institutions and global governance.*

*Daniel Senor, a former foreign policy adviser in the administration of George W. Bush and senior adviser to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq, was appointed adjunct senior fellow for Middle Eastern studies.*

*Brad W. Setser, an applied international economist with experience at the Treasury Department and the International Monetary Fund, began work as fellow for geoeconomics.*

*Sheila A. Smith, an expert on Japan and Asian international relations, was named senior fellow for Japan studies.*

*Paul B. Stares, former vice president of the Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention at the United States Institute of Peace, joined the Council as the General John W. Vessey senior fellow for conflict prevention and director of the Center for Preventive Action.*



Above: Senior Fellow Walter Russell Mead, Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, Adjunct Senior Fellow Noah Feldman, and Philip Hamburger at the Symposium on Religion and the Open Society.

Left: Ban Ki-moon and Senior Fellow Laurie A. Garrett at a meeting on global health at the United Nations.

strategy for Iraq. **Ray Takeyh** continued work on his book on Iranian foreign policy since 1979 and produced numerous op-eds on U.S.-Iran relations. He and **Vali R. Nasr**, who launched a roundtable series on global Islamic politics, coauthored a *Foreign Affairs* article on U.S. policy toward Iran. **Noah Feldman** published *The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State* as well as several essays on Iraq, the Middle East, and presidential politics. **Mohamad Bazzi** led a roundtable series on political developments in Lebanon and Syria and wrote numerous op-eds and articles on Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq. **Amy B. Frumin** researched the

strengthening of U.S. aid programs in Afghanistan. Finally, **Daniel Senor** joined the Studies Program as an adjunct senior fellow and began writing a book on Israel's economic development.

Many Council fellows produced work on U.S. national security policy. Through the media, congressional hearings, and nationwide outreach, **Stephen E. Flynn** introduced the concept of resilience into America's conversation on homeland security and elevated the profile of improving infrastructure as a critical public policy imperative. In addition to leading the John J. McCloy Roundtable on the National Security

Agenda, **Richard K. Betts** published *Enemies of Intelligence: Knowledge and Power in American National Security*. **Joseph J. Helman** ran a popular roundtable series on intelligence issues. **Scott G. Borgerson** concentrated on economic and security issues flowing from the melting Arctic and wrote an article for *Foreign Affairs*. Colonel **Robert S. Ferrell**, Colonel **Paul E. Greenwood**, Captain **Jeffrey A. Harley**, and Colonel **Jeffrey B. Kendall** ran a roundtable series on defense and national security issues and arranged several politico-military trips for Council members, including to South Korea and Afghanistan.

Asia was another major area of concentration. **Elizabeth C. Economy** received an honorary degree from Vermont Law School for her work on China and the environment, published two articles in *Foreign Affairs*, and continued writing her book on China's global resource quest. **Adam Segal** made final preparations to publish his book on innovation and the technology race with Asia. **Sheila A. Smith** joined the Council as senior fellow for Japan studies, completed research at Keio University for a project on Japan's policy toward China, and began directing the new Council initiative on security architecture for Northeast Asia. In addition to running the Winston Lord Roundtable on the Rule of Law in Asia, **Jerome A. Cohen** worked on his forthcoming book on criminal justice in Taiwan and collaborated with various Chinese organizations in developing reforms for adjudicating capital punishment cases. **Daniel Markey** closely followed the political crisis in Pakistan, writing a Policy Options Paper on the country and leading a roundtable series on South Asia.

U.S. relations with Russia and Europe were also a focus of significant activity. **Stephen R. Sestanovich** wrote articles, lectured to audiences that included the Russian foreign ministry, and testified before Congress on Russia's presidential transition and the deterioration of U.S.-Russia relations. **Jeffrey Mankoff**, a new adjunct fellow for Russia studies, analyzed Russia's energy strategy and completed his book on Russian foreign policy. On broader European issues, **Charles A. Kupchan** led a roundtable series on U.S.-Europe affairs and completed writing projects on how enemies become friends, the domestic sources of U.S. foreign policy, and the changing nature of transatlantic relations. **Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall** led a roundtable series that explored political, economic, demographic, and military trends in Europe and their implications for U.S. foreign and defense policies. **James M. Goldgeier** held a symposium on America, Europe, and the world and, with Derek Chollet, coauthored *America Between the Wars: From 11/9 to 9/11*.

Other fellows showcased their expertise on Latin America and Africa. **Julia E. Sweig** continued work on how Latinos are transforming the United States and on contemporary Cuba. She codirected two roundtable series—Latin America, America Latin and Globalization and Democracy—with **Shannon K. O'Neil**, who also directed an Independent Task Force on U.S.-Latin America Relations and began research for a book on Mexico. **Princeton N. Lyman** completed the Africa-China-U.S. Trilateral Dialogue meeting series and published a report based on its findings. **Michelle D. Gavin** joined the Studies Program as adjunct fellow for Africa and authored a Policy Options Paper on the crisis in Kenya as well as a Council Special Report on Zimbabwe. **J. Anthony Holmes** began a roundtable series on African policy issues and expanded the Council's engagement with Africa.

The Council's Center for Preventive Action examined countries in a variety of regions as it studied ways to prevent and defuse violent conflict. **Paul B. Stares**, the center's new





## New Initiatives

### PROGRAM ON ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

*Council Board member David M. Rubenstein has made possible a new endowed chair in the Studies Program that will focus on energy and the environment. Michael A. Levi, the Council fellow for science and technology and director of the program on energy security and climate change, was named in April 2008 the David M. Rubenstein senior fellow for energy and the environment. This commitment of \$5 million, made as part of the Campaign for the Council, provides funds to support work focused on any of the broad set of important international issues related to energy and energy security, the environment, and climate change.*

### PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

*In 2008 the Council was awarded a three-year, \$6 million grant from the Robina Foundation, one of the largest operating grants ever received in Council history. This award supports a new five-year program on international institutions and global governance, which Senior Fellow Stewart M. Patrick directs. The program aims to resolve one of the most significant problems of the twenty-first century: the shortage of effective regional and global institutions to manage the economic, security, environmental, and humanitarian challenges that define the post-Cold War, post-9/11 world. The program will offer concrete recommendations for U.S. policymakers and engage constituencies in the United States and abroad, including governments, nongovernmental organizations, and the private sector.*



*Above:* Senior Fellow Julia E. Sweig testifying before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on the border crisis between Colombia and Ecuador.

*Opposite, left to right:* 1. Fellow for Latin America Studies Shannon K. O'Neil at the rollout of the Independent Task Force report on U.S.-Latin America Relations. 2. Vice President and Director of Studies Gary Samore at a meeting of the Independent Task Force on U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy. 3. Senior Fellow Sheila A. Smith at a Corporate Program meeting on Japanese politics and foreign policy. 4. Director of the Center for Preventive Action Paul B. Stares at a meeting on Kosovo. 5. Senior Fellow Michael A. Levi at a meeting of the Independent Task Force on U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy. 6. Senior Fellow Stewart M. Patrick at the Symposium on the Future of Conflict Prevention.

director, led a series of Council Special Reports on states at risk of conflict. **William L. Nash** continued his work on postconflict reconstruction and conflict prevention and directed both the Postconflict Reconstruction roundtable series and the military fellows program.

The Studies Program also expanded its scholarship on global institutions and transnational issues. Senior Fellow **Stewart M. Patrick** began work as director of a program on international institutions and global governance. **Laurie A. Garrett** convened a historic meeting with UN secretary-general Ban Ki-moon and global health experts to discuss challenges and opportunities in the changing landscape of global health. **Gene B. Sperling** and the Center for Universal Education produced a series of policy papers and recommendations on strengthening the global aid architecture for

education to ensure that poor girls and boys from countries affected by conflict are included. Council scholars also did substantial work on energy security and climate change, among other science and technology issues. **Michael A. Levi** was named the David M. Rubenstein senior fellow for energy and the environment, published his book *On Nuclear Terrorism*, and directed the Independent Task Force on Climate Change. **David G. Victor**, who served as senior adviser to the Task Force, held a full-day workshop with Council members on unilateral planetary-scale geoengineering and wrote a *Foreign Affairs* article on the strategic petroleum reserve. **Charles D. Ferguson** began work as project director for the Independent Task Force on U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy and started researching a book on global nuclear energy developments.

The Center for Geoeconomic Studies continued to explore the interaction between economics and global politics. Director Sebastian Mallaby oversaw Council Special Reports on wage insurance and global foreign direct investment and continued working on his book on hedge funds as well as his regular column for the *Washington Post*. **Edward Alden** finished his book *The Closing of the American Border: Terrorism, Immigration, and Security Since 9/11*. **Jagdish N. Bhagwati** published his book *Termites in the Trading System: How Preferential Agreements Undermine Free Trade*, finished two coedited works, and continued work on a book on trade targeted to inform the next administration. **Amity Shlaes** continued as a regular columnist for Bloomberg, and her book *The Forgotten Man: A New History of the Great Depression* became a national bestseller. **Benn Steil**



Director of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies Sebastian Mallaby, Paul A. Volcker, and Council Co-Chairman Robert E. Rubin at the Twelfth Annual Term Member Conference.

## *The Center for Geoeconomic Studies continued to explore the interaction between economics and global politics.*

completed his new book, *Money, Markets, and Sovereignty*, with Manuel Hinds, and he continued to direct both the McKinsey Executive and the C. Peter McColough roundtable series. **Brad W. Setser**, a new fellow for geoeconomics, wrote about the falling dollar, China's reserves, and sovereign wealth funds. **Caroline Atkinson** hosted the Global Economics roundtable series, which featured a number of prominent figures from the economic world discussing current issues, and **David Braunschvig** led the Business and Foreign Policy roundtable series. **James P. Dougherty** continued his long-running roundtable series on innovation, U.S. competitiveness, and foreign policy. **Peter B. Kenen** held roundtables on international monetary and financial problems and, with Ellen E. Meade, published his book *Regional Monetary Integration*. **Roger M. Kubarych** focused on

ways to manage the global consequences of the subprime mortgage crisis in the wake of the meltdown in securitization. **Matthew J. Slaughter** coauthored a Council Special Report with David M. Marchick on protectionist attitudes toward foreign direct investment.

Finally, Council fellows continued to explore America's role on the global stage and trends underlying U.S. foreign policy. **Peter Beinart** made progress on his book on American recovery from lost wars, continued his monthly columns for the *Washington Post*, and provided regular commentary for numerous media outlets. Another *Washington Post* columnist, **Michael J. Gerson**, published his book *Heroic Conservatism: Why Republicans Need to Embrace America's Ideals (And Why They Deserve to Fail If They Don't)* and focused his research on the challenges of tackling poverty and disease

in Africa. **Walter Russell Mead** contributed pieces to *Foreign Affairs*, continued to lead the Council's program on religion and foreign policy, and published *God and Gold: Britain, America, and the Making of the Modern World*, named both a *Financial Times* and an *Economist* book of the year. He also worked closely with **Timothy Samuel Shah**, who launched a program of symposia and roundtables on religion and foreign policy covering such topics as religious conflict in Nigeria, evangelicals and U.S. foreign policy, Islamism in Pakistan, secularism in Turkey, and Hindu activism in India and the United States.

## *Making a Difference*

### **CENTER FOR PREVENTIVE ACTION**

*Established in 1994 and directed by Paul B. Stares, the Center for Preventive Action (CPA) creates policy recommendations designed to prevent the outbreak or escalation of deadly conflicts in regions that affect U.S. interests or where humanitarian consequences may be especially grave. Over the past year, the center has published Council Special Reports on Zimbabwe and Syria and commissioned new studies on Pakistan's tribal areas, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and northern Iraq. CPA convened a symposium on the future of conflict prevention and brought leading experts and government officials together to discuss the risk of conflict in weak or failing states. In addition to continuing its ongoing Potential Conflict Roundtable series, the center also launched a new series highlighting more immediate flashpoints for violent conflict.*

### **PROJECT ON A NEW U.S.-MIDDLE EAST STRATEGY**

*Toward a New U.S.-Middle East Strategy is a joint project sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Saban Center at the Brookings Institution. This historic partnership marks the first time that Middle East experts from both institutions are jointly developing strategic recommendations. The project's board of advisers includes leading foreign policy generalists, experienced business leaders, and former senior government officials. Codirected by Martin S. Indyk, director of the Saban Center at the Brookings Institution, and Gary Samore, vice president and director of Studies at the Council, the group is conducting in-depth research, regional fact-finding trips, dialogue with regional officials, and consultations with U.S. policymakers to develop a Middle East strategy for the next administration. In addition to briefing top officials of the new administration, the authors will present their recommendations to Congress, the media, and the public.*