The Studies Department is the Council’s chief research resource for pursuing the institution’s three main goals—adding value to the understanding of world affairs and to thinking about U.S. foreign policy, becoming a truly national organization, and nurturing the next generation of foreign policy leaders. By producing books, articles, and policy papers, engaging Council members and other interested people in focused discussions, and recruiting the brightest young foreign policy thinkers, the Studies Department anchors the Council’s drive to promote informed discussion of the world and America’s role in it.

The Studies Department sponsors two main types of projects: study groups and roundtables. The primary purpose of the study group is to bring members and other experts together to discuss and offer input on a Fellow’s writing-in-progress. Fellows circulate draft chapters or outlines before the study group meetings to ensure considered and serious exchange. Roundtables are informal discussion groups that track an issue of interest to a significant number of Council members. In roundtables, the Fellow arranges a series of discussions on a particular subject, such as Mexico or terrorism. Unlike study groups, roundtables do not necessarily result in scholarly articles or books, although op-eds and short opinion pieces are frequently published by participants.

While research is its primary focus, the Studies Department adds value to the foreign policy debate in a variety of other ways. Studies Fellows engage in several highly visible activities that have an impact on policy: appearing as commentators on television and radio; writing op-ed pieces for major newspapers like the New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, and Wall Street Journal; testifying as experts before Congress; and meeting with high-ranking executive- and legislative-branch officials.

In 1998–99 Council Fellows contributed significant analysis and opinion to the public debate on such issues as the U.S.-led military actions in Kosovo and Iraq; the financial gyrations in Asia, Latin America, and Russia; and the proposed entry of China into the World Trade Organization. These activities increased the exposure of Studies Fellows among interested individuals and the public, ensuring them a broad and influential audience for their published research findings.

The Studies Department maximizes the impact of its Fellows’ research by concentrating on the interlinked issues that shape the international agenda, emphasizing in particular three areas—rethinking national security, international economics, and Asia. Studies activities recognize, for example, that Asia’s economic woes pose profound commercial and security challenges and op-
opportunities for the United States, and that the diversification of security issues and the emerging concept of “economic security” have inextricably linked U.S. international economic and security policies. Several Studies projects this year addressed two or more of these areas in tandem, including study groups on the U.S.-Japan trade relationship, the rise of Chinese military power, and the security of international energy supplies.

The Studies Department’s broader body of work shares this interdisciplinary flavor. Recent study groups on issues such as social and economic change in the Gulf monarchies, ethnic conflict and partition, and U.S. global warming technology policy generate a cross-fertilization of ideas, producing innovative research that has a real impact on the policy debate.

This year saw tremendous growth in the number of meetings across the country, with study group leaders traveling to internationally oriented U.S. cities or using the Council’s new videoconferencing capabilities to discuss their research with Council members and other informed individuals nationwide. These sessions provide mutual benefits: Fellows’ analyses are improved by informed input from national members, while those members benefit from the specialized knowledge of Studies Fellows.

The Council supplements these face-to-face dialogues with its redesigned website (www.cfr.org). The Council’s highly rated site has provided new opportunities for members to engage in Studies activities, whether by registering electronically for new study groups or roundtables, or by participating from afar through web-based discussion groups. Meanwhile, the new database-driven site has upgraded the Council’s capacity to make the intellectual output of Studies staff available to the public.

Members of the Studies Department’s senior staff are classified as Senior Fellows, Adjunct Fellows, and Next Generation Fellows (NGFs). Senior Fellows typically are experienced scholars and practitioners who have spent considerable time in academia and/or government. Adjunct Fellows conduct one or two research projects at the Council while maintaining residence at a university or other organization. Next Generation Fellows are younger individuals who usually spend two or three years at the Council, either in New York or Washington, working on specific research projects.

With the generous support of the MacArthur, Olin, and Mellon foundations in particular, this year the Studies Department expanded its recruitment and hiring of NGFs. New NGFs include promising scholars like Rachel Bronson, Betsy Cohen, Jordan Kassalow, Kiron Skinner, and Astrid Tuminez. During their time at the Council, NGFs work closely with other Fellows and members, fostering a community of scholars and practitioners. NGFs not only provide fresh insights into Studies projects but also gain the experience that will enable them to assume the role of future foreign policy leaders and analysts.

Lawrence J. Korb
Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies

National Security

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: RICHARD K. BETTS

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

PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD K. BETTS

This ongoing roundtable seeks to identify the critical post–Cold War questions that require more detailed study by the Council. Subjects are chosen as the sessions proceed to take advantage of ideas that come out of discussion. Among the topics this past year were the emerging gap between civilian culture and professional military values, the integration of nonlethal weapons into strategic planning, the collapse of the Russian military establishment, the prospects of the Iraqi opposition, and NATO’s strategy in the Kosovo conflict.

Study Group on Assessing the Future of Chinese Power

PROJECT DIRECTORS: RICHARD K. BETTS AND THOMAS J. CHRISTENSEN (MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY)
CHAIR: HARRY HARDING (ELLIOTT SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY)

Among the principal issues in international politics in the next century will be how powerful China becomes, whether its military capabilities will develop commensurately with its economic output, and what challenges Chinese power will pose to the regional and global order. Launched in January 1999, this study group held meetings in New York and Washington to discuss the interrelationships of political, economic, and military developments in the evolution of Chinese power. Special attention was devoted to considering what should and should not be learned from the experiences of other ris-
ing powers, the roles of other major powers in Asia (Japan, Russia, India), and problems in translating economic progress into modern military effectiveness. Richard Betts and Thomas Christensen will produce a study as the end product in late 1999.

**Study Group on the Arms Trade and the Transnationalization of the Defense Industry: Economic versus Security Drivers**  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR: ANN R. MARKUSEN**

Since the end of the Cold War, economic and defense industrial-base concerns have become increasingly pervasive in U.S. arms export policy. The sale of sophisticated weapons by U.S. defense companies to countries around the world may adversely affect national security, encourage arms and capacity proliferation, and set off an expensive arms race among allies. This study group assembled a broad range of individuals, from policymakers and academics to peace and human rights activists, to investigate the phenomenon and debate policy responses.

Through monthly meetings, including three in Europe, study group participants addressed the following questions: What security concerns should drive arms export policy? Have arms exports lowered the cost of weapons to the Pentagon? How much do arms exports contribute to the U.S. trade balance, net of subsidies, and offsets? Are exports creating pressure for arms innovation that would not otherwise exist? What policies can be recommended for U.S. arms export regulation and conventional arms trade negotiations? The final products will include the publication of select background papers, a journal article, shorter policy and op-ed pieces, and possibly a book.

**W. Averell Harriman Study Group on Contending Paradigms of International Order**  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR/CHAIR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN**

Current debate about the nature of the emerging international landscape is disappointingly thin. Contentious theories about the end of history and the clash of civilizations aside, the analytic community has made little progress in mapping out the key elements of a new international system. This group is examining contending visions of order and seeks to generate a more fertile discussion of desirable outcomes and how policymakers can achieve them. Analysts working on these questions and their implications for American grand strategy will make presentations to the group. Charles Kupchan will produce a “white paper” for the administration that takes office in 2001 as well as other shorter articles and op-ed pieces.

**Henry A. Kissinger Roundtable on Terrorism**  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR: GIDEON ROSE**

As recent events have shown, terrorism is one of the central national security threats the United States faces in the post–Cold War world. This ongoing roundtable brings together Council members and other experts to discuss cutting-edge research and ideas related to terrorism and counterterrorism policy. Each year, approximately half a dozen meetings in New York and Washington feature a presentation by a leading expert or government official. This year’s topics included an assessment of when military retaliation for terrorism is appropriate, a profile of Osama bin Laden, and further discussions of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

**Study Group on High-Impact Terrorism**  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR: JESSICA STERN**

Americans are vulnerable to a new form of violence: seemingly purposeless, high-impact attacks calculated to create fear. The perpetrators are likely to be individuals or small groups who kill in the name of God, rather than traditional states or terrorist organizations that pursue nationalist goals. This ongoing study group aims to rethink U.S. foreign policy and defense priorities in light of the increase in religious terrorism. It addresses the following questions: Who are these new terrorists? What do they hope to achieve? How will they arm themselves? How does the growth of religious fundamentalism, and the terrorism it inspires, affect U.S. foreign policy and interests? What is an appropriate response? Participants are assessing the effectiveness of current policies for reducing the threat of high-impact terrorism and suggesting additional remedies that should be considered or emphasized. The products of this project will be a book and several shorter articles by Jessica Stern.

**Roundtable on Unconventional Threats**  
**PROJECT DIRECTOR: JESSICA STERN**

This roundtable covered two “unconventional” security threats. The first meeting, “Global Monitoring of Infectious Disease: The National Security Implications,” addressed the impact on national security of a global monitoring system for infectious disease. Margaret Hamburg of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) spoke about the U.S. monitoring sys-
Lawrence J. Korb at the March 4, 1999, Meeting of the John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the New National Security Agenda, “Can Saddam Hussein Be Toppled?”

Speaker Dennis McNamara, U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, Moderator Arne Piel Christensen, Speaker Sadako Ogata, UNHCR, President Robert P. DeVecchi, and Speaker Kenneth Roth, Human Rights Watch, at the March 11–12, 1999, Meeting, “Strengthening UNHCR and NGO Collaboration on Refugee Protection.”


tem and the role of HHS in fighting biological terrorism; Stephen Morse of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency discussed the strengths and weaknesses of the global regime and the role of the Program for Monitoring Emerging Diseases. The second session, “Sources of Religious Terrorism in South Asia and the Middle East,” consisted of three panel presentations by regional academic and policy experts on the sources of extremism, the movements and groups involved in violent opposition, and the challenge posed by fundamentalists to governments and regional stability. There were three panels—one for each region, and a third led by correspondents from two major networks to discuss the controversial presentation of terrorism in the media.

Energy Security Group

PROJECT DIRECTOR: JUDITH KIPPER
COSPONSORED WITH THE JAPAN ATOMIC INDUSTRIAL FORUM, INC.

The Energy Security Group promotes better understanding between the United States and Japan about issues in the Middle East and elsewhere that influence economic development and security in Asia and the Americas. Discussions center on policy issues such as energy security, nuclear proliferation, high technology, and economic coordination as well as population pressures on energy requirements, development, and the environment. Founding Chairman William D. Rogers of Arnold & Porter, and current Chairman William F. Martin of Washington Policy and Analysis, Inc., provide leadership in consultation with the Energy Security Group’s Japanese partner, the Japan

Graham Allison

Belfer Center, John F. Kennedy School of Government

My relationship with the Council goes back a quarter century to my good fortune in having been selected as a member of the first class of the Council’s International Affairs Fellows. That provided an extraordinary opportunity for a young scholar to see the foreign policy establishment. I can still recall vividly the thrill of meeting people whom I had otherwise only read about in contemporary history books, like John J. McCloy, David Rockefeller, and many others. In my view, the special magic of the Council is its ability to link younger people with experienced elders in settings in which learning can be mutual. The Council assembles unique combinations of folks from the policy community (former and current), business, and academia. By blending multiple perspectives in informal but still disciplined not-for-attribution discussions, each is encouraged to learn from the others. For example, in considering an issue like the U.S.-led NATO bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, academics help locate the issue in the context of policy studies that found few bombing campaigns that succeeded in compelling compliance. At that same table, however, participants from the financial community would press the question, “How much would a bombing campaign cost, and what else could one do with equivalent funds to address the problem at hand?” And a current or former policymaker might well note that while both of these perspectives are interesting, neither has much to do with the realities of day-to-day choices after one is out on a limb, and the options are few.

We still do not know how to identify the current period in international affairs. So we call it by what it comes after, rather than what it is, namely the post–Cold War era. My name for this period is an “era of confusion.” And the reasons for confusion in American foreign policy are not difficult to identify. The Cold War came to an unanticipated conclusion in an avalanche of events that eliminated most of the fixed points by which students of international affairs used to get their bearings: the Berlin Wall, the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union itself. We have yet to identify appropriate new coordinates. The Council plays a critical role in helping the entire foreign policy community struggle with this confusion.

In Foreign Affairs, the Council has a great forum for exploring central issues. The journal attracts the most interesting ideas, arguments, and analyses from wherever, making them available to Council members, study groups, task forces, and the world. Foreign Affairs’ most important contributions, I believe, come in exploring and making credible dimensions of issues that would otherwise be missed or misidentified. Thus, it helps educate the entire adult community interested in foreign policy, including people in government.

Study Group on the Future of Arms Control
PROJECT DIRECTOR: JAN M. LODAL (LODAL & COMPANY)
For decades, the United States and the Soviet Union developed arms control policies and institutions based on maintaining a stable, bipolar relationship. However, since the Soviet Union collapsed and the Cold War ended, Russia and its military have fallen into disarray. At the same time, new threats have emerged and the international environment continues to change. Despite these transformations, U.S. arms control policies still reflect traditional concepts and methods of a bipolar system. This project seeks to reassess the impact of arms control—its methods and objectives—one U.S. security and to develop a set of recommendations to ensure that arms control efforts serve U.S. interests in the coming decades.

Whitney H. Shepardson Study Group on Great Power Politics
PROJECT DIRECTOR: JOHN J. MEARSHEIMER
CHAIR: RICHARD K. BETTS
This yearly study group allows the Council’s current Shepardson Fellow to benefit from the feedback of relevant experts on discussion papers/chapters from a book-in-progress. The 1998–99 Fellow was John Mearsheimer, a professor at the University of Chicago, who is writing a book on great power relations since the French Revolution and the relevant lessons for U.S. security policy.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Roundtable on Country-Risk Analysis in the Post–Asia Crisis
PROJECT DIRECTORS: ALBERT FISHLOW AND BARBARA SAMUELS (SAMUELS ASSOCIATES)
CO-CHAIRS: ROBERT D. HORMATS (GOLDMAN SACHS INTERNATIONAL) AND ROGER KUBARYCH (KAUFMAN AND KUBARYCH ADVISORS, LLC)
This roundtable analyzed the role country-risk analysis played in the Asian financial crisis and the subsequent meltdowns in Russia and Brazil. The group, consisting of foreign investors, rating-agency analysts, developing-country borrowers, and representatives of multilateral agencies and emerging-market governments, critically reevaluated the standard methodology, analytical approaches, and data utilization used in assessing sovereign risk. A report detailing the findings of the group will be published in the fall of 1999.

C. Peter McCulough Roundtable on International Economics
PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALBERT FISHLOW
COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM
In its fourth year, this roundtable series continued its traditional approach to analyzing present economic issues with a U.S. policy perspective. Among the more salient issues covered this year were the economic aspects of the Korean reunification process, the future of U.S.-Japan commercial relations, and the problem of inequality in the context of globalization.

Study Group on a New Paradigm for U.S.-Japan Economic Relations
PROJECT DIRECTOR: BRUCE STOKES
CO-CHAIRS: SEN. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER IV (D-W.VA.) AND REP. AMORY HOUGHTON (R-N.Y.)
U.S.-Japan economic relations face growing friction. Japan’s trade surplus with the United States, always a political problem, is headed for record levels. Yet these two economic colossi are becoming ever more integrated, creating systemic friction because of differing regulatory systems and philosophies about markets. Basing its investigations on the experience of the Bush administration’s Strategic Impediment Initiative and the Clinton administration’s framework talks, this study group sought to develop a new paradigm for U.S.-Japan economic negotiation, focusing on macroeconomic issues, regulatory reform, sector-specific problems, and a political dialogue. Bruce Stokes will write a short book informed by the group’s deliberations.

Walter Hochschild Study Group on Governance Mechanisms for a Global Economy
PROJECT DIRECTOR: DANIEL K. TARULLO
The last 50 years have seen a progressive erosion of the Bretton Woods economic and regulatory compromise
Studies Program


between international liberalism and domestic autonomy. While much has been written on the need to reform the “international financial architecture,” there remains a more fundamental question of the appropriate relationship between national and international legal/regulatory systems. This study group focused specifically on various countries’ national laws and regulatory schemes, looking at the institutional choices for international competition policy, the institutional and legal hurdles to reforming the international financial system, and proposals for a new round of trade negotiations. The products of the study group were three papers: an essay on options for international competition policy, a scholarly article on institutional and legal hurdles to reforming the international financial system, and an essay on proposals for a new round of trade negotiations.

**Study Group on the International Financial Architecture**

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

The overarching goal of the project is to identify restructuring options for the international financial architecture that would stimulate the long-term flow of private capital to the developing world. More specifically, the project is undertaking the development and promotion of one or more alternative working models for reform of the world financial architecture, the advancement of concrete proposals for countries interested in shifting from export-led growth to internally driven economic development, and the development of ideas to make the international financial system more open and accountable to the larger public interest. The final product will be a piece written by Walter Russell Mead.

**Study Group on Big Emerging Economies**

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** MARIE-JOSEÉ KRAVIS

**CHAIR:** W. BOWMAN CUTTER (E.M. WARBURG, PINCUS & CO., LLC)

This study group, based on the premise that some of today’s big emerging economies may also be emerging big powers, surveyed the realignment their rise is forcing in U.S. foreign policy as well as the allocation of U.S. foreign aid and diplomatic resources. The study group emphasized such emerging nations as India, Indonesia, Brazil, South Korea, and Thailand. A major article or short book will be published in late 1999.

**ASIA**

**PROGRAM DIRECTOR:** ROBERT A. MANNING

**Study Group on Asian Energy-Security in the 21st Century**

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** ROBERT A. MANNING

**CO-CHAIRS:** EDWARD L. MORSE (ENERGY INTELLIGENCE GROUP) AND R. JAMES WOOLSEY (SHEA & GARDNER)

This study group is analyzing the impact of Asia’s burgeoning energy demand on global energy markets and regional security dynamics. The study group is assessing the energy strategies of—and possible supply competition among—China, India, Japan, Korea, and ASEAN countries over the next quarter century and identifying the relevant foreign policy challenges for the United States. A major article was published in *Survival* (Winter 1998), and Robert Manning is writing a book to be published in 2000 that will draw relevant conclusions and recommendations for the policy community.

**Roundtable on China’s Nuclear Weapons and the Future of Arms Control**

**PROJECT DIRECTORS:** ROBERT A. MANNING AND RICHARD K. BETTS

**CHAIR:** RONALD MONTAPERTO (NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY)

**COSPONSORED WITH THE NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY AND THE INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES**

Of the five original nuclear powers, only China continues to build up its nuclear arsenal. With nuclear arms reduction centered on the U.S.-Russia relationship, China’s nuclear doctrine, capabilities, and intentions are often overlooked even though China’s nuclear direction may well determine the fate of international nuclear weapons programs. This roundtable series assembled individuals with a particular expertise on China’s military and nuclear doctrine and security policies, along with well-informed specialists on nuclear strategy, to work through the salient questions on the status of Chinese capabilities, modernization program, and military doctrine, and to discuss prospects for arms control and U.S.-China relations.

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

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** JEROME A. COHEN

This ongoing roundtable series examines the many meanings of the “rule of law” and the role of law and legal culture in Asian countries’ economic growth, institution building, and protection of human rights. Participants also
discuss the relevance of the rule of law to U.S. foreign policy and what measures the public and private sectors in this country might adopt to foster desired developments. This year, the roundtable held five sessions that focused on settling international business disputes with China.

**Study Group on Governance in China**

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY**  
**CHAIR: ARNOLD KANTER (FORUM FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY)**

To date there has been no examination of the implications and opportunities involved in the People’s Republic of China’s (PRC) political transition for either the success of China’s economic reform program or overall U.S. interests. The foreign policy community in the United States needs a more complete picture of the evolving social and political dynamics that will ultimately shape the PRC that emerges in the 21st century. This group filled that gap by examining the political reforms underway in the PRC, their implications for the success of economic reforms, and the opportunities for U.S. actors (government, business, and nongovernmental organizations) to influence this process. Topics explored included grass-roots democracy, center-provincial relations, the evolution of the rule of law, the People’s Liberation Army and nationalism, and the rise of the entrepreneurial and middle classes. Elizabeth Economy’s analysis from the study group proceedings will be published in *Survival* (Autumn 1999).

**U.S.-China Roundtable**

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY**

This series provides an opportunity for Council members to hear prominent speakers and engage in discussion on the full range of issues that define the U.S. relationship with China. This year’s meetings included “Confucian Convolution: China in the Information Age,” with Frederick S. Tipson of Hong Kong Telecom; “Transnational Problems in Asia,” with James Shinn, Elizabeth Economy, and other authors of the Council book *Fires Across the Water*; “Asia in the 21st Century: The New Challenge.”

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**Kim Holmes**

**The Heritage Foundation**

The Council has developed a far greater presence in Washington than before. Both the quality and frequency of the events and activities have enhanced the impact of the Council and its reports on Washington. With the decision to increase the scale of the activities in D.C., the Council has gotten more involved in relevant policy debates there. It has become a more up-to-date institution that functions on a broader political field. For example, the Council sponsored a China Embassy lunch that was a tremendous success. It was an opportunity for the ambassador to get his views through to Council members, but also to see how diverse the views of the Council can be in terms of U.S. opinion on China. There was definitely an interesting give and take. It was a very useful meeting because I think sometimes the ambassador is a bit insulated from the American public and their opinions. The lunch helped to give him an understanding of the range of opinion in the United States.

The Council-sponsored task force reports, like the ones on North Korea and Cuba, have impacted my thinking. These reports are important, and we read and factor them into our analysis. Of course, we don’t always agree, but they are taken seriously. They help broaden our understanding of the issue and we look at the people on the task force, and they are usually the main players in the policy debate.

The Council is clearly preparing for the upcoming century. The programs are on the cutting edge of what’s happening next. They challenge world opinions of where America is going. All of us want to understand better how the new world is evolving and to start thinking more outside of the box. The Council is making an effort to gather a diverse set of opinions to make this possible and to challenge what is at times a stale conventional wisdom in Washington.

Paula Dobriansky has brought on new programs effectively and has done a really good job broadening the spectrum of opinion at the Council. She has reached out to conservatives and liberals alike for advice on the Washington Program. This gives the Council not only a broader philosophical foundation but a greater relevance in Washington, particularly with respect to Congress.

Study Group on Japanese Foreign Policy and U.S. Interests in Asia
PROJECT DIRECTOR: MICHAEL J. GREEN
While the rhetoric of U.S. policy toward Asia claimed a new “strategic partnership” with China, U.S. strategy for the Asia-Pacific region in the next century will be only as credible as the U.S.-Japan alliance. This study group worked with a similar Tokyo-based group to examine the following case studies in Japanese diplomacy: the sources of Japanese power and influence, the impact of domestic institutions on foreign policy, Japan-China relations, Japan and the Korean peninsula, Japan’s Eurasian diplomacy, the international financial architecture, and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation and World Trade Organization. Each case study assessed factors such as the domestic determinants of Japanese policy, the role of the United States in Japanese policymaking, the points of bilateral divergence, and the lessons for the United States and Japan in terms of policy objectives and coordination. The study group will culminate in a book by Michael Green.

Roundtable on U.S.-China-Japan Triangular Relations
PROJECT DIRECTOR: NEIL SILVER
CHAIR: DONALD S. ZAGORIA (HUNTER COLLEGE OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK)
This series of three roundtable meetings was designed to explore competitive impulses and mutual perceptions between China and Japan, and the resulting implications for the United States—particularly in the fields of U.S. national security and diplomacy in Asia. The first two sessions looked separately at Chinese and Japanese perspectives on these issues. The third session explored the results of and prospects for a bilateral Chinese-Japanese security dialogue and trilateral dialogue including the United States. Speakers and commentators in this series included Bonnie Glaser, Mike Mochizuki, Patrick Cronin, Bates Gill, James Przystup, and Ronald Montaperto. Discussions provided background for a paper written by Neil Silver.

AFRICA
PROGRAM DIRECTOR: SALIH BOOKER

Africa Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: SALIH BOOKER
Africa Roundtables in New York and Washington, D.C., provide Council members and others engaged in work on Africa with regular opportunities for critical analysis of urgent developments in Africa and for elaboration of U.S. policy options. The New York discussions tend to focus on U.S. economic relations with Africa, while the Washington series addresses topical subjects relating to security, democracy, and sustainable development. Discussions topics this program year included the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, regional economic and peacekeeping activities of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and strategies for improving U.S. economic engagement of Africa.

Study Group on Thinking Regionally about Africa
PROJECT DIRECTOR: SALIH BOOKER
This study group is considering the growth of subregional cooperation among African nations and the implications of this development for U.S. policy toward Africa. Consisting of American and African specialists on each of Africa’s five subregions, members of the group will review a manuscript that outlines a framework for U.S. policy toward each subregion and develops criteria for prioritizing U.S. interests in Africa by subregion and function (security, democracy, and economic development/trade/investment).

EUROPE
PROGRAM DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN

Pieter A. Fisher European Studies Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: CHARLES A. KUPCHAN
Europe has recently crossed several important thresholds, most notably the beginning of the transition to a
single currency and the coming to power of the Social Democrats in Germany. In addition, NATO has formally taken in its first new members from central Europe. All these issues have important implications for U.S.-European relations and for the vitality of the transatlantic link. To keep pace with a rapidly changing landscape, this ongoing roundtable meets in New York and Washington, D.C., to address a range of themes including emerging security issues (particularly in the Balkans), the restructuring of European capitalism, and the politics and implementation of monetary union.

George F. Kennan Russian and Eurasian Roundtable on “Russia at the Crossroads”

PROJECT DIRECTOR: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY

This ongoing roundtable serves as a forum for comprehensive scrutiny of all aspects of Russia’s evolving political, economic, social, foreign policy, and defense developments. The overall goal is to assess the trends underway, with a particular focus on the current political and economic crisis gripping Moscow; to grasp the interrelationships among the factors involved; and to develop a full range of alternative scenarios for Russia’s future by highlighting what constitutes the key policy drivers.

Project on East-West Relations

PROJECT DIRECTOR: MICHAEL MANDELBAUM

The Project on East-West Relations takes an in-depth look at areas and issues of central importance to the United States and from which large-scale conflict could arise. Since its inception in 1987, the project has produced twelve books. A forthcoming book, The New Diasporas: Nationalism and Conflict in Postcommunist Europe, explores the past, present, and future of four national groups—Hungarians, Serbs, Russians, and Albanians—that are scattered uneasily among several sovereign states in postcommunist eastern Europe.

Online Roundtable on the Caspian Sea Region

PROJECT DIRECTORS: MATHEW BURROWS AND CARTER W. PAGE

This online roundtable, the first Council project of its kind, fostered a dialogue among individuals around the country on the issues surrounding the emergence of the Caspian Sea region as a major new supplier of oil. Participants first established the facts underlying Caspian issues, and then systematically evaluated Caspian development and appropriate U.S. policies. While preserving the confidentiality of the discussion, the facts established by the group also formed the core of a website on the region that will eventually be linked to the Council’s home page (www.cfr.org).

Latin America

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

Latin America Roundtable

PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL

The ongoing Latin America Roundtable provides prompt, thoughtful analysis of rapidly changing political and economic developments in the region. Although each seminar addresses a distinct topic, taken together the series provides a broad overview and a comparative perspective on the major issues, events, and debates in the Americas. For the year 1998–99, seminars examined the consequences of presidential elections in Venezuela and Brazil; Colombia’s future prospects; Latin America’s response to the global economic crisis; the role of religion in Latin American societies; the triangular relations among Mercosur, Europe, and the United States; and the new role of Spain in Latin America.

Roundtable on U.S.-Mexico Relations

PROJECT DIRECTORS: KENNETH R. MAXWELL AND RIORDAN ROETT (NITZE SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY)

While much has been written about recent political and economic events in Mexico, there has been little analysis of the medium- and long-term policy implications of trends in Mexico for the United States. This ongoing roundtable reviews the current atmosphere in Mexico with particular emphasis on the post–peso devaluation stabilization program and its implications for NAFTA and direct and portfolio investment in Mexico; the democratization of the political system; the increase in the responsibility and size of the Mexican military; the implications of the emergence of guerrilla groups in different regions of Mexico; the dramatic increase in drug transfers and money laundering along the border; the future of Mexican immigration to the United States; and the outlook for political and economic stability in Mexico.
Studies Program

Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Conference Series
PROJECT DIRECTOR: KENNETH R. MAXWELL
The Chase Manhattan Inter-American Forthcoming Issues Conference Series is an annual, in-depth examination of the prospects and most important issues facing inter-American relations in the year ahead. The 1998 conference examined Latin America’s economic and political responses to the global economic crisis.

Middle East

PROGRAM DIRECTOR: RICHARD W. MURPHY

Study Group on a New Security Structure for the Middle East
PROJECT DIRECTORS: RICHARD W. MURPHY AND GIDEON ROSE
CHAIR: LAWRENCE J. KORB
The utility of the Clinton administration’s “dual containment” policy on Iraq and Iran is diminishing as regional conditions and the expectations of outside powers change. At some point, perhaps as early as the next two to three years, conversations among the United States, Iraq, and Iran will begin. The purpose of this study group is to analyze the likely positions of Iraq, Iran, and the United States regarding future security in the Persian Gulf region and to lay the intellectual groundwork for these discussions. The security interests of these countries must, at a minimum, be identified and accommodated if a new regional security structure is to occur. The end product will be an article that clearly lays out the interests of the parties in question and identifies those areas where fruitful discussions are possible and desirable.

Study Group on Social and Economic Change in the Gulf Monarchies
PROJECT DIRECTORS: RICHARD W. MURPHY AND F. GREGORY GAUSE (UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT)
Important economic and social changes are occurring simultaneously in the various states of the Persian Gulf. The spread of education and urbanization, the changes in Gulf welfare states brought on by the secular decline in oil prices, and the integration of the Gulf monarchies into the global information network are some of the regional developments that need to be examined further. This study group analyzed the potential political ramifications of these economic and social changes, giving American policymakers a clearer picture of the domestic situation in these Gulf states. This dual focus—on economic changes that increase the importance of the private sector and on social changes that heighten the potential political volatility of Gulf state populations—was the most important function of the project. The project directors will coauthor an overview article that addresses the policy challenges for Washington. Another article by F. Gregory Gause will examine the issue of political opposition and government response in the Gulf Arab states.

Middle East Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: RICHARD W. MURPHY
This roundtable series continues its analysis of timely issues in the region and their impact on Middle Eastern countries. Meetings this year included a conversation with Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani on the tensions and shifting winds of the Kurdish situation in Iraq; a debate between an Israeli and a Palestinian academic who are leading the way for a revisionist history of Israel and the Palestinians; and a panel of female film directors from Iran on the role of working women in Iran.

Middle East Forum
PROJECT DIRECTOR: JUDITH KIPPER
The Middle East Forum in Washington engages key figures from many countries to probe vital Middle East issues. The forum—established as a regional program in 1985 by former Middle East presidential envoys Ambassador Robert S. Strauss and the late Ambassador Philip C. Habib, and later chaired by the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe, and the former head of U.S. Central Command, General Joseph P. Hoar—encourages analysis of regional developments and historical perspectives in discussions of U.S. policy as well as economic and strategic realities that affect foreign policy decision-making. The forum focuses on U.S. interests in the region in its candid examination of regional developments. A particular focus on Iraq has included speakers such as Richard Butler of the U.N. Special Commission; Sir Jeremy Greenstock, KCMG, United Kingdom permanent representative to the United Nations; and Denis J. Halliday, former U.N. assistant secretary general and humanitarian coordinator for Iraq.
Studies Program

Speaker Ebrahim Yazdi, Freedom Movement of Iran, Presider Farhad Kazemi, Richard W. Murphy, Kazem Sajjadpour, and Gregory Loyd at the November 10, 1998, Meeting of the Middle East Roundtable, “A New Era in Iran’s Domestic and Foreign Policies.”

Speaker Daniel Fung, Yale University, and Presider Jerome A. Cohen at the March 3, 1999, Meeting of the Winston Lord Roundtable on Asia, the Rule of Law, and U.S. Foreign Policy, “The Hong Kong-China Legal Dispute: The Future of ‘One Country, Two Systems.’”


Speaker Ebrahim Yazdi, Freedom Movement of Iran, Presider Farhad Kazemi, Richard W. Murphy, Kazem Sajjadpour, and Gregory Loyd at the November 10, 1998, Meeting of the Middle East Roundtable, “A New Era in Iran’s Domestic and Foreign Policies.”
Studies Program

U.S.-European Consultation on the Middle East
PROJECT DIRECTOR/CHAIR: HENRY SIEGMAN
PROJECT COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS
COSPONSORED WITH THE BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTRY
On March 8–9, 1999, senior members of the U.S. Departments of State and Defense and of the intelligence community, led by Martin Indyk, assistant secretary of state for near eastern affairs, and their European counterparts joined policy experts from the United States and Europe in London to discuss U.S. and European approaches to the Arab-Israeli peace process. Participants also discussed the Council-sponsored Independent Task Force Report Strengthening Palestinian Public Institutions. The London meeting was the third consultation, following previous meetings in Paris in 1997 and in Washington, D.C., in 1998 that were cosponsored by the U.S./Middle East Project and the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The 1999 consultation assumed special importance this year because it was held weeks ahead of the Israeli elections and expiration of the Oslo accords.

Middle East Economic Conference
PROJECT DIRECTOR: HENRY SIEGMAN
COORDINATOR: JONATHAN S. PARIS
COSPONSORED WITH THE CORPORATE PROGRAM
On June 17–18, 1999, the U.S./Middle East Project and Corporate Program hosted their fourth annual conference on private-sector investment in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), including Turkey and Iran. In past years, this conference has been organized around the MENA summits, of which the Council was a founding organizer and convener. This year, the conference, held at the Council’s headquarters in New York, was the only major event of its kind. It was a practical, business-oriented meeting for approximately two hundred executives from the United States, Europe, the Middle East, and elsewhere to showcase investment opportunities and discuss the key obstacles to doing business in the region. The keynote speakers were Hosni Mubarak, president of Egypt; James D. Wolfensohn, president of the World Bank; William Daley, secretary of commerce; and Bill Richardson, secretary of energy.

Peace and Conflict
PROGRAM DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN

Roundtable on Refugees and the Displaced
PROJECT DIRECTOR: ROBERT P. DEVECCHI
This roundtable brings together policymakers, practitioners, journalists, academics, and other concerned individuals for face-to-face dialogue on specific issues concerning refugees and the internally displaced. Recent subjects have included the Kosovo refugee emergency, the continuing crises in Africa, the potential for a new Haitian refugee outflow, the problem of land mines as an impediment to refugee repatriation, and ways to improve collaboration among the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, humanitarian relief organizations, and human rights groups on refugee protection issues. The roundtable targets younger members, term members, and Council staff who have a special interest in refugees, the displaced, and humanitarian issues.

PROJECT DIRECTOR: ALLAN GERSON
CO-CHAIRS: STEPHEN J. FRIEDMAN (Debevoise & Plimpton) AND LOUIS PERLMUTTER (Lazard Frères & Co., LLC)
Since their establishment, the United Nations and the World Bank have largely operated in different spheres of reference: the former tends to underplay the economic dimension, while the latter is often not cognizant of the political context. With the proliferation of civil and ethnic strife in the post–Cold War era, humanitarian and security concerns dictate a new approach for multilateral institutions, in coordination with the private sector and NGOs, in enabling countries emerging from civil strife to reach economic and political stability. This study group is analyzing data and will make recommendations for “partnering” arrangements aimed at achieving this objective. It addresses issues related to entry, delivery of emergency services, establishment of good governance, and transition from dependency to self-sufficiency. A series of case studies will be presented to the study group for discussion, leading to a book by Allan Gerson.
United Nations Roundtable
PROJECT DIRECTOR: RUTH WEDGWOOD
This roundtable assembles individuals from diverse perspectives and backgrounds to examine the political and management challenges facing the United Nations. These discussions seek to develop recommendations for viable short- and long-term solutions for the organization. In the 1998–99 program year, the roundtable addressed U.N. management and political reform, international security problems, and U.N. leadership in setting new norms for human rights and disarmament.

Study Group on Democratic Consolidation
PROJECT DIRECTOR: GIDEON ROSE
This study group is exploring how U.S. policymakers can promote the consolidation of fledgling democracies abroad. The study group is underway at a time when many new democracies are grappling with unprecedented economic, political, and social turmoil. Whether they survive and stabilize or collapse back into authoritarianism will be one of the critical factors shaping international politics in the early 21st century. The study group is seeking to bridge the gap between the academic and policy worlds by asking questions such as: What factors are the most important for the consolidation of new democracies? Can these factors be manipulated from the outside? What would a serious U.S. strategy for promoting democratic consolidation look like, and what results could it expect to produce? The product of the group will be an article or book written by Gideon Rose.

Study Group on Ethnic Conflict, Partition, and Post-Conflict Reconstruction
PROJECT DIRECTOR: RADHA KUMAR
COSPONSORED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES
This study group is assessing the pros and cons of partition as a solution to the growing number of ethnic conflicts around the world. The participating scholars and practitioners are undertaking a comparative study of five cases of de facto or de jure partition and their emerging peace processes—India-Pakistan, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Israel-Palestine, and the Balkans—to determine what lessons can be drawn for future conflict prevention, resolution, and reconstruction. The final product will be a book by Radha Kumar, a website, and a CD-ROM.

Roundtable on Women’s Human Rights and U.S. Interests
PROJECT DIRECTOR: JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER
During the past decade, the extraordinary growth of activity and effectiveness on the part of women’s NGOs has helped put in place a new human rights framework for advancing the claims of women internationally. This roundtable explores the ways the increased economic and political participation of women within their various societies and at the international level may further U.S. international security goals. While women’s rights have been viewed heretofore chiefly as a moral concern, the project aims to help situate the issue within the discussion of U.S. interests for both scholars and officials. Sessions focus on the impact of women’s agendas on international norms and interaction, the effectiveness of grassroots women’s groups as building blocks for civil society, the role of women’s capacity in economic growth, and the implications of these developments for U.S. goals of democratization and stable governance. The product of the group’s work will be a journal article and several op-ed pieces.

Roundtable on Examining Postwar Justice
PROJECT DIRECTOR: ELIZABETH NEUFFER
This roundtable examined what the aims of postwar justice should be and how institutions set up to deliver justice have succeeded or failed in meeting those expectations. Participants and speakers drew on victims’ accounts and the work of legal scholars, aid workers, and the military to help explore what postwar justice can accomplish. Questions included: Is “justice” better delivered by a local court than by an international court? Does it have more impact if it is delivered in the form of truth telling, rather than a court of law? How do other forces involved in postwar reconciliation, like business investment, play a role in spurring justice along? Speakers included: Alexander L. Boraine; Aryeh Neier; William L. Nash, U.S. Army (Ret.); Diane Paul; and Gabrielle Kirk McDonald. Elizabeth Neuffer is writing a book on postwar justice issues in Bosnia and Rwanda.

Preventive Action
DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN
CHAIR: JOHN W. VESSEY, U.S. ARMY (RET.)
The Center for Preventive Action (CPA) was established in 1994 to study and test conflict prevention.
Many of today’s most serious international problems—ethnic conflicts, failing states, and humanitarian disasters—could potentially be averted or ameliorated with effective early attention. To investigate the prevention of such crises, CPA selected four case studies to test the viability of conflict prevention: the Great Lakes region of central Africa, the Ferghana Valley of central Asia, Nigeria, and the south Balkans. CPA draws on the knowledge gained from all four case studies, the experience of others, and previous studies to determine what strategies are most effective in the field of conflict prevention. To disseminate its recommendations and other findings, CPA has established, in collaboration with the Century Foundation, a series of Preventive Action Reports.

Study Group on Preventing Deadly Conflict
PROJECT DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN
CHAIR: ANTONIA HANDLER CHAYES (CONFLICT MANAGEMENT GROUP)
This study group meets to discuss draft chapters of a book on conflict prevention by Barnett R. Rubin. The book evaluates the theory and practice of preventing civil conflict through international action. It largely draws on the experiences of CPA, including its projects on the south Balkans, the Great Lakes region of central Africa, the Ferghana Valley region of central Asia, and Nigeria.

CPA Annual Conference
PROJECT DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN
CO-CHAIRS: JOHN W. VESSEY, U.S. ARMY (RET.), DAVID A. HAMBURG (CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON PREVENTING DEADLY CONFLICT), AND RICHARD C. LEONE (THE CENTURY FOUNDATION)
COSPONSORED WITH THE CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON PREVENTING DEADLY CONFLICT AND THE CENTURY FOUNDATION
This annual event surveys the past year’s lessons in conflict prevention, promotes discussion and coordination among those involved, and introduces the idea of preventive action to key U.S. constituencies, represented in part by the Council membership. The keynote speaker for this year’s conference was George Soros. The daylong event addressed four topics: assistance to civil society as a tool of conflict prevention; curbing the proliferation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons; the failure of early warning in Kosovo; and financial crises and the escalation of conflict. The conference was held at the Council’s New York office on December 11, 1998.

CPA Project on the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa
PROJECT DIRECTOR: BARNETT R. RUBIN
In 1994, Rwanda suffered an outbreak of ethnic conflict that ended with the military defeat of the regime that initiated the violence. After the genocide, violence intensified throughout the region, especially in neighboring Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. CPA, along with Refugees International, Search for Common Ground, and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, sponsors the Great Lakes Policy Forum to enable international actors working to prevent further violence in the region to exchange information, coordinate strategies, evaluate their activities, and advocate policies to the U.S. and other governments. This forum meets monthly in Washington, D.C., and is open to all. Other activities include the confidential Security Working Group, which meets bimonthly, and the EuroForum on the Great Lakes in Brussels, which was established by CPA and the European Centre for Common Ground, to improve transatlantic cooperation in the region.

CPA Project on the Ferghana Valley Region of Central Asia
PROJECT DIRECTORS: BARNETT R. RUBIN AND NANCY LUBIN (JNA ASSOCIATES)
CHAIR: SAM NUNN (KING & SPALDING)
The Ferghana Valley region of central Asia, which cuts across the three newly independent states of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan, is one of the most densely populated and volatile areas of the former Soviet Union. Regional tensions arise from ethnic, religious, environmental, and economic problems. CPA’s Ferghana Valley working group was formed to assess the potential for future conflict in the region and to suggest ways to move the region in the direction of economic and political reform and stability. A delegation of the working group visited the region in March 1997, met with a wide range of actors, and prepared a report based on its findings. The report, Stabilizing the Ferghana Valley: Promoting Peace in Central Asia, will be released in fall 1999 as the fourth Preventive Action Report.

CPA Project on Nigeria
PROJECT DIRECTORS: BARNETT R. RUBIN AND PETER M. LEWIS (AMERICAN UNIVERSITY)
CHAIR: PEARL T. ROBINSON (TUFTS UNIVERSITY)
Nigeria has recently undergone sudden changes in leadership and is now struggling to consolidate the gains
from the return to elected government. Nonetheless, ethnic, religious, and regional tensions as well as economic malaise continue to contribute to the potential for conflict. Owing to Nigeria’s dominant position in western Africa and its vast oil reserves, an eruption of conflict would have substantial regional and international repercussions. CPA’s Project on Nigeria concentrates on the role of Nigerian civil society in preventing conflict and pressing for sustainable democratic reform. CPA sent a study mission to Nigeria in January 1997 to evaluate developments in civil society and identify opportunities for partnerships between organizations in the United States and Nigeria. Drawing on both the mission and subsequent meetings, the Nigeria project released the third volume of CPA’s Preventive Action Reports, Stabilizing Nigeria: Sanctions, Incentives, and Support for Civil Society (1998).

**Science and Technology**

**PROGRAM DIRECTOR: RICHARD L. GARWIN**

**Study Group on Global Warming Technology Policy for the United States**

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: DAVID G. VICTOR**

With U.S. industry accounting for one-fifth of annual global emissions of carbon dioxide—the leading cause of global warming—this study group is exploring U.S. policies that directly target the development and deployment of less carbon-intensive energy technologies. Since cutting emissions will require massive technological change toward clean, carbon-free fuels, the group sets its sights on long-term technological solutions for the United States and other industrial countries, as well as for the developing world. Products will include an options paper for U.S. policy as well as a detailed article by David Victor.

**Study Group on Saving the World’s Forests**

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: DAVID G. VICTOR**

Despite widespread concern about the world’s dwindling forest land, every major international effort to protect forests has largely failed. This project will identify the technical potential for protecting forests around the world over the next half century. It will also identify how this technical potential can be codified into international agreements and institutions. The aim is to make future efforts to protect forests better informed and more effective. The Council is convening about two dozen foresters, ecologists, biologists, economists, and other experts to explore and test the project concept during the fall of 1999. If the concept proves viable, a larger research project would likely continue thereafter for about two years.

**Study Group on Global Health as a Critical Foreign Policy Issue**

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: JORDAN KASSALOW**

Most foreign policy leaders lack an appreciation of the impact global health issues can have on U.S. foreign policy interests. This initiative will demonstrate how global health issues affect U.S. security, economic, and human development interests, and create concrete recommendations to help U.S. policymakers place them within the broader U.S. foreign policy agenda. This study group transcends the limited scope of earlier analyses, examining the effect of health issues on core U.S. interests in a more comprehensive and integrated manner. The intended final products are a series of papers that will be published in health and international relations journals and on the Council’s website.

**Study Group on the Information Revolution and American Strategy in the 21st Century**

**PROJECT DIRECTORS: JOHN P. HALL (J.P. MORGAN AND COMPANY, INC.) AND GORDON GOLDSTEIN (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)**

**CO-CHAIRS: FREDERICK S. TIPSON (HONG KONG TELECOM) AND MICHAEL F. OPPENHEIMER (MULTINATIONAL STRATEGIES, INC.)**

This study group launched an examination of the information revolution—the explosive growth and interaction of communications networks, computing capabilities, and content creation—and its implications for American foreign policy. Phase I surveyed the broad political and economic ramifications of the information revolution and, specifically, its consequences for American wealth and power in the coming decades. A planned Phase II will examine specific implications for American foreign policy identified in the study group’s report, which will also include a comprehensive review of the current literature in the field.
While many able and dedicated public servants work in the legislative branch, their hectic schedules often deprive them of the chance to engage in reflective, nonpartisan discussion about essential policy issues outside their professional duties. An informed Congress is essential to an effective American foreign policy, and an informed congressional staff is essential to an effective Congress. The Council’s congressional staff roundtables provide a forum for discussion of essential issues under the Council tradition of nonattribution.

This Council project engages key congressional staff in a neutral setting outside the political arena to discuss international issues of concern to them. To date the program has enlisted some one hundred staff members of both parties and both houses in three roundtable discussion groups, focused, respectively, on Asian politics and security, national security, and international trade and economics. These groups are chaired by R. James Woolsey (Asian politics and security), Stephen J. Hadley (national security), and Thomas E. Donilon and Robert B. Zoellick (international trade and economics).

For topics and speakers, the project draws upon the Council’s ongoing studies in the general topic areas, as well as on proposals of legislative staffers participating in the program. A Congressional Staff Advisory Committee of senior staff members helps to guide the program and ensure the quality of its participants and programs. Four Council members with long experience as leaders in the House and Senate—Howard H. Baker Jr., Thomas S. Foley, George J. Mitchell, and Vin Weber—serve as conveners for the project.

Study Group on the History of U.S. Foreign Policy

PROJECT DIRECTOR: WALTER RUSSELL MEAD

The goal of this project is to support the completion of Walter Russell Mead’s book, Understanding the American Foreign Policy Tradition. The book will explain how foreign policy has played a major role in domestic American politics throughout American history; how foreign policy and domestic politics are much more deeply connected than the conventional wisdom acknowledges; how in-

Dov Zakheim
SPC International Corp.

The Studies Department gives members an opportunity to step back and examine issues in which they may have some expertise but that they may not in the regular course of daily activities be able to discuss in depth with other interested people. Some of the subjects are those that members discuss quite a bit, and then it becomes a question of “Do you have any special angle?” Other subjects are not front-and-center for a lot of people. The Studies Department then gets people together to react to these issues, even if they are not experts in the area. So it’s a quite valuable experience for everyone.

One of the challenges facing the Studies Department is to engage those members who are not as involved as they could be. Study groups shouldn’t just be for people who are immersed in the issues. The trick is to get other people interested. You have to ask them, “Why aren’t you participating? What is it you want that you aren’t already getting?”

When a task force begins to write its report, the question is, “Can we fashion a report that is rigorous analytically and, at the same time, is not going to attract flack for the wrong reasons?” When you get into a controversial topic, you’re going to get a lot of dissent. That’s not a bad thing. Knowing that their dissents will be aired when the report is published allows members to express themselves much more freely. But there is another point, which is to convey to the world “out there” that these issues are complex and they don’t always translate into easy solutions. That is why the Council’s task force reports are useful. It’s a message to the outside world that often doesn’t get voiced.
terest in international relations has long been a major concern of nonelitist, nonmercantile elements of the American polity; and how persistent schools of thought about American foreign policy have shaped and continue to shape public debates and government policy.

**Next Generation Fellow Roundtable**

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: LAWRENCE J. KORB**
**CHAIR: ALLAN E. GOODMAN (INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION)**

**COSPONSORED WITH THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION**

This roundtable brought together Council Next Generation Fellows and term members with a group of Fulbright scholars and students in New York and Washington, D.C., to discuss breaking issues on the foreign policy agenda. The Council’s younger scholars were the featured speakers in this series, which aimed to foster networks among the next generation of foreign policy professionals as they debated the questions that drive the international agenda today and will continue to in the years to come. Topics included Japanese foreign policy, the consolidation of democracy abroad, high-impact terrorism, global warming technology, and governance in China.

**Global Kids Roundtable**

**PROJECT DIRECTOR: TRACEY A. DUNN**

**COSPONSORED WITH LATIN AMERICA STUDIES AND GLOBAL KIDS, INC.**

The Global Kids Roundtable is a community outreach initiative that introduces high school students to international relations issues with the hope that some will pursue degrees or careers in this area. In conjunction with Global Kids, Inc., the roundtable brings together a racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically diverse group of students from all five boroughs of New York City and younger Council staff to explore broad foreign policy issues.

**Fellows**

**LAWRENCE J. KORB**

*Vice President/Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies*

**EXPERTISE:** National security organization, policy, and process; U.S. foreign policy, arms control, and defense budget; NATO.

**EXPERIENCE:** Director, Center for Public Policy Education, and Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program, Brookings Institution (1988–98); Adjunct Professor, National Security Studies, Georgetown University (1981–93); Dean, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh (1986–88); Vice President, Corporate Operations, Raytheon Company (1985–86); Assistant Secretary of Defense (1981–85); Professor of Management, U.S. Naval War College (1975–80).


**HONORS:** Department of Defense Distinguished Public Service Medal.

**EDUCATION:** Ph.D., State University of New York at Albany; M.A., St. John’s University

**MORTON I. ABRAMOWITZ**

*Senior Fellow, Asia Studies*

**EXPERTISE:** U.S. foreign policy; national security; Asia; the Balkans; Turkey.


**SELECTED PUBLICATIONS:** *China: Can We Have a Policy?* (1997); *Moving the Glacier: The Two Koreas and the Powers* (1973); *East Asian Actors and Issues* (1973); *Remaking China Policy* (1971).

**HONORS:** National Intelligence Medal, 1989; President’s Award for Distinguished Federal Service in 1981, 1985, and 1988; the Director General’s Cup of Foreign Service.

**EDUCATION:** M.A., Harvard University; B.A., Stanford University

**RICHARD K. BETTS**

*Senior Fellow and Director, National Security Studies*

**EXPERTISE:** International conflict; U.S. defense policy; political and military intelligence.

**EXPERIENCE:** Professor of Political Science, and Director of the Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University
Studies Program

(cURRENT); Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution (1981–90); Staff Member, National Security Council (1977); Staff Member, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (1975–76).
EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., B.A., Harvard University

SALIH BOOKER
Senior Fellow and Director, Africa Studies
EXPERTISE: Economic, political, and security issues in Africa; Congress and U.S. foreign policy; diversity in U.S. international relations; international development cooperation in Africa.
EDUCATION: London School of Economics; University of Ghana (Legon); B.A., Wesleyan University

RACHEL BRONSON
Olin Fellow for National Security Studies
EXPERTISE: U.S. National Security; Middle East.
EXPERIENCE: Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies (1997–99); Consultant, Center for Naval Analyses (1998–99); Fellow, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University (1994–96); Adjunct Professor, Columbia University (1995).
EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Columbia University; B.A., University of Pennsylvania

RICHARD BUTLER
Diplomat in Residence
EXPERTISE: Arms control; international security issues; United Nations; Middle East.
HONORS: Order of Australia, for services to international peace and disarmament, 1988.
EDUCATION: D.Univ., University of New England; M.Ec., Australian National University; B.Ec., University of Sydney

BETSY H. COHEN
Fellow, International Economics
EXPERTISE: International business and economics.
EDUCATION: M.B.A., A.B., Harvard University

JEROME A. COHEN
C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies II
EXPERTISE: Legal and business transactions in Asia; international law; international relations of East Asia.
EXPERIENCE: Professor, New York University Law School (current); Senior Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (current); Professor, Director of East Asian Legal Studies, and Associate Dean, Harvard University Law School (1964–81); Professor of Law, University of California, Berkeley (1959–64).
SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Investment Laws in Vietnam (1990); Contract Laws of the People’s Republic of China (1988); People’s


Studies Program


EDUCATION: J.D., A.B., Yale University

ROBERT P. DEVECCHI
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Refugees and the Displaced

EXPERTISE: Refugee policy issues; emergency relief operations; humanitarian assistance programs; refugee movements and resettlement.


EDUCATION: M.B.A., Harvard University; B.A., Yale University

PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY
Vice President, Washington, and Director/George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies

EXPERTISE: European political/military affairs; Russia and Ukraine; U.S. foreign policy; democracy and human rights.


HONORS: State Department’s Superior Honor Award.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Harvard University; B.S.F.S., Georgetown University

ELIZABETH C. ECONOMY
Senior Fellow, China Studies, and Deputy Director, Asia Studies

EXPERTISE: Chinese domestic and foreign policy; global environmental issues.

EXPERIENCE: Member, Executive Board, Program for International Studies in Asia (current); Co-chair, Woodrow Wilson Center Working Group on China and the Environment (1996–98); Professorial Lecturer, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University (1997); Research Fellow, Columbia University (1994); Visiting Assistant Professor of Chinese Foreign Policy, University of Washington (1993–94).


HONORS: The University of Michigan Outstanding Teaching Award (1990).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., University of Michigan; A.M., Stanford University; B.A., Swarthmore College

STEPHEN E. FLYNN
Senior Fellow

EXPERTISE: International crime and the drug trade.

EXPERIENCE: Commander, U.S. Coast Guard (current); Associate Professor of International Relations, U.S. Coast Guard Academy (current); Director, Office of Global Issues, National Security Council staff (1997); Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution (1991–93); Commanding Officer (1984–86, 1992–93).


HONORS: Annenberg Scholar-in-Residence, University of Pennsylvania; International Affairs Fellowship, Council on Foreign Relations.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A.L.D., Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University; B.S., U.S. Coast Guard Academy

MICHAEL B.G. FROMAN
Next Generation Fellow

EXPERTISE: International trade and economic policy; European Union; Russia; the Balkans; Japan; China

EXPERIENCE: Chief of Staff (1997–99) and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Eurasia and the Middle East (1995–96), U.S. Department of the Treasury; Director for International Eco-

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Coming to Terms: The Development of the Idea of Détente in American Political Discourse (1991); various articles on international relations, trade, and law.

HONORS: White House Fellowship; Fellowship in Public International Law, Ford Foundation; Fellowship in International Peace and Security, MacArthur Foundation; Fulbright Scholarship; Truman Scholarship; Danforth Certificate for Distinction in Teaching, Harvard College.

EDUCATION: J.D., Harvard University; D.Phil., Oxford University; A.B., Princeton University

ALTON FRYE
Presidential Senior Fellow

EXPERTISE: National security strategy; arms control; legislative-executive relations.

EXPERIENCE: Council on Foreign Relations (1972–present, including President, 1993); frequent consultant to both the legislative and executive branches of the U.S. government (current); Staff Member for strategic analysis, RAND (1961–68); Visiting Professor of Political Science, Harvard University (1966) and UCLA (1964).


HONORS: Fellow, National Academy of Public Administration; Olive Branch Award, NYU Center for War, Peace, and the News Media (1993); Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (1971–73).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Yale University; B.S., St. Louis University

RICHARD L. GARWIN
Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow for Science and Technology, and Director, Science and Technology Studies

EXPERTISE: Science and technology for communication, computation, transportation, national security, and health care.

EXPERIENCE: IBM Fellow Emeritus, IBM Research Division (current); Adjunct Professor of Physics, Columbia University (current); Chair, Arms Control Advisory Committee, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (current).


HONORS: 1996 Enrico Fermi Award of the President and the Department of Energy; 1996 R.V. Jones Intelligence Award of the U.S. Government Foreign Intelligence Community; Member, National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering, and Institute of Medicine.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., University of Chicago; B.S., Case Western Reserve University

ALLAN GERSON
Senior Fellow, International Law and Organizations

EXPERTISE: International law and international organizations; Middle East and North Africa; terrorism; government accountability and sovereign immunity.


EDUCATION: J.S.D., Yale University Law School; LL.M., Hebrew University of Jerusalem; J.D., New York University School of Law; B.A., State University of New York at Buffalo

MICHAEL J. GREEN
Olin Senior Fellow for Asia Security Studies

EXPERTISE: Japan; East Asian security; U.S. foreign policy toward Asia.

EXPERIENCE: Acting Director, Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University (current); Senior Research Associate, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (current); Professional Research Staff Member, Strategy, Forces, and Resources Division, Institute for Defense Analyses (1995–97); Visiting Assistant Professor of Asian Studies, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University (1994–95); Special Assistant, Japanese National Diet (1987–89).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Past, Present, and Future (co-editor, 1999); State of the Field: Japanese Security Policy (1998); Arming Japan: Defense Production, Alliance Politics, and the Post-War Search for Autonomy (1995); contrib-
JORDAN KASSALOW
Adjunct Senior Fellow; Global Health Policy

EXPERIENCE: Lecturer, Faculty of Medicine, Columbia University (current); Chairman, Nongovernmental Development Organization for Ivermectin Distribution (current); private practice, optometry (current); Director of Onchocerciasis Division, Helen Keller International (1993–99).

EDUCATION: M.P.H., Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health; O.D., New England College of Optometry; B.A., University of Vermont

JUDITH KIPPER
Director, Middle East Forum

EXPERIENCE: Codirector, Middle East Studies Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies (current); consultant to ABC News (current); Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution (1987–95); Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute (1980–86); consultant to RAND on international affairs.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: The Middle East in Global Perspective (co-editor, 1991).

EDUCATION: B.A., University of California, Los Angeles

ROGER M. KUBARYCH
Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow in International Economics and Finance

EXPERIENCE: Managing Member and C.I.O., Kaufman & Kubarych Advisors, LLC (current); General Manager, Henry Kaufman & Company, Inc. (1988–97); Senior Vice President and Chief Economist, New York Stock Exchange (1986–88); Vice President and Chief Economist, The Conference Board (1985–86); Special Assistant to the Undersecretary for Monetary Affairs, U.S. Department of the Treasury (1978–79); Senior Vice President and Deputy Director of Research, Federal Reserve Bank of New York (1972–85).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Foreign Exchange Markets in the United States (1978); numerous papers and articles in leading journals and newspapers.

EDUCATION: A.M., Harvard University; M.A., Oxford University; B.A., Williams College

CHARLES A. KUPCHAN
Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Studies

EXPERIENCE: Associate Professor of International Relations, Georgetown University (current); Director for European Affairs, National Security Council (1993–94); Professor of Politics, Princeton University (1986–92).
SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Atlantic Security: Contending Visions (editor, 1998); Civic Engagement in the Atlantic Community (co-author, 1998); Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe (1995); The Vulnerability of Empire (1994); The Persian Gulf and the West: The Dilemma of Security (1987); and numerous articles on international and strategic affairs in prominent newspapers, magazines, and academic journals.

EDUCATION: D.Phil., M.Phil., Oxford University; B.A., Harvard University

MICHAEL MANDELBAUM
Director, Project on East-West Relations; 1999–2000 Whitney H. Shepardson Fellow

EXPERTISE: Eastern Europe; Russia; CIS; U.S. foreign policy.

EXPERIENCE: Christian A. Herter Professor of American Foreign Policy, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University (current); faculty member at Harvard University, Columbia University, and the U.S. Naval Academy.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: The New Diasporas: Nationalism and Conflict in Postcommunist Europe (editor, 1998); The New Russian Foreign Policy (editor, 1998); The Social Safety Net in Postcommunist Europe (co-editor, 1997); Postcommunism: Four Perspectives (editor, 1996); The Strategic Quadrangle: Russia, China, Japan, and the United States in East Asia (editor, 1995); Central Asia and the World (editor, 1994).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Harvard University; M.A., King’s College, Cambridge University; B.A., Yale University

ROBERT A. MANNING
C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies and Director, Asia Studies

EXPERTISE: Nuclear issues; national security; Asia-Pacific region (Korea, Japan, China, ASEAN); international economics; energy policy.


SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Asia’s Coming Energy Wars (forthcoming); Rethinking the Transatlantic Partnership: Security and Economics in a New Era (editor, 1996); Back to the Future: Toward a Post-Nuclear Ethic—The New Logic of Nonproliferation (1994); Asian Policy: The New Soviet Challenge in the Pacific (1988); articles in such publications as Foreign Affairs and Foreign Policy.

EDUCATION: B.A., State University of California at Northridge

ANN R. MARKUSEN
Senior Fellow, Industrial Policy

EXPERTISE: Defense conversion; international economics; arms trade; defense industry; regional development.

EXPERIENCE: Director, Project on Regional and Industrial Economics, and State of New Jersey Professor of Urban Planning and Policy Development, Rutgers University (current); economic adviser to the Clinton administration (current), to the city of Chicago (1985–87), and to the states of California (1978–82) and Michigan (1971–73); faculty positions at Northwestern University (1986–89), University of California, Berkeley (1977–86), University of Colorado (1973–77).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Arming the Future: A Defense Industry for the 21st Century (co-editor, 1999); Trading Industries, Trading Regions (1993); articles in such journals as Economic Affairs and American Prospect.

HONORS: Brookings Institution Economic Policy Fellowship; Fulbright Lectureship in Brazil.

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Michigan State University; B.A., Georgetown University

KENNETH R. MAXWELL
Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies, and Director, Latin America Studies

EXPERTISE: U.S.-Latin American relations; Brazil; Portuguese-speaking world.


HONORS: Corresponding Member, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro (1994–present); Commander of the Order of Rio Branco, Brazil (1997).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., Princeton University; M.A., B.A., St. John’s College, Cambridge University

WALTER RUSSELL MEAD
Senior Fellow, U.S. Foreign Policy

EXPERTISE: U.S. foreign policy; international political economy; Cuba.

EXPERIENCE: Senior Contributing Editor, Worth (current);


Contributing Editor, Opinion Page, Los Angeles Times (current); President’s Fellow, World Policy Institute (1987–97); Contributing Editor, Harper’s Magazine (1986–91).


EDUCATION: B.A., Yale University

RICHARD W. MURPHY
Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East and Director, Middle East Studies

EXPERTISE: Middle East; South Asia.

EXPERIENCE: President, Chatham House Foundation, United States (current); Chairman, Middle East Institute (current); Trustee, American University of Beirut (current); Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (1983–89); U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia (1981–83), the Philippines (1978–81), Syria (1974–78), and Mauritania (1971–74).

HONORS: Honorary Doctorates from New England College and Baltimore Hebrew University.

EDUCATION: B.A., Harvard University; A.B., Emmanuel College, Cambridge University

JONATHAN S. PARIS
Fellow, U.S./Middle East Project

EXPERTISE: Arab-Israeli conflict; Palestinian-Israeli relations; Middle East; North Africa; Indonesia and ASEAN.

EXPERIENCE: Visiting lecturer on the modern Middle East, Yale University (1997–98); Vice President, European Investors, Inc. (1989–92); investment banker, Salomon Brothers (1983–89); attorney, Coudert Brothers, Singapore and Indonesia offices (1980–83).


EDUCATION: J.D., Stanford Law School; B.A., Yale University

GIDEON ROSE
Olin Senior Fellow and Deputy Director for National Security Studies

EXPERTISE: International conflict; Middle East/Persian Gulf/South Asia; terrorism; economic sanctions.

EXPERIENCE: Visiting Professor, Columbia University (current); Lecturer, Princeton University (1996–97); Associate Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs, National Security Council (1994–95); Assistant Editor, National Interest (1986–87); Assistant Editor, Public Interest (1985–86).


EDUCATION: Ph.D., Harvard University; B.A., Yale University

BARNETT R. RUBIN
Senior Fellow and Director, Center for Preventive Action, and Director, Peace and Conflict Studies

EXPERTISE: Conflict prevention (Afghanistan, Nigeria, Central Africa, Central Asia, South Balkans); human rights; failed states.

EXPERIENCE: Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for the Study of Central Asia, Columbia University (1990–96); Assistant Professor of Political Science, Yale University (1982–89); Jennings Randolph Peace Fellow, United States Institute of Peace (1989–90).


EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., University of Chicago; B.A., Yale University

HENRY SIEGMAN
Senior Fellow and Director, U.S./Middle East Project

EXPERTISE: Middle East peace process; Arab-Israeli relations; U.S.-Middle East policy; interreligious relations.

EXPERIENCE: Executive Director, the American Jewish Congress (1978–94); Resident Scholar, the Rockefeller Study Center, Bellagio, Italy (1992); Founder, the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (1968); Director, the American Association for Middle East Studies, and Editor, Middle East Studies (1958–63).


EDUCATION: B.A., New School for Social Research
KIRON SKINNER
Adjunct Next Generation Fellow

EXPERTE: International relations and American foreign policy.
EXPERIENCE: Assistant Professor, Carnegie Mellon University (current); Research Fellow, Hoover Institution (current); Assistant Professor, Hamilton College (1998–99); Visiting Assistant Professor (1994–95), University of California, Los Angeles.


EDUCATION: Ph.D., Harvard University; M.S., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; B.A., Barnard College

BRUCE STOKES
Senior Fellow, Economics Studies: Trade

EXPERTE: International trade; U.S. economic relations with Asia and Europe.
EXPERIENCE: Columnist (current) and international economics correspondent, National Journal (1984–94).


EDUCATION: M.A., SAIS, Johns Hopkins University; B.S.F.S., Georgetown University

JULIA SWEIG
Deputy Director, Latin America Studies

EXPERIENCE: Deputy Director, Independent Task Force on U.S.-Cuban Relations in the 21st Century (current) and Senior Program Coordinator, U.S. Foreign Policy (1998–99), Council on Foreign Relations; Consultant, American Association of World Health (1997–98); Adjunct Professor, American University (1996); Editor, CubanINFO, Johns Hopkins University (1992–96).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: The Cuban Insurrection Declassified (forthcoming).

EDUCATION: Ph.D., M.A., SAIS, Johns Hopkins University; B.A., University of California, Santa Cruz

KIRK E. TRAINOR
Adjunct Senior Fellow

EXPERTE: Defense and national security.
EXPERIENCE: Associate, Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government (current); Military Analyst, NBC News (current); Director, National Security Program, John F. Kennedy School of Government (1990–96); Military Correspondent, New York Times (1986–90); career in the Marine Corps, retiring as Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans, Policies and Operations and Marine Corps Deputy to the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1951–85).
HONORS: Presidential Commission of Roles and Missions; Member, International Institute of Strategic Studies; Board of Visitors, Air Force Academy; Board of Directors, World Affairs Council; Editorial Board, Joint Force Quarterly; Editorial Adviser, Naval War College Review.
EDUCATION: M.A., University of Colorado; B.A., Holy Cross

ASTRID S. TUMINEZ
Adjunct Next Generation Fellow
EXPERTISE: Russia and the former Soviet Union; corporate, banking, and sovereign credit risk.
SELECTED PUBLICATIONS: Russian Nationalism Since 1856 (forthcoming); “Russian Nationalism and the National Interest in Russian Foreign Policy,” in Celeste Wallander, ed., The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy (1996).
EDUCATION: Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; A.M., Harvard University; B.A., Brigham Young University

DAVID G. VICTOR
Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow in Science and Technology
EXPERTISE: International environmental law; trade and environment; energy technology; global warming.
EXPERIENCE: Director, project on implementation of international environmental treaties, the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) (1993–97).
EDUCATION: Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; B.A., Harvard University

RUTH WEDGWOOD
Senior Fellow, International Organizations and Law
EXPERTISE: United Nations; peacekeeping and peace operations; international law; military strategy.
EXPERIENCE: Professor of Law, Yale Law School (current); member, Secretary of State’s Advisory Committee on International Law (current); Stockton Professor of International Law, U.S. Naval War College (1998–99); amicus curiae, Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal, The Hague (1997); federal prosecutor (1980–86); Supreme Court law clerk (1977–78).
EDUCATION: J.D., Yale Law School; B.A., Harvard University

JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER
Adjunct Senior Fellow
EXPERTISE: Women and foreign policy; Africa; international environment; public opinion and public policy.
EDUCATION: M.A., Stanford University; B.A., Trinity College

DOV S. ZAKHEIM
Adjunct Senior Fellow
EXPERTISE: National security; arms control; Western Europe; Middle East; East Asia.
EXPERIENCE: Chief Executive Officer, SPC International Corp.; Corporate Vice President, System Planning Corp. (current); Member, Secretary of Defense Task Force on Defense Reform (1997); Deputy Under Secretary for Planning and Resources, U.S. Department of Defense (1985–87).
EDUCATION: D.Phil., Oxford University; B.A., Columbia University; London School of Economics


**Special Fellowships**

**Next Generation Fellowship**

The Next Generation Fellowship Program nurtures outstanding thinkers and writers from a variety of fields who have the potential to become foreign policy leaders. The program recruits individuals whose principal mission will be frontier policy scholarship, leading to several major published articles or a book during the fellowship tenure. Fellows are also expected to hold study group meetings with Council members and others to discuss their work and obtain feedback, new ideas, and information.

Next Generation Fellows (NGFs) are full members of the Council on Foreign Relations staff, working in residence at the Council’s New York or Washington, D.C., offices. NGFs are an integral component of the Studies Department staff and have substantial contact with other Fellows, Council members, and experts in their field. Working with Council term members and International Affairs Fellows, NGFs form the heart of a larger community and network of people at the outset of their careers who are interested in international relations.

The current NGFs are Rachel Bronson, Betsy H. Cohen, Elizabeth C. Economy, Stephen J. Flynn, Michael B.G. Froman, Michael J. Green, Jordan Kassalow, Gideon Rose, Kiron Skinner, Benn Steil, Jessica Stern, Astrid Tuminez, and David G. Victor.

**Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship**

The Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship is periodically awarded to persons with experience and recognized professional stature in public or academic affairs related to the study of international relations. A Shepardson Fellow is expected to spend about a year affiliated with the Council, participating in Council programs while working on a book or other significant publication on a major foreign policy issue.

The 1998–99 Shepardson Fellowship was awarded to John Mearsheimer of the University of Chicago, who is writing a book on great power politics. The 1999–2000 Shepardson Fellow is Michael Mandelbaum.

**Walter Levy Fellowship**

The Walter Levy Fellowship is awarded to those who are expected to assume increasingly important roles in their own countries, who would benefit from an opportunity to meet with Americans concerned with international affairs, and who can contribute to the Council’s substantive work. These brief fellowships are spent in New York and Washington, D.C., and various cities nationwide, where Fellows address Council on Foreign Relations members.

**Intelligence Fellowship**

The Intelligence Fellowship, which is modeled after the Council’s successful Military Fellowships, provides an opportunity for an outstanding person on the cusp of a senior position in the U.S. intelligence community to expand his or her knowledge of international relations through a program of individual study, research, and reflection; extensive participation in the Council’s active program of meetings and study groups; and interaction with the Council’s diverse and knowledgeable membership.

The inaugural recipient of the Intelligence Fellowship was Mathew J. Burrows. The 1999–2000 Intelligence Fellow are Paul Heer and Stanley Moskowitz.

**Edward R. Murrow Fellowship**

Each year, the Council offers a resident Fellowship for an American foreign correspondent serving abroad. Named in honor of Edward R. Murrow and funded by the CBS Foundation, the Fellowship gives the recipient a period of nine months for sustained study and writing, free from the usual pressure of deadlines that characterize journalistic life.


**Military Fellowships**

Each year, the Chiefs of Staff of the Army and the Air Force, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Commandant of the Marine Corps nominate an outstanding officer from their respective services as a candidate for a Military Fellowship. The Council usually awards two or three such Fellowships annually. The program enables the officers selected to broaden their understanding of foreign relations by spending a year in residence at the Council’s headquarters in New York, or, in special circumstances, at the Council’s offices in Washington, D.C. Fellows participate in Council programs, meet with Council members and staff, and engage in studies in conjunction with the Council’s Studies Program. They also assist in arranging several politico-military trips for Council members during the year.

The Military Fellowship Selection Board, chaired in 1998 by former Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney and in 1999 by former Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberg-

Department of State Fellowship
The Department of State Fellowship is offered to a Foreign Service Officer chosen by a selection committee from candidates nominated by the U.S. State Department. The State Department Fellow spends about a year afﬁliated with the Council, with time away from public service to reﬂect on issues of foreign policy and to participate in Council programs. The recipient of the 1998–99 fellowship was Neil E. Silver, former Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo. The 1999–2000 Department of State Fellow is Morton Holbrook, U.S. Embassy, Beijing.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWSHIPS
Launched in 1967, the International Affairs Fellowship Program is designed to advance the professional development of outstanding young Americans aged 27 to 35. Each year, approximately a dozen men and women receive an opportunity to broaden their experience in the field of international affairs. The fellowships seek to bridge the gap between thought and action in foreign policy by supporting both studies and exposure to policymaking. The program’s distinctive characteristic is the contrasting experiences it provides. IAFs from academia and the private sector spend their fellowships in public service, and government oﬃcials on leave retreat to a scholarly atmosphere where they can focus on their studies, free from operational pressure. The main source of funding for the program is a $10 million endowment—sufficient funds to support ten fellows annually.

In 1997, the Council established a new International Affairs Fellowship in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd., to enable a number of outstanding young American leaders and thinkers to expand their intellectual and professional horizons by working and living in Japan. The program seeks to cultivate American understanding of Japan and to strengthen communication between the emerging leaders of the two nations.

The Council organizes monthly roundtable meetings in Washington, D.C., for the Fellows, including current and former Military, Department of State, Edward R. Murrow, and Intelligence Fellows, and an annual two-day seminar that offers an opportunity for the Fellows to share the ﬁndings of their projects.

1999–2000 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOWS

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<th>FELLOW</th>
<th>Home Institution</th>
<th>Field of Study</th>
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<tr>
<td>LISA COOK</td>
<td>Center for International Development, Harvard University</td>
<td>“Moral Hazard in International Economic Relations”</td>
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<tr>
<td>DANIEL DREZNER</td>
<td>University of Chicago</td>
<td>“Carrots, Sticks, and Guns: The Choice of Economic Statecraft”</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUSAN ELLINGWOOD*</td>
<td>Wall Street Journal</td>
<td>“From Bad to Worse: How Did Japan’s Economy Get into This Mess and How Will It Get Out of It?”</td>
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<td>NINA L. HACHIGIAN</td>
<td>National Security Council</td>
<td>“Economic Legal Reform: A Path Toward Political Rights?”</td>
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<tr>
<td>HOPE M. HARRISON</td>
<td>George Washington University</td>
<td>“Russian Roulette: The Devolution of Power in Russia and Implications for U.S. Policy”</td>
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<tr>
<td>MICHAEL HICKOK*</td>
<td>Air War College</td>
<td>“The Caspian’s Future Through Asian Eyes”</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEFFREY A. KAPLAN</td>
<td>Royal Government of Cambodia</td>
<td>“Redefining U.S. Policy in Southeast Asia: Through the Crucible of Crisis”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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DAVID LEHENY†
University of Wisconsin-Madison

MATTHEW AARON LONG*
U.S. Air Force Academy; Captain, U.S. Air Force

JON J. ROSENWASSER
U.S. Senate Budget Committee
“The Politics of the Post–Cold War Defense Budget Debate: Pitfalls and Opportunities”

VALERIE B. SLOAN*
Major, U.S. Army

DAVID ANDREW STACKPOLE
Bear, Stearns & Co.
“The Future of U.S. Commercial Diplomacy in Sub-Saharan Africa”

PUNEET TALWAR
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
“Iran and the United States: Overcoming Estrangement”

LEE WOLOSKY
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
“Promoting U.S. Interests in the Reconstruction of Russian Capitalism”

Council Fellows Roundtable Series

LEON FUERTH
National Security Adviser for the Vice President, Office of the Vice President
“U.S.-Russia Relations: Taking Stock and Charting Next Steps”
PREsider: BRUCE W. JENTLESON (IAF, 1986–87)

SHERRI W. GOODMAN
Deputy Undersecretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense
“Impact of Environmental Issues on Foreign Policy”
PREsider: LESLIE A. RICKETS (IAF, 1996–97)

JAMES M. GOLDFEIER (IAF, 1995–96)
Visiting Fellow, Brookings Institution
“Explaining the U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO”
PREsider: REBECCA HERSMAN (IAF, 1997–98)

PAULA R. NEWBERG
Consulting Adviser, United Nations
“Afghanistan, India, and Pakistan: A Status Report on the Region”
PREsider: ANNE CLAIRE RICHARD (IAF, 1993–94)

LAWRENCE J. KORB
Vice President and Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

ANDREW F. KREPINEVICH
Executive Director, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments
“Defense Budget Priorities: The Debate Continues”
PREsider: DOUGLAS B. MCNARY (IAF, 1996–97)

*International Affairs Fellow in Japan, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd.
†Jointly appointed International Affairs Fellow and IAF in Japan.
1) Jerome A. Cohen, C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies II
2) Paula J. Dobriansky, George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies
3) Richard L. Garwin, Philip D. Reed Senior Fellow for Science and Technology
4) James F. Hoge Jr., Peter G. Peterson Chair, Editor, Foreign Affairs
5) Lawrence J. Korb, Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Director of Studies
6) Roger M. Kubarych, Henry Kaufman Senior Fellow for International Economics and Finance
7) Robert A. Manning, C.V. Starr Senior Fellow for Asia Studies
8) Kenneth R. Maxwell, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Inter-American Studies
9) Richard W. Murphy, Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East
10) Benn Steil, Linda J. Wachner Senior Fellow in U.S. Foreign Economic Policy
11) David G. Victor, Robert W. Johnson Jr. Senior Fellow for Science Technology