

# COUNCIL *on* FOREIGN RELATIONS

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## THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER STUDIES PROGRAM, 2009-2010

**JAMES M. LINDSAY**, *Senior Vice President, Director of Studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair*  
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### RESIDENT FELLOWS, NEW YORK

**KIM BARKER**, *Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow*  
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Expertise: U.S. policy in Afghanistan and Pakistan; Afghan and Pakistan government policy; NATO in Afghanistan; Pakistan-India relations; Kashmir.

Former foreign correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*, covering India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan for almost five years. Studying detention issues and writing about her experiences in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

**JAGDISH BHAGWATI**, *Senior Fellow for International Economics*  
212.434.9667 jbhagwati@cfr.org

Expertise: International trade, economic policy reforms, immigration

Professor Bhagwati's latest book is *Termites in the Trading System: How Preferential Trade Agreements are Undermining Multilateral Free Trade* (Oxford University Press, 2008). He is currently working on the book *Terrified by Trade: The Paradox of Protectionism in the United States* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

**MAX BOOT**, *Jean J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow for National Security Studies*  
212.434.9619 mboot@cfr.org

Expertise: Defense policy and budget, U.S. grand strategy, national security, military technology, military history, terrorism and guerilla warfare

Mr. Boot is a contributing editor to the *Los Angeles Times* and *Weekly Standard*. He is the author of *War Made New: Technology, Warfare, and the Course of History, 1500 to Today* (Gotham Books, 2006), which examines how technological revolutions have transformed warfare and the global balance of power. It is also out in paperback. He is beginning research for a new book on the history of guerilla warfare.

**JOHN CAMPBELL**, *Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies*  
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**ISOBEL COLEMAN**, *Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy*

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Expertise: Economic development, gender issues in the Middle East and Southwest Asia, foreign aid, microfinance, education reform in the Middle East

Dr. Coleman is working on her forthcoming book, *Paradise Beneath Her Feet: Women and Reform in the Middle East*, (Random House, 2009) which examines the importance of women's empowerment in economic and political development. She also directs the Roundtable on Economic and Political Development in the Middle East and the Women and Foreign Policy Advisory Council.

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

212.434.9641 [eeconomy@cfr.org](mailto:eeconomy@cfr.org)

Expertise: Chinese domestic and foreign policy, U.S.-China relations, global environmental issues

Dr. Economy's forthcoming book, *The Rise of China*, will examine the geostrategic, economic, and political implications of China's quest for natural resources, including oil, gas, timber, and minerals. She runs the U.S.-Asia Update Roundtable Series, which explores cutting-edge issues in America's relations with the Asian Pacific region, and the Hong Kong Forum, which seeks to foster better communication between the U.S. and China. She is also co-directing the U.S.-Asia Update Roundtable Series with Senior Fellow Adam Segal.

**EVAN A. FEIGENBAUM**, *Senior Fellow for East, Central, and South Asia*

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Expertise: China, India, Central Asia, Japan, North and South Korea, Russia; energy, Caspian oil and gas; China and India as emerging global powers; economic integration in East, Central, and South Asia; U.S. foreign policy

Dr. Feigenbaum is the author of several articles and books on China. He is currently writing a book on the reemergence of Asia as an integrated strategic space and the global implications of the rise of Asian power.

**STEPHEN E. FLYNN**, *Ira A. Lipman Senior Fellow for Counterterrorism and National Security Studies*

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Expertise: Catastrophic TERRORISM, maritime transportation security, border control modernization, critical infrastructure protection

Dr. Flynn is author of *The Edge of Disaster: Rebuilding a Resilient Nation*, (Random House, 2007) which assesses America's strategic vulnerabilities to catastrophic events: natural disasters and terrorist attacks. He also directs the roundtable series on the Role of the Private Sector in Homeland Security.

**LAURIE GARRETT**, *Senior Fellow for Global Health*

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Expertise: Global health systems, chronic and infectious diseases, bioterrorism, public health and its effects on foreign policy and national security

Ms. Garrett is writing a book which takes an in-depth look at the recent outbreaks of and the international community's response to bioterrorism, SARS, avian flu, HIV, and global health inequities. She also directs a roundtable series on global health. She recently authored a report on the future of foreign assistance amid global economic and financial crisis.

**MICHAEL A. LEVI**, *David M. Rubenstein Senior Fellow for Energy and the Environment and Director of the Program on Energy Security and Climate Change*

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Expertise: Weapons of mass destruction, homeland security, arms control, technology and foreign policy

Dr. Levi's latest book, *On Nuclear Terrorism* (Harvard University Press, 2007), examines a broad range of defensive options for combating nuclear terrorism. He directs the Roundtable on Energy Security and Climate Change. He is currently authoring a Council Special Report on oil sands and energy security.

**MARC LEVINSON**, *Senior Fellow for International Business*

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Expertise: Finance and investment, financial regulation, environment, trade policy, shipping, and supply chains. Economist, historian, and longtime journalist. Author of *The Box: How the Shipping Container Made the World Smaller and the World Economy Bigger*, and many other books and articles.

**NICOLE LEWIS**, *National Intelligence Fellow*

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Expertise: China, intelligence

**WALTER RUSSELL MEAD**, *Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy*

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Expertise: U.S. foreign policy, international political economy, domestic politics, religion and foreign policy  
Mr. Mead's latest work, *God and Gold: Britain, America and the Making of the Modern World* (Knopf, 2007), is a major study of 400 years of conflict between Anglophone powers and rivals ranging from absolute monarchies like Spain and France through Communist and Fascist enemies in the twentieth century to al-Qaeda today. He also directs the Roundtable on Religion and Foreign Policy and the Religion and Foreign Policy Symposium Series.

**PETER NAVARIO**, *Fellow for Global Health*

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Expertise: HIV/AIDS; global health governance; developing country health systems; developing country health policy

Dr. Navario is conducting roundtables on issues pertaining to global health development programs and global health governance.

**SHANNON O'NEIL**, *Douglas Dillon Fellow*

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Expertise: Latin America, U.S.-Latin America relations, Mexico, market reform, immigration

Dr. O'Neil is currently working on a book on Mexico. She directed the Independent Task Force report on U.S.-Latin America Relations, and she co-directs, with Senior Fellow Julia E. Sweig, the Western Hemisphere Transnational Roundtable and the Globalization and Democracy Roundtable Series. She is currently directing the project, Blueprint for a Sustainable Energy Partnership of the Americas.

**ADAM SEGAL**, *Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow for China Studies*

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Expertise: Technology, development in China and India; East Asian security; Chinese domestic, foreign policy

Dr. Segal's upcoming book is entitled, *After the Knowledge Economy: What America Must Do to Win the Technological Race with Asia*. He leads the Roundtable on Innovation and Technological Entrepreneurship in Asia. He is also co-directing, with Senior Fellow Elizabeth Economy, the U.S.-Asia Update Roundtable Series.

**AMITY SHLAES**, *Senior Fellow for Economic History*

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Expertise: Germany, Russia, economics, U.S. tax policy, relative competitiveness

Ms. Shlaes is writing about and speaking on the entrepreneurial impulse within major nations and its relationship to the foreign policy of those nations, with an emphasis on India and Russia. She is the author of the bestselling *The Forgotten Man: A New History of the Great Depression* (HarperLuxe, 2007), a political, economic, and social revision of the 1930s. Ms. Shlaes discusses lessons in economic history in her "The Forgotten Man" blog on [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org).

**BENN STEIL**, *Senior Fellow and Director of International Economics*

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Expertise: Financial markets, securities trading, international finance

Dr. Steil is author of the recent book, *Money, Markets, and Sovereignty* (Oxford University Press, 2009) and author of the recent Council Special Report on financial regulation. He is also the director of the C. Peter McColough Roundtable Series on International Economics and the McKinsey Executive Roundtable Series on International Economics.

**JACOB WALLES**, *Cyrus Vance Fellow in Diplomatic Studies*

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**MICAH ZENKO**, *Fellow for Conflict Prevention*

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Expertise: Conflict prevention, U.S. national security policy, military planning and operations, nuclear weapons policy

Political scientist with expertise in national security issues. Currently researching and writing on the prevention of violent conflict and turning his dissertation on limited uses of military force into a book.

*RESIDENT FELLOWS, WASHINGTON, DC*

**ELLIOTT ABRAMS**, *Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies*

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Expertise: U.S. policy in the Middle East, Israel-Palestinian affairs, democracy promotion, human rights policy, U.S. foreign policy

Mr. Abrams is currently authoring a book on the Middle East.

**EDWARD ALDEN**, *Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow*

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Expertise: U.S. economic competitiveness, U.S. trade policy, visa and immigration policy

Mr. Alden's work examines the prospects for U.S. policy to improve America's economic standing in the world. He directs the Bernard L. Schwartz High Level Roundtable on American Competitiveness. His latest book is *The Closing of the American Border* (HarperCollins, 2008).

**STEPHEN BIDDLE**, *Senior Fellow for Defense Policy*

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Expertise: U.S. national security policy, military strategy and the conduct of war, technology in modern warfare, recent operations in the war on terror

Dr. Biddle is writing journal articles on major combat operations in Iraq, the history of private armies, and the prospects for internationalization of civil war in Iraq. He also directs the Roundtable Series on U.S. Defense Policy and Strategy.

**STEVEN A. COOK**, *Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies*

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Expertise: Political reform in the Arab world, Turkish politics, civil-military relations in the Middle East, U.S.-Middle East policy, Arab-Israeli conflict

Dr. Cook is the author of *Ruling But Not Governing: Political Development and the Military in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey*, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007) which highlights the critical role the military plays in the stability of the Egyptian, Algerian, and until recently, Turkish political systems. He is also currently writing a book on U.S.-Egypt relations and directing a roundtable series, Reform in the Arab and Islamic World.

**CHARLES D. FERGUSON**, *Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow for Science and Technology*

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Expertise: Nuclear nonproliferation, nuclear and radiological terrorism, prevention and response, U.S. and international nuclear policies

Dr. Ferguson recently directed a Council Special Report on China's military space program. He also directs the Roundtable on Nuclear Energy, as well as the Nuclear Security and Nonproliferation Roundtable Series.

**JAMES M. GOLDGEIER**, *Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Fellow for Transatlantic Relations*

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Expertise: Transatlantic relations, U.S.-Russian relations, NATO, the European Union

Dr. Goldgeier is coauthor, with Derek Chollet, of the book *From 11/9 to 9/11: America between the Wars*. He directs the Future of Europe Roundtable Series, which examines Europe's relations with the United States, China, the Middle East and other important areas of the world as well as issues relating to the future of the European Union and NATO. Best book 2009.

**JOSHUA KURLANTZICK**, *Fellow for Southeast Asia*

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Expertise: Southeast Asia, China; Asian regionalism; public diplomacy; democratization in the developing world

Former foreign correspondent and journalist covering Southeast Asia. Current research focuses on reinvigorating U.S. policy toward Southeast Asia, China's strategy toward Southeast Asia, and lessons of Indonesia as a successful Muslim-majority democracy. Author of *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World*, released in 2006, and of numerous articles and briefs on Southeast Asia, China, and democratization in the developing world.

**SEBASTIAN MALLABY**, *Director of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies and Paul A. Volcker Senior Fellow for International Economics*

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*Studies, and Paul A. Volcker Senior Fellow for International Economics*

Expertise: Globalization, trade, foreign assistance, hedge funds

Mr. Mallaby is currently writing a book on hedge funds, which is slated for publication in 2009. As director of the CGS, he led the recent Council Special Report, *Global Imbalances and the Financial Crisis*. He also directs the CGS Director's Roundtable Series and the Goldman Sachs Roundtable Series on Financial Regulation.

**DANIEL MARKEY**, *Senior Fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia*

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Expertise: South Asia, especially Pakistan and India, U.S. foreign policy, international security, international relations theory

Dr. Markey is researching and writing on issues of U.S. policy toward India and Pakistan, and directing a Roundtable Series on South Asia. He authored the Council Special Report on securing Pakistan's tribal areas.

**STEWART M. PATRICK**, *Senior Fellow and Director, Program on International Institutions and Global Governance*

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Expertise: Multilateral cooperation, global governance; United Nations; weak, failing states; post-conflict reconstruction; transnational threats; U.S. foreign policy; diplomatic history

Dr. Patrick directs the United States and the Future of Global Governance Roundtable Series.

**STEPHEN R. SESTANOVICH**, *George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies*

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Expertise: Russia and the former Soviet Union, Caucasus and Central Asia, U.S. foreign policy

Ambassador Sestanovich directs a joint Council on Foreign Relations-Columbia University roundtable series on issues related to Russia. He also directed a recent CFR symposium on Russian-American relations.

**STEVEN SIMON**, *Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies*

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Expertise: U.S. security policy in the Middle East and South Asia, Middle East politics

Mr. Simon authored the Council Special Report *After the Surge: The Case for U.S. Military Withdrawal from Iraq*, which was re-released with a new foreword in September 2007. His next book, on the strategic implications of demographic change in Western Europe, is due out in 2008. He is co-director of the roundtable on the U.S. and Middle East.

**SHEILA A. SMITH**, *Senior Fellow for Japan Studies*

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Expertise: Japanese domestic politics and foreign policy, Northeast Asia regional security, and the international relations of the Asia Pacific

Dr. Smith directs the New Regional Security Architecture for Asia program, the Roundtable Series on Japan and Northeast Asia, and the roundtable series, *Where is Japan Headed? Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy Choices*. She also directed a recent CFR-Asahi Shimbun symposium on the U.S.-Japan partnership.

**PAUL B. STARES**, *John W. Vessey Senior Fellow for Conflict Prevention and Director of the Center for Preventive Action*

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Expertise: U.S. national security policy, conflict prevention strategies, U.S. counterterrorism policy, Northeast Asia security

Dr. Stares is directing the on-going work of CPA, including the Contingencies Roundtable Series and Council Special Reports on North Korea and Ukraine. His research is currently focused on conflict prevention strategies for regions of concern.

**JULIA E. SWEIG**, *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Latin America Studies and Director for Latin America Studies*

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Expertise: Latin America, U.S.-Latin America relations, Cuba, anti-Americanism

Dr. Sweig is the project director of the Council-sponsored Independent Task Force on U.S.-Latin American Relations and runs a roundtable series on Latin America. Her next book is entitled *Everything You Need to Know About Cuba*.

*ADJUNCT FELLOWS*

**CAROLINE ATKINSON**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for International Economics*

*Washington, DC*

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Expertise: Financial crises management, foreign exchange markets, international economics, IMF and the World Bank, Japan, Argentina

Ms. Atkinson leads the Global Economics Roundtable, which brings together key players from the private markets, government, Federal Reserve, IMF, World Bank, and think tanks to discuss pressing policy issues in international economics.

**MOHAMAD BAZZI**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies*

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Expertise: Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Islamic militancy, Shiite politics

Journalism professor at New York University. Former Middle East bureau chief at *Newsday*. Currently working on a project about Hezbollah and the Shiite community in Lebanon.

**JOHN B. BELLINGER III**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for International and National Security Law*

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Expertise: International law and international criminal justice, international humanitarian law and human rights law, international criminal tribunals, treaty law, international and domestic law applicable to counterterrorism operations, including detention policies, U.S. national security organization and process

Partner at Arnold & Porter, LLP. Former legal adviser for the U.S. Department of State and National Security Council. Currently directing a roundtable series on international and national security law.

**RICHARD K. BETTS**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for National Security Studies*

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Expertise: Intelligence and U.S. defense policy, military strategy, political and military intelligence, international conflict, terrorism

Dr. Betts conducts the John J. McCloy Roundtable Series on Setting the National Security Agenda, which seeks to identify and illuminate new national security questions.

**DAVID BRAUNSCHVIG**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for Business and Foreign Policy*

*New York, NY*

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Expertise: International business, finance and economics, media and communications, technology and foreign policy

Mr. Braunschvig runs the Business and Foreign Policy Roundtable, which explores current issues at the intersection of U.S. foreign policy and private sector activity.

**JEROME A. COHEN**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for Asia Studies*

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Expertise: Legal and business transactions in Asia, international relations of East Asia, international law

Mr. Cohen directs the Winston Lord Roundtable on Asia, the Rule of Law, and U.S. Foreign Policy, which examines the role of law and legal culture in economic growth, institution-building, and the protection of human rights in Asian countries.

**JAMES P. DOUGHERTY**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for Business and Foreign Policy*

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Expertise: American economic competitiveness, technological innovation and foreign policy

Mr. Dougherty runs the Roundtable Series on Technology, Innovation, and American Primacy, which examines how the government's response to the challenges of globalization will affect America's global economics and political standing.

**STEVEN DUNAWAY**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for International Economics*  
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Washington, DC

Expertise: International economics and finance; financial markets and capital flows, International Monetary Fund

Dr. Dunaway is the author of the recent Council Special Report on global imbalances and the financial crisis.

**NOAH FELDMAN**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow*  
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New York, NY

Expertise: Relationship between law and religion in both the Western and Middle Eastern context, Middle East politics, North Africa, Islamic constitutional thought

Professor Feldman writes on conflict and conflict resolution in the Middle East as well as on constitutional law. His latest book is *The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State* (Princeton, 2008). He is also directing a roundtable series on the plurality of voices in the Muslim world.

**ROGER M. KUBARYCH**, *Henry Kaufman Adjunct Senior Fellow for International Economics and Finance*  
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Expertise: International finance, economics

New York, NY

Mr. Kubarych is currently writing *The Americanization of Finance*, a book examining the transformation of American and advanced industrial financial systems from ones centered on traditional commercial banks to systems organized around open capital markets. He also directs the Roundtable Series on Setting a New Policy Agenda for a World of Economic and Financial Stability.

**CHARLES A. KUPCHAN**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for Europe Studies*  
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Washington, DC

Expertise: NATO, European Union, U.S. national security, nationalism, the Balkans

Dr. Kupchan is writing a book entitled, *The Sources of Stable Peace*. He also runs the Pieter A. Fisher European Studies Roundtable Series. Dr. Kupchan also directed the recent CFR symposium on NATO at 60.

**PAUL LETTOW**

Washington, DC

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Expertise: U.S. national security policy; nuclear nonproliferation; diplomatic history; structure and process of U.S. national security policymaking

Dr. Lettow is the author of *Ronald Reagan and His Quest to Abolish Nuclear Weapons* (Random House, 2005). His current work focuses on strengthening the nuclear nonproliferation regime.

**THOMAS W. LIPPMAN**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies*  
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Washington, DC

Expertise: Middle East history and politics, U.S. relations with Arab world, history and economy of Saudi Arabia, nuclear proliferation in the Middle East.

Author and journalist specializing in Middle East affairs and Islam. Currently working on a book about the future of Saudi Arabia and its implications for the United States.

**PRINCETON LYMAN**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies*  
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Expertise: Sub-Saharan Africa, economic development, democratization and elections, civil reconstruction, conflict prevention, global governance, United Nations, HIV/AIDS

Ambassador Lyman co-edited *Beyond Humanitarianism: What You Need to Know About Africa and Why It Matters*, published by the Council on Foreign Relations Press in summer 2007. He directs the Africa Policy Studies Roundtable.

**JEFFREY MANKOFF**, *Adjunct Fellow for Russia Studies*

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Expertise: Russian foreign policy; U.S.-Russian relations; European diplomatic and military history; nationalism and ethnic conflict

Dr. Mankoff is a postdoctoral fellow at International Security Studies, Yale University and has just published the book *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2009). He is also the author of a recent Council Special Report on Eurasian energy policy.

**DANIEL SENOR**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for Middle East Studies*

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Expertise: Middle East and Persian Gulf geopolitics, security, and economics; Israeli-Palestinian relations; Iraq; nation-building; post-conflict stabilization; role of foreign policy issues in domestic U.S. politics; media coverage of war; U.S. public diplomacy

Mr. Senor is currently writing a book on the Israeli economy and globalization and is directing a roundtable series on public diplomacy.

**MATTHEW J. SLAUGHTER**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for Business and Globalization*

*Hanover, NH*

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Expertise: The economics and politics of globalization, multinational firms and capital markets, immigration, technological innovation, and the causes and consequences of the globalization backlash

Professor Slaughter writes articles on globalization and authored the Council Special Report, *Global FDI Policy*. He also leads a roundtable series on the role of business in international economic policy.

**SCOTT A. SNYDER**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for Korea Studies*

*Washington, DC*

202.588.9420 ssnyder@asiafound-dc.org

Expertise: Politics and foreign policy of South Korea and North Korea; U.S.-Korea relations; Northeast Asian security; and U.S.-Asia relations

Dr. Snyder is a senior associate at the Asia Foundation and Pacific Forum CSIS. He is the author of *China's Rise and the Two Koreas*.

**MATTHEW C. WAXMAN**, *Adjunct Senior Fellow for Law and Foreign Policy*

*New York, NY*

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Expertise: Domestic and international legal aspects of counterterrorism

Mr. Waxman is currently directing a roundtable series on the rule of law and U.S. foreign policy and authoring a CSR on preventing mass atrocities.

#### *MILITARY FELLOWS*

**COLONEL DAVID W. ALLVIN**, *Military Fellow, U.S. Air Force*

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**CAPTAIN EUSTAQUIO CASTRO-MENDOZA**, *Military Fellow, U.S. Navy*

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**COLONEL BJARNE M. IVERSON**, *Military Fellow, U.S. Army*

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**COLONEL JOHN R. PARKER**, *Military Fellow, U.S. Marine Corps*

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*VISITING FELLOWS*

**SCOTT G. BORGERSON**, *Visiting Fellow for Ocean Governance*

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Expertise: The Arctic; ocean policy; homeland security; U.S. foreign policy; shipping

Dr. Borgerson directs a roundtable series on strategic ocean governance and is authoring a Council Special Report on the Law of the Sea Treaty

*INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWS*

**MICHAEL L. BAKER**, *International Affairs Fellow*

**TERICKE BLANCHARD**, *International Affairs Fellow in Japan*

**JARED I. BRAITERMAN**, *International Affairs Fellow in Japan*

**JAMES P. DANLY**, *International Affairs Fellow*

**LAURA A. HALL**, *International Affairs Fellow*

**ROBERT K. KNAKE**, *International Affairs Fellow in Residence*

**LYDIA KHALIL**, *International Affairs Fellow in Residence*

**CAROLYN M. LEDDY**, *International Affairs Fellow in Japan*

**CARIE A. LEMACK**, *International Affairs Fellow*

**KARA MCDONALD**, *International Affairs Fellow*

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**JULIA NESHEIWAT**, *International Affairs Fellow in Japan*

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**MARISA L. PORGES**, *International Affairs Fellow*

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**MARGARET L. TAYLOR**, *International Affairs Fellow*