

SPEAKER AND DISCUSSANT BIOGRAPHIES

PRAVIN AGARWAL is Senior Fellow at The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI) in New Delhi, India. Mr. Agarwal has over 35 years experience with Indian Oil Corporation Ltd., India's largest commercial enterprise. He served first as Director of Marketing and later as Director of Human Resources on the Board of Directors during November 01, 2001 to July 31, 2005. Mr. Agarwal has multi-functional experience in Facilities Planning, Corporate Planning, Sales, Operations, Finance, Marketing and Human Resources Management. Mr. Agarwal also has extensive experience working with the Government of India, Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas. He spent 12 years at Oil Coordination Committee, a Nodal Government Agency for Oil Sector, in various capacities and finally as its executive head. Mr. Agarwal has an excellent techno-managerial background and is a gold medalist mechanical engineer from IIT, Roorkee and gold medal recipient for topping his MBA program at the International Management Institute, New Delhi, India

STEPHEN J. BLANK has served as the Strategic Studies Institute's expert on the Soviet bloc and the post-Soviet world since 1989. Prior to that he was Associate Professor of Soviet Studies at the Center for Aerospace Doctrine, Research, and Education, Maxwell Air Force Base, and taught at the University of Texas, San Antonio, and at the University of California, Riverside. Dr. Blank is the editor of *Imperial Decline: Russia's Changing Position in Asia*, coeditor of *Soviet Military and the Future*, and author of *The Sorcerer as Apprentice: Stalin's Commissariat of Nationalities, 1917-1924*. He has also written many articles and conference papers on Russian, Commonwealth of Independent States, and Eastern European security issues. Dr. Blank's current research deals with proliferation and the revolution in military affairs, and energy and security in Eurasia. His two most recent books are *Russo-Chinese Energy Relations: Politics in Command*, London: Global Markets Briefing, 2006 and *Natural Allies?: Regional Security in Asia and Prospects for Indo-American Strategic Cooperation*, Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 2005. He holds a B.A. in History from the University of Pennsylvania, and a M.A. and Ph.D. in History from the University of Chicago.

HARRY BROADMAN is Economic Adviser in the Africa Region at the World Bank in Washington, DC. In that capacity he is a key architect of the Bank's new corporate strategy in Africa, and of a new investment fund—the Africa Catalytic Growth Fund—that facilitates innovative investments on the Sub-Saharan continent. In early 2007, the World Bank published his new book, *Africa's Silk Road: China and India's New Economic Frontier*.

Previously in the Bank, Dr. Broadman served as Lead Economist for Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union and also as the Bank's International Trade Policy Coordinator for that region. In that role, he managed the Bank's structural adjustment loan operations in the Russian Federation—prior to, during, and after that country's economic crisis in the late 1990s and early 2000s. He also managed major loan and policy operations in the war-torn Balkans and in the Central Asia Republics. His book, *From Disintegration to Reintegration: Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union in International Trade*, was published by the World Bank in early 2006.

Dr. Broadman's first appointment in the World Bank was Senior Economist for China Operations. In that role he led the Bank's lending operations and analytical work in China on state-owned enterprise reform, WTO accession, competition policy and corporate governance reform. Among numerous publications on the Chinese economy, he is the author of *The Business(es) of the Chinese State*, which was published as the lead article in the professional economics journal *The World Economy*.

Prior to joining the World Bank in 1993, Dr. Broadman held a variety of positions in government, academia and the private sector. These include serving in the U.S. White House, first as Chief of Staff and Senior Economist on the President's Council of Economic Advisers (CEA), where he managed the day-to-day operations of the CEA, and then as Assistant United States Trade Representative, where he was in charge of negotiating key portions of both the Uruguay Round, which led to the creation of the WTO, and the NAFTA, and he also served on the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS). Earlier, Dr. Broadman was Chief Economist of the U.S. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs; on the faculties of Harvard University and Johns Hopkins University; Assistant Director at Resources for the Future, Inc.; a Fellow at the Brookings Institution; and Economic Consultant at the Rand Corporation.

Dr. Broadman received his undergraduate education at Brown University, graduating *magna cum laude*, with a joint degree in economics and history, and elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He received a doctorate in economics from the University of Michigan. Dr. Broadman is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

TOM COLLINS is a Vice President in the Calgary, Canada office of PricewaterhouseCoopers, where he functions as an upstream oil and gas specialist with over 25 years of operational and management consulting experience in the international oil industry. He leads the International Oil and Gas Advisory practice, with a dedicated focus on assisting National Oil Companies and Ministries of Energy.

Prior to joining PwC, Tom worked for ten years in commercial and technical roles in the petroleum industry, resident on three continents.

A Chemical Engineer by training, he has conducted assignments in over 30 developed and developing resource nations, where he has undertaken technical and management consulting projects, institutional strengthening, organizational restructuring, acquisitions, as well as commercialization and privatization initiatives, all broadly aimed at capacity building or the opening of oil and gas sectors to foreign investment.

He has project managed many large international engagements in the upstream sector, including the opening of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia during the original Natural Gas Initiative, the development of the Multiple Services Contract in Mexico for PEMEX, the opening of Kuwait to foreign investment by using Operating Service Agreements, an IMF-sponsored review of Pertamina's upstream operations to determine efficiency, the strengthening of the Ministry of

Petroleum in Pakistan over a six year period, and various upstream issues within Russian oil and gas companies.

PETER C. EVANS is CERA Director, Global Oil, and Research Director for CERA's *Global Energy Forum*. Dr. Evans specializes in international political economy, energy market liberalization, and international trade. He has worked with CERA on a wide range of energy research projects and has authored and coauthored CERA research reports on energy market liberalization in Asia, energy trade liberalization, and government financing of major energy infrastructure investment. He served as Project Advisor for the CERA Multiclient Study *Dawn of a New Age: Global Energy Scenarios*. Prior to joining CERA, he was a Postdoctoral Associate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Laboratory for Energy and Environment and lecturer on regulatory theory and mega-energy project development. Previously, he was a visiting scholar at the Central Research Institute for the Electric Power Industry in Tokyo, Japan. His many articles and policy monographs include *Liberalizing Global Trade in Energy Services* (AEI Press, 2002). He has also served as a consultant to government agencies and multilateral organizations, including the World Bank, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, US Trade Promotion Coordinating Committee, Japan Bank for International Cooperation, and the US Department of Energy. Dr. Evans holds a BA from Hampshire College and a master's degree and a doctorate from MIT.

STEPHEN J. FLANAGAN was appointed Director of the Institute for National Strategic Studies and Vice President for Research at the National Defense University in January 2000. He previously served as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Central and Eastern Europe at the National Security Council Staff from July 1997 to October 1999. He has held a number of other senior governmental positions including the National Intelligence Officer for Europe, National Intelligence Council (1995-97); Associate Director and Member of the Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State (1989-95); and Professional Staff Member, Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. Senate (1978-83).

Dr. Flanagan has also held several academic and research positions including Senior Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies, and faculty member, National War College, National Defense University (1987-89); Executive Director, Center for Science and International Affairs, and faculty member, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (1983-87); Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellow and Research Associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London (1983-84); and Visiting Scholar, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C. (1984).

Dr. Flanagan earned his A.B. in Political Science from Columbia University in 1973 and his Ph.D. in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University in 1979. He has published widely on European, international security, and intelligence issues. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the editorial boards of the journals *Joint Force Quarterly* and *International Security*.

KATHARINE FREDRIKSEN currently serves as the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Office of Policy and International Affairs at the Department of Energy. Katharine was appointed to the position in June 2006. As the Principal Deputy, she supports the Assistant Secretary in her role as the primary policy advisor to the Secretary on domestic and international policy development and implementation. She represents the agency before Congress, works with other federal agencies to ensure a comprehensive energy strategy that meets the nation's growing energy demands, and supports the international efforts of the office to secure the nation's energy diversity.

Prior to joining the agency, Katharine was the Principal and founder of her own consulting firm, *CapitolPlus* Consulting, specializing in energy and environment issues before Congress, the White House and federal regulatory agencies. She represented clients ranging from financial services to energy companies, guiding them through issues such as permitting, tax, environmental and energy legislation, as well as clean coal initiatives.

Katharine served as the Director of Federal Affairs for Mirant Corporation. As Director she managed a small federal affairs office of registered lobbyists to develop and maintain Congressional and Administration relationships for energy and environmental issues and assist in the development of company policy on such issues. Mirant's ownership of power plants in 26 states required that Katharine work closely with those states' federal delegations, in addition to the members and staff of Senate and House committees whose jurisdiction covered issues of importance to the company. Under Katharine's leadership the company was able to effectively defeat legislation during the recent debate of Energy legislation that would have stopped the development of electricity markets vital to the company's business model. She worked to assemble a coalition of similar, independent electricity producers and grassstop advocates to strengthen the voice for the benefits of markets in electricity production and distribution.

Prior to working with Mirant, Katharine was Director of Environmental Affairs for Koch Industries, a privately held conglomerate with oil, gas, and chemical interests. Along with Koch's Vice President of Environmental Affairs, she helped oversee the development and implementation of an environmental management system, and worked with the business units to obtain necessary operating permits from federal agencies. She was instrumental in successfully negotiating a consent decree for new source review with the EPA and Department of Justice, the first for the refining industry. She worked with Congress to draft legislation that used a market-based approach to control environmental pollutants.

Before joining Koch, Katharine worked for the U.S. EPA to develop regulatory policy for air and waste management for such industries as paints, and dyes and pigments. She also led a team in the development of cross-agency regulation to govern emissions and waste disposal of the pulp and paper industry.

ROBERT W. HAINES has served as the Manager, International Relations at Exxon Mobil Corporation in Washington, DC. His portfolio as the International Senior Advisor-Asia Pacific currently includes the regions of Asia, Eurasia, Australia, and the Asian Pacific. Previously, he was the Manager, International Government Relations in Fairfax, Virginia and Coordinator for

Mobil's Government Relations Office in Washington, D.C., handling Corporate, International Trade, Tax and Finance issues.

Mr. Haines spent 11 years in the Office of General Counsel, Exploration and Producing Division. Later, he held the position of Senior Policy/Economic Advisor in Mobil Corporation's Planning and Economic Department. He served as Counsel to Mobil Oil Corporation's Exploration and Producing Division in various locations in the U.S. and as General Counsel of its Norwegian affiliate in Stavanger, Norway. Mr. Haines has been with the company for twenty five years.

Mr. Haines is a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. He also obtained a law degree from Northwestern School of Law at Lewis & Clark College in Portland, Oregon, and is an active member of the American Bar Association. Mr. Haines was in private practice in Portland for four years prior to joining Mobil in 1981 as Counsel in the Denver Office.

In his spare time, Mr. Haines enjoys golfing and other outdoor activities

MIKKAL HERBERG is Research Director of the Energy Security program at The National Bureau of Asian Research in Seattle, Washington. NBR is a non-partisan, independent research institution devoted to advanced research on U.S. policy in Asia. He is also a Senior Consultant with PFC Energy, an international energy consulting firm located in Washington, D.C., and a Visiting Faculty member at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at the University of California, San Diego.

Previously he spent 20 years in the oil industry in Strategic Planning roles for ARCO, where from 1997-2000 he was Director for Global Energy and Economics, responsible for worldwide energy, economic, and political analysis. He also headed country risk analysis responsible for advising the executive management on risk conditions and investment strategies in countries and regions where ARCO had major investments. His previous positions with ARCO included Director of Portfolio Risk Management and Director for Emerging Markets.

Mr. Herberg writes and speaks extensively on Asian energy issues to the energy industry and governments in the Asia-Pacific region, including the U.S., China, and Japan. He is cited frequently in the media, including *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, *Asahi Shimbun*, *Reuters*, *Nikkei News*, and *Caijing*. His recent writings include "China's Search for Energy Security: Implications for U.S. Policy" (2006), a special study by NBR co-authored with Kenneth Lieberthal; "Asia's Energy Insecurity: Cooperation or Conflict?" in NBR's Strategic Asia 2004-05; and "The China, India and United States Strategic Energy Triangle: U.S. Perspectives", The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (forthcoming).

HIROHIDE HIRAI is General Manager of the Washington D.C. Office of Japan Oil, Gas and Metals National Corporation (JOGMEC). JOGMEC is the succeeding organization of JNOC (Japan National Oil Corporation) when the Japanese government abolished JNOC in February

2004. Simultaneous to his status as general manager of the Washington office of JOGMEC, Mr. Hirai is also a METI Special Advisor.

Mr. Hirai has 20 years experience working within the Japanese government. Mr. Hirai began his employment with the government of Japan shortly after successfully completing a Japanese government official's examination for the managing staff candidate and receiving a bachelor's degree in laws from Tokyo University in 1987. From 1991 to 1994, Mr. Hirai worked in the Policy Planning Division, Public Utilities Department, Natural Resources and Energy Agency. In this capacity he coordinated planning the policy for the Public Utility Industries (Electricity and Gas). In 1994, after his course of studies in International Relations at the London School of Economics, Mr. Hirai was promoted to the Americas Division, International Trade Policy Bureau of the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), formerly known as the Ministry of International Trade and Industry before the year 2000, where he coordinated international trade affairs between Japan and the Americas.

From 1997 to 2002, Mr. Hirai worked as Deputy Director in Policy Planning Division in the Industry Policy Bureau, Basic Industries Bureau and Manufacturing Industries Bureau, where he coordinated planning the Industrial Policies. From 2002 to 2004, Mr. Hirai was the Chief Deputy Director of the Policy Planning Division, Minister's Secretariat. He supervised the coordination of affairs of all the policy of Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry. He also oversaw the planning of new policies. From 2004–2006, Mr. Hirai held a position in METI as Director for Corporate Finance and Tax Division, Small and Medium Enterprise Agency in June 2004. In this position, he supervised the promotion of strengthening of the capital base, and coordinated the taxation systems for Japanese small and medium enterprises.

TREVOR HOUSER is a Visiting Fellow at the Colin Powell Center for Policy Studies and an analyst with China Strategic Advisory (CSA), a specialized practice helping decision-makers in the public and private sectors analyze and understand commercial, economic and policy trends in Greater China. Mr. Houser leads CSA's energy sector activities, and splits his time between New York and China, where he meets regularly with government officials, business leaders, academics, and NGOs about developments in the energy space. He is also responsible for seminars and presentations on overall China macro-economic development and regularly advises policymakers in the U.S. regarding China's economic growth.

Before joining CSA, he was based for a short time at the US Embassy in Beijing where he tracked energy and environmental trends for the US Department of State. Mr. Houser is also a visiting fellow at the Colin Powell Center for Policy Studies at the City College of New York. His recent research has concentrated on analyzing trends in China's energy sector and the affects on international markets, the global environment and relations with the US. His most recent writings include *Chávez-China Oil Deal May Produce Unsuspected Winners* published by YaleGlobal in September 2006, *The China Energy Specter: Perceptions and Prospects*; prepared for the Pudong Institute for the US Economy in May 2006; and *Alternative Measures of Chinese Economic Development*, developed for the Aspen Institute Italia's publication *Aspenia* in February 2006.

In addition, Mr. Houser has just begun work on a short book in collaboration with Daniel H. Rosen of the Peterson Institute for International Economics that will serve as a guide for policymakers in addressing the energy and environmental impacts of China's rise.

JING HUANG is a Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies program at the Brookings Institution. He is the author of *Factionalism in Chinese Communist Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), which won the prestigious Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize; *US-China Relations, 1989-1993* (Beijing, zhongyang wen xian chuban she, 2003); and *Inseparable Separation: the Making of China's Taiwan Policy* (Washington DC: the Brookings Institution Press, forthcoming). He has published numerous articles and book chapters on Chinese politics, China's foreign policy and development strategy, the military and its political role in China, US-China relations, and security issues in the Asian Pacific region. He is now completing two new books: *Civil-Military Relations in China: a Long March towards Institutionalization*, and *Sino-Japanese Relations and the U.S. Approach*. At Brookings, Huang plays a major role in the Trilateral (China-Japan-US) Track II Meeting project, China's Energy project, the Asian Regionalization project, and the Sino-US-India trilateral Relations project.

Dr. Huang has received fellowships and research grants from the Fulbright Fellowship, the MacArthur Foundation, the Asian Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the US Institute of Peace, Smith Richardson Foundation, the Melon Foundation, the Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Foundation, and the Shorentein Fellowship.

Dr. Huang has been frequently called upon to share his view and insights by major media organizations, including CNN, PBS, C-SPAN, BBC, NBC, CNBC, CCTV, the Asian News Channel, VOA, Phoenix TV, National Radio of Canada, and Blumberg TV. He has been featured in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Financial Times*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, the *Japan Times*, the *People's Daily*, the *Beijing Review*, Reuters, Xinhua News Agency, the China News Services and numerous other publications.

Dr. Huang is co-leader of the multi-year US-China Crisis Management project (with Michael Swaine of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Iain Johnston of Harvard University). He is consulted frequently by a wide range of government, education, research, business and not-for-profit organizations in the US, China, Europe, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore on policy issues, and has authored numerous policy papers and recommendations. Before joining Brookings, Dr. Huang had been a professor of Political Science and co-director of Asian Studies at Utah State University (1994 – 2004). He was a Fulbright Scholar in 2002 and a Shorenstein Fellow at Stanford University (2002-2003). He taught at Harvard University (1993-1994, 1997-1998) and in various universities in China, Japan, and South Korea as a guest (or visiting) professor. Huang received his Ph.D. in Government from Harvard University; M.A. in History from Fudan University; and B.A. in English Literature from Sichuan University.

WENRAN JIANG is an Associate Professor of Political Science and Acting Director of the China Institute at the University of Alberta, Canada. He is a Senior Fellow of Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, President of Canadian Consortium on Asia Pacific Security, Board Member of

Canadian Association of Asian Studies, Leader of Energy and Resources Research Group of Canada's Emerging Dynamic Global Economies (EDGE) Network, Special Advisor on China to US and Canada based Energy Council, and a Business Week online columnist. Dr. Jiang is frequently invited to speak at major conferences in Canada and around the world, and has organized a number of large energy meetings between Canada and China in the past three years. He is a major contributor to Jamestown Foundation's biweekly China Brief, and his op-ed articles and opinions on East Asia energy issues appear regularly in the world media.

ROY KAMPHAUSEN is Vice President of National Security Affairs at The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR)—a nonprofit, nonpartisan institution whose mission is to inform and strengthen Asia-Pacific policy. Mr. Kamphausen is integral to NBR endeavors involving U.S. national security interests in Asia.

Prior to joining NBR, Mr. Kamphausen served as a U.S. Army officer—a career that concluded with an assignment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) as Country Director for China-Taiwan-Mongolia Affairs. Prior postings included positions on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, first as an intelligence analyst and, later, as China Branch Chief in the Directorate for Strategic Plans and Policy (J5). A fluent Chinese (Mandarin) linguist and Army China Foreign Area Officer (FAO), he served two tours at the Defense Attaché Office of the U.S. Embassy in the People's Republic of China.

His areas of professional expertise include China's Peoples Liberation Army (PLA), U.S.-China defense relations, U.S. defense and security policy toward Asia, and East Asian security issues. His recent research has included a focus on PLA modernization, Taiwan defense and security issues, changing U.S. defense policy and posture in Asia, and the implications of China as a "responsible stakeholder" in East Asian security. Roy received a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from Wheaton College and holds a Master's in International Affairs from Columbia University in New York. He studied Chinese at the Defense Language Institute and Beijing's Capital Normal University. He is married to Arminda (née Armitage) Kamphausen and together they have three children—Abigail, Hudson, and Delaney.

FLYNT LEVERETT is a Senior Fellow and the Director of the Geopolitics of Energy Initiative of the American Strategy Program at the New America Foundation. Most recently, Dr. Leverett was a Senior Fellow at The Brookings Institution's Saban Center for Middle East Policy. He has had a distinguished career in government, serving as senior director for Middle East affairs at the National Security Council, Middle East expert on the Secretary of State's Policy Planning Staff, and Senior Analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency. Dr. Leverett is the author of *Inheriting Syria: Bashar's Trial by Fire* (Brookings Institution Press, 2005), and has published articles on the strategic implications of energy market trends, China's energy-driven engagement in the Middle East, Middle Eastern regional security, intelligence reform, and other issues in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Financial Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and numerous other publications. He has appeared on a wide range of news and public affairs programs, including the BBC's *The Doha Debates* and *Hard Talk*, CNN's *Capitol Gang* and *Lou Dobbs*

Tonight, C-SPAN's Washington Journal, National Public Radio's Fresh Air, PBS's The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, and The Daily Show with Jon Stewart.

As a Senior Fellow and Director of the Geopolitics of Energy Initiative at the New America Foundation, Dr. Leverett studies the implications of structural shifts in global energy markets and develops analytic frameworks for thinking about energy as a foreign policy issue. He holds a doctorate in politics from Princeton University and is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

JULI MACDONALD is a Senior Associate at Booz Allen Hamilton with 13 years experience conceptualizing and developing alternative futures and scenario-building exercises for national security and private sector clients; conducting research of political, economic, energy, and military trends in Eurasia, South Asia and Asia Pacific; designing workshops and seminars that examine regional dynamics, military strategies, and the implications for U.S. interests. Ms. MacDonald has supported the Office of Net Assessment in the U.S. Department of Defense for nine years in assessing the future security environment in Eurasia. She was the principal author of studies that explored the alternatives futures of Eurasia broadly, and then of China, Turkey, India, energy strategies, and the Indo-U.S. military relationship specifically.

In recent years, she has lead several studies for Defense and Intelligence Community clients that explored the strategic and market implications of China's and India's growing energy demand and their growing global activism in the international energy market. She is currently working on a study on India's energy security policies. She frequently gives presentations on energy issues in Asia for scenario exercises and bilateral engagements with Asian and European countries.

Ms. MacDonald holds a B.A. in International Relations from the University of the Pacific, School of International Studies and an MSc in International Political Economy from the London School of Economics and Political Science. She travels regularly to South Asia.

EDWARD MORSE is Managing Director and Chief Energy Economist, Lehman Brothers. Edward Morse joined Lehman Brothers as managing director and chief energy economist in July 2006. Before joining Lehman, Dr. Morse spent seven years at Hess Energy Trading Co., LLC (HETCo), providing strategic advice on oil and natural gas market trends to the firm, its clients, and counterparts. He received his PhD from Princeton University, where he taught for six years before joining the senior research staff at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR).

During the Carter and Reagan administrations, Dr. Morse held various positions in the Department of State, including Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Energy Policy, the most senior officer with full time responsibilities in energy. He represented the U.S. at the International Energy Agency, chairing the Standing Committee on Long-Term Cooperation, and various bilateral energy working groups with Norway, Japan, the U.K., Nigeria, and Iran. Dr. Morse currently chairs a task force of the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy on U.S. Energy Security. In the winter and spring of 2001, he also chaired a task force on Energy Security, jointly sponsored by the CFR and the Baker Institute, issuing two reports

recommending urgent changes in U.S. domestic and international energy policy. Dr. Morse is the chairman of the New York Energy Forum and serves on the academic advisory boards of the energy programs at Columbia University and Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He is a member of CFR, the Oxford Energy Policy Club, and the editorial committee of *The Geopolitics of Energy*.

SAAD RAHIM is the Manager of PFC Energy's National Oil Company Strategies practice. His primary focus is managing PFC Energy's National Oil Companies Service (NOCS), which analyses the strategies, goals and outlook for NOCs worldwide. He is also responsible for regional political analysis, concentrated specifically on the Middle East, South Asia and East Asia regions. Saad's additional area of focus is global and regional economic analysis, and he is responsible for coordinating PFC Energy's economic outlook and growth forecasts. Saad graduated from Stanford University with degrees in Economics and Political Science. His areas of expertise include: national oil companies; political economy of Middle East and Asia; and petroleum sector risk and market analysis.

PHILIP SAUNDERS is Senior Research Fellow at the National Defense University's Institute for National Strategic Studies. Dr. Saunders joins the INSS Research Directorate from the Monterey Institute of International Studies, where for the last four years he served as Director of the East Asia Nonproliferation Program, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, and taught courses on Chinese politics, Chinese foreign policy, and East Asian security. Dr. Saunders has conducted research and consulted on East Asian security issues for the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University, the Council on Foreign Relations, RAND, and the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. Dr. Saunders will focus on China and East Asian security studies for the INSS Research Directorate. He received his Ph.D. in International Relations from the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University. Dr. Saunders served as an officer in the United States Air Force from 1989-1993, working on Asian security issues at the Pentagon.

TERESITA SCHAFFER is Director of the Southeast Asia program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC. Ambassador Schaffer came to CSIS in August 1998 after a 30-year career in the U.S. Foreign Service. She devoted most of her career to South Asia, on which she was one of the State Department's principal experts, and to international economic issues. From 1989 to 1992, she served as deputy assistant secretary of state for South Asia, at that time the senior South Asia position in the department; from 1992 to 1995, she was the U.S. ambassador to Sri Lanka; and from 1995 to 1997, she served as director of the Foreign Service Institute. Her earlier posts included Tel Aviv, Islamabad, New Delhi, and Dhaka, as well as a tour as director of the Office of International Trade in the State Department. She spent a year as a consultant on business issues relating to South Asia after retiring from the Foreign Service. Her publications include "Sri Lanka: Lessons from the 1995 Negotiations," in *Creating Peace in Sri Lanka* (Brookings, 1998); two studies on women in Bangladesh; "Kashmir: Fifty Years of Running in Place," in *Grasping the Nettle* (USIP, 2004). Reports published by CSIS include *Rising India and U.S. Policy Options in Asia* (2002), *Pakistan's Future and U.S. Policy Options* (2004), *Kashmir: The Economics of Peace Building* (2005), and several reports on the

HIV/AIDS epidemic in India. She has taught in the past at Georgetown University and American University. Ambassador Schaffer speaks French, Swedish, German, Italian, Hebrew, Hindi, Urdu, and has studied Bangla, and Sinhala.

CLIFFORD SHELTON has professional and research expertise focusing on Chinese global economic interests. Previously, he worked with the U.S. Naval War College analyzing Chinese energy security in Africa and the Middle East as well as advising the Navy's European command on strategies in the Gulf of Guinea region of West Africa. Mr. Shelton is a past research fellow for the Corporate Council on Africa conducting research on Sino-African trade and investment trends. Previously, Mr. Shelton lived in both China and Egypt working with the State of Utah Beijing Trade Representative Office, Chinese Yeaco Investment Company, and Arab Radio and Television. Mr. Shelton is a recent graduate of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, where he specialized in international business and development economics. He also took courses in finance at Harvard Business School. Mr. Shelton speaks both Chinese and Arabic and currently resides in New York City. He is currently working on helping his parents prepare for retirement. In his free time he enjoys playing and listening to music.

XIAOJIE (STEVEN) XU, the Director of Institute of Overseas Investment at CNPC Research Academy of Economics and Technology in Beijing, the Chief Professor of the Institute of Geopolitics and Energy Economics, East China Normal University in Shanghai. Professor Xu has been with Chinese petroleum industry since his graduation from Zhejiang University in 1983. Xu was since educated and trained in Canada, USA and France as a visiting scholar during 1995-1997 and early 2001. Professor Xu is the author of numerous English and Chinese professional articles, speeches, papers/chapters and books including *Petro-Dragon's Rise What It Means for China and the World* (European Press, 2002).

CHARLES E. ZIEGLER is Professor and Chair of the Political Science Department at the University of Louisville, and University Scholar. He is founder and Director of the Institute for Democracy and Development, and founder of the Center for Asian Democracy. A specialist on Russia and Eurasia, Professor Ziegler is co-editor (with Judith Thornton) of *The Russian Far East: A Region at Risk* (University of Washington Press, 2002), and author of *The History of Russia* (Greenwood Press, 1999), *Foreign Policy and East Asia* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), and *Environmental Policy in the USSR* (University of Massachusetts Press, 1987). In addition, he has written over fifty book chapters and articles for such professional journals as *Comparative Politics*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *Asian Survey*, *International Politics*, *Policy Studies Journal*, and *Pacific Review*.

Professor Ziegler has held an International Research and Exchanges Board Advanced Individual Research Opportunity grant, a Senior Fulbright Fellowship to Korea, an International Affairs Fellowship of the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Hoover Institution National Fellowship. He currently serves as Executive Director of the Louisville Committee on Foreign Relations. Recent papers include "The Russian Diaspora in Central Asia: Russian Compatriots and Moscow's

Foreign Policy” (in *Demokratizatsiya*, 2006), “The Energy Factor in China’s Foreign Policy,” in *Journal of Chinese Political Science* (2006), “Russia, China, and Energy in Central and East Asia” (in *Energy Wealth, Governance and Welfare in the Caspian Region*, 2006); and “US Strategy in Central Asia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization” (*Mirovaiya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya* 2005).