



ENGAGING ASIA 2009: STRATEGIES FOR SUCCESS

FEATURED PUBLICATIONS

- 8:00 a.m.** Coffee and Registration
- 8:30 a.m.** **Welcome and Introductions**
Roy Kamphausen, Vice President, Political and Security Affairs, and Director of the Washington, D.C. Office, The National Bureau of Asian Research
- 8:35 a.m.** **CONGRESS AND THE UPDATING OF THE U.S.-CHINA RELATIONSHIP**
Congressman Rick Larsen
Congressman Mark Kirk
- 9:30 a.m.** **PANEL: SHOCK OF THE NEW: CONGRESS AND ASIA IN 2009**
Moderator: **Meredith Miller**, Director of Congressional and Media Outreach, and Senior Director of Economics and Trade Affairs, The National Bureau of Asian Research

Speakers: **Edward Gresser**, Director, Trade and Global Markets Project, Progressive Policy Institute
Daniel Twining, Senior Fellow for Asia, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Respondents: **Angela Ellard**, Chief Trade Counsel (Republican) House Committee on Ways & Means
Frank Jannuzi, Senior East Asia Adviser (Majority) Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
J.J. Ong, Staff Member (Majority) House Committee on Foreign Affairs
* NOTE: Respondent comments are off the record
- 10:50 a.m.** Coffee Break
- 11:05 a.m.** **Introduction**
Richard J. Ellings, President, The National Bureau of Asian Research
- 11:10 a.m.** **STRATEGIES FOR SUCCESS**
Deputy Secretary of State James B. Steinberg
- 11:45 a.m.** **CONCLUSION**

Shock of the New: Congress and Asia in 2009

This latest issue of the NBR Analysis overviews the many immediate challenges and opportunities related to the Asia-Pacific region facing the 111th Congress while also suggesting a longer term strategic approach. Authors Edward Gresser and Daniel Twining argue that Congress plays an important role in promoting policies that allow the United States to lead an emerging Pacific century.

Strategic Asia 2008-2009: Challenges and Choices

Challenges and Choices assesses the major strategic choices on Asia facing the new U.S. president and administration as well as the broader policy community. Through a combination of country, regional, and topical studies, the book analyzes the impact of U.S. policy and geopolitical developments on Asia's transformation over the past eight years.

Wednesday, April 1 | The Phoenix Park Hotel | 8:30 a.m. - 11:45 a.m.

NBR would like to thank Chevron and the Henry M. Jackson Foundation for their sponsorship .



HENRY M. JACKSON
FOUNDATION

BIOGRAPHIES

Angela Ellard is the Chief Trade Counsel to the Republican Members of the Committee on Ways & Means of the U.S. House of Representatives. She advises Ranking Member Dave Camp (R-MI) and the other Members on a variety of trade matters, including negotiations and implementation of bilateral and regional free trade agreements, the operation of trade laws, trade promotion authority, antidumping and countervailing duty issues, bilateral relationships with U.S. trading partners, and World Trade Organization negotiations and dispute settlement.

Prior to 2007, Ms. Ellard served as Staff Director and Counsel to the Committee on Ways & Means, Subcommittee on Trade. Before joining the Committee staff in 1995, Ms. Ellard was in private practice, specializing in international trade litigation and policy, including antidumping and countervailing duty proceedings and appeals on behalf of petitioners and respondents, other trade remedy proceedings, and bilateral and multilateral agreements.

Ms. Ellard received her J.D. from Tulane Law School, cum laude, where she was an associate editor of the Tulane Law Review. She holds a Master of Arts degree in Public Policy from Tulane University and a Bachelor of Arts degree from Newcomb College of Tulane University, summa cum laude.

Ms. Ellard frequently speaks and publishes on trade litigation and policy.

Richard J. Ellings is President of The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), a non-profit, nonpartisan institution whose mission is to inform and strengthen policy in the Asia-Pacific. Co-founder of NBR, he has served as the institution's Executive Director and sits on the board of directors. He is also Affiliate Professor of International Studies at the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington.

Prior to serving with NBR, Dr. Ellings was Assistant Director and on the faculty of the Jackson School from 1986 to 1989. In this capacity he was a member of the school's Executive Committee and responsible for a wide range of administrative functions. He taught courses dealing with Asia, American foreign policy, and international relations (including foreign economic policy and international political economy), and was director of the George E. Taylor Foreign Affairs Institute. In 1984 and 1985 Dr. Ellings served as Legislative Assistant in the United States Senate, Office of Senator Slade Gorton. He was the senator's senior advisor, and responsible for legislation, on foreign and defense policy issues.

Dr. Ellings is the author of *Embargoes and World Power: Lessons from American Foreign Policy* (1985) and co-author of *Private Property and National Security* (1991); editor of *Strategic Asia 2003–04: Fragility and Crisis* (2003), *Strategic Asia 2002–03: Asian Aftershocks* (2002), and *Strategic Asia 2001–02: Power and Purpose* (2001) with Aaron Friedberg, *Korea's Future and the Great Powers* (2001) with Nicholas Eberstadt, and *Southeast Asian Security in the New Millennium* (1996) with Sheldon Simon; the founding editor of the *NBR Analysis* publication series; and the author of numerous articles and book chapters. He established the Strategic Asia Program and AccessAsia, the national clearinghouse that tracks specialists and their research on Asia, and has served as consultant to the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Department of State, and other U.S. government offices and agencies. He received the University of Washington's Distinguished Teaching Award

and was a nominee for the same award at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, where he taught in 1980 and 1981. He specializes in the political economy of international relations and national security, with emphasis on East Asia.

Dr. Ellings earned his BA in Political Science from the University of California–Berkeley, and his MA and PhD in Political Science from the University of Washington. He studied in China as well, and his professional activities continue to take him overseas regularly.

Ed Gresser is Director of the Progressive Policy Institute's Project on Trade and Global Markets, where he has overseen research since February, 2001, after a 10-year career in the U.S. Congress and the Clinton administration. His principal major research focuses have included economic relations between the west and the Muslim world, East Asian integration and American trade relations with China, the U.S. tariff system and its effects on low-income families and least-developed countries, and other topics. Mr. Gresser also created PPI's widely praised "Trade Fact of the Week" electronic information service, which covers issues from the revival of high-seas piracy to robot use around the world, Asian research trends, Ethiopia's leading role in birdseed trade, shoe tariffs and international adoption. His research has been cited by leaders of the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, the IMF and other institutions, and covered by major publications and news outlets including the Washington Post, the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, the Financial Times, the Far Eastern Economic Review and others. His first book, *Freedom From Want: American Liberalism and the Global Economy*, was published in November 2007.

Before joining PPI, Mr. Gresser served as Policy Advisor to U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefskym where he twice received USTR's prestigious "Special Achievement Award," including for accomplishment "far above and beyond the call of duty" in the negotiation of China's WTO accession agreement and passage of permanent Normal Trade Relations. Earlier, as Legislative Assistant and then Policy Director for Senator Max Baucus (D-MT) between 1993 and 1998, Mr. Gresser was responsible for staff work on trade foreign policy and other matters, with particular focus on developing and building broad consensus for relations with China. He is a graduate of Stanford University, Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, and the Averell Harriman Institute for Advance Study of the Soviet Union.

Frank Sampson Jannuzi is a Senior East Asia Adviser, Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Since April, 1997, Frank Jannuzi has served as the Senior East Asia Adviser for the Democratic staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. Jannuzi reports to Chairman John Kerry (D-Massachusetts), advising him on policy options, drafting legislation authorizing U.S. diplomatic operations, security assistance, and foreign aid, and representing Senator Kerry in discussions with the American public as well as with foreign government officials and the media. From 1989–1997, Mr. Jannuzi worked as the East Asia regional political-military analyst for the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR), U.S. Department of State. His portfolio included a variety of regional security issues, including the Korean Peninsula, China's defense modernization, and territorial disputes in the South China Sea and Kuril Islands. Mr. Jannuzi was the founding editor-in-chief of *Peacekeeping Perspectives*, the State Department's journal on multilateral peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. From August 2006 until September 2007, Mr.

BIOGRAPHIES

Jannuzi lived in Japan with his wife and family under the auspices of the Hitachi International Affairs Fellowship of the Council on Foreign Relations. While in Tokyo, Mr. Jannuzi joined the faculty of Keio University as a Visiting Professor in the Law Faculty, and also served as a visiting research fellow at the Institute of International Policy Studies. Mr. Jannuzi holds a B.A. in history from Yale University and a M.P.P. with a concentration in international affairs and security from the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Mr. Jannuzi lives in Baltimore, Maryland, with his wife, Dr. Jennifer Martin, and their daughters Zoe and Camille.

Roy D. Kamphausen is Vice President for Political and Security Affairs and Director of NBR's D.C. Office. Mr. Kamphausen manages NBR research programs on political and security issues in Asia. As Office Director, he manages the operations and outreach of NBR's office in Washington, D.C. Prior to joining NBR, Mr. Kamphausen served as a U.S. Army officer—a career that culminated in an assignment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) as Country Director for China-Taiwan-Mongolia Affairs. Prior postings included assignments to The Joint Staff 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. Roy received a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from Wheaton College and holds a Master's in International Affairs degree from Columbia University in New York. He studied Chinese at the Defense Language Institute and Beijing's Capital Normal University. He is a member of the National Committee on US-China Relations and The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS).

Mark Kirk represents the 10th Congressional District of Illinois located in the suburbs north of Chicago.

Now in his fifth term, Congressman Kirk is a member of the powerful House Appropriations Committee and is co-chairman of the moderate GOP Tuesday Group and the bipartisan House US-China Working Group.

In Congress, Congressman Kirk works to advance a suburban agenda that is pro-defense, pro-personal responsibility, pro-environment, and pro-science. He wrote a number of provisions which became law, including funding for commuter rail, improving veteran's health care, ensuring military voting, and boosting aviation security.

Mark Kirk's father was from Sullivan and his mother from Park Ridge. Kirk was born in Champaign and grew up in Chatham, Downers Grove and Kenilworth. Representative Kirk graduated from New Trier High School (Winnetka) and attended Blackburn College (Carlinville) and the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico before earning a B.A. from Cornell. He holds a Masters Degree from the London School of Economics and a law degree from Georgetown.

Congressman Kirk began his career on the staff of his predecessor, Congressman John Porter. He later served in the World Bank, the State Department, the law firm of Baker & McKenzie, and the U.S. House International Relations Committee.

Kirk, who holds the rank of Commander, is a Naval Reserve intelligence officer and has served during conflicts with Afghanistan, Iraq, Haiti, and Bosnia. He recently became the first member of Congress to serve in an imminent danger zone since 1942 when he deployed as a reservist to Afghanistan in December. The U.S. Navy named Kirk "Intelligence Officer of the Year" in 1999 for his combat service in Kosovo.

Kirk lives in Highland Park.

Rick Larsen is serving his fifth term in the U.S. House of Representatives. Larsen represents the Second Congressional District of Washington state, which stretches from northern Snohomish County clear to the Canadian border, encompassing all of Skagit, Island, San Juan and Whatcom counties.

Larsen serves Northwest Washington as a member of the House Armed Services Committee, the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee and the House Budget Committee. He is co-chair of the Congressional Methamphetamine Caucus, which works to fight the meth epidemic in our communities by supporting law enforcement, prevention and treatment efforts. Larsen also serves as co-chair of the bi-partisan U.S.-China Working Group, which educates Members of Congress on U.S.-China issues through meetings and briefings with academic, business and political leaders from the United States and China.

Since coming to Congress, Larsen has worked to bring veterans health care closer to veterans, securing a community based outpatient clinic (CBOC) to the Second Congressional District. Congressman Larsen has also served as an advocate for the hungry – raising awareness about hunger and supporting federal legislation to ensure that no child goes to bed hungry at night.

The Larsen family has been building a legacy in the Second Congressional District for more than a century. Congressman Larsen and his wife, Tiia, are the proud parents of two sons, Robert and Per (pronounced "Pair"), who represent the fifth generation of Larsens in the district.

Congressman Larsen graduated from Pacific Lutheran University in Washington state and holds a masters degree in Public Affairs from the University of Minnesota.

Meredith Miller is Director of Congressional and Media Outreach, and Senior Director of Economics and Trade Affairs.

Ms. Miller guides engagement with Congress as NBR leverages its network of experts to bring objective, detailed analysis and assessments of strategic developments in Asia to U.S. policymakers. She also coordinates NBR's interactions with the media for publicizing NBR research and events. As Senior Director for Economics and Trade Affairs Ms. Miller coordinates and supports the work of NBR's Economics and Trade Affairs group.

Ms. Miller has both public and nonprofit sector experience. She served as the Deputy Director for the Office of Economic Policy in the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs, and as an analyst in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the U.S. Department of State. Prior to joining the State Department, Ms. Miller worked at the U.S.-Vietnam Trade Council on a technical assistance program to support completion of a bilateral trade agreement between the United States and Vietnam—the last step toward full normalization of relations between the two countries.

BIOGRAPHIES

Ms. Miller holds an MA in International Relations from the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University. She is a specialist in Southeast Asia, particularly Indonesia and Vietnam, and speaks fluent Indonesian.

J.J. Ong is a fellow on the majority staff of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, responsible for East and Southeast Asia. He joined the Committee in February 2009 on a Congressional fellowship sponsored by the Brookings Institution. J.J. has over six years of experience with the U.S. government in Asian issues, specifically on China. Prior to joining the government, he spent three years with the Corporate Executive Board, a Washington D.C.-based business research consulting firm, providing corporate strategy and management analysis to Fortune 500 companies. J.J. holds a master's degree in Asian Studies and is a fluent Mandarin speaker.

James B. Steinberg is the Deputy Secretary of State, serving as the principal Deputy to Secretary Clinton. Appointed by President Obama, he was confirmed by the Senate on January 28, 2009 and sworn in by the Secretary the next day. Prior to his appointment in the Obama Administration, Mr. Steinberg served as dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, a position he assumed on January 1, 2006. He is currently on leave from the LBJ School. He had previously served as the vice president and director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. (2001-2005), where he supervised a wide-ranging research program on U.S. foreign policy.

From December 1996 to August 2000, Mr. Steinberg served as deputy national security advisor to President Bill Clinton. During that period he also served as the president's personal representative ("Sherpa") to the 1998 and 1999 G-8 summits. Prior to becoming deputy national security advisor, he served as chief of staff of the U.S. State Department and director of the State Department's policy planning staff (1994-1996), and as deputy assistant secretary for analysis in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (1993-1994).

Mr. Steinberg has also been a senior analyst at RAND in Santa Monica, California (1989-1993), and a senior fellow for U.S. Strategic Policy at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London (1985-1987). He served as Senator Edward Kennedy's principal aide for the Senate Armed Services Committee (1983-1985); minority counsel, U.S. Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee (1981-1983); special assistant to the U.S. Assistant Attorney General (Civil Division) (1979-1980); law clerk to Judge David L. Bazelon, U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit (1978-1979); and special assistant to the assistant secretary for planning and evaluation, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1977).

Mr. Steinberg is the author of and contributor to numerous books and articles on foreign policy and national security topics, including *Difficult Transitions: Foreign Policy Troubles at the Outset of Power*, *Protecting the Homeland 2006/2007* and *An Ever Closer Union: European Integration and Its Implications for the Future of U.S.-European Relations*.

Mr. Steinberg received his B.A. from Harvard in 1973 and J.D. from Yale Law School in 1978.

Mr. Steinberg was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1953. He is married to Ms. Sherburne B. Abbott, who most recently was the director

of the Center for Science and Practice of Sustainability at the University of Texas at Austin. They have two daughters, Jenna, age 7, and Emma, age 4.

Daniel Twining is Senior Fellow for Asia at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. During the Bush administration, he served as a Member of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's Policy Planning Staff, with responsibility for South Asia and regional issues in East Asia. He previously worked for over a decade for Senator John McCain, including as his Foreign Policy Advisor in the United States Senate. Dan has also been the Fulbright/Oxford Scholar at Oxford University, a Transatlantic Fellow and Director of the Foreign Policy Program at the German Marshall Fund of the United States, and a staff member of the United States Trade Representative. His work on South, Southeast, and East Asia and U.S. foreign policy has been published in newspapers, magazines, and peer-reviewed academic journals in the United States, Europe, and Asia. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford; Nuffield College, Oxford; and the University of Virginia. He lived and worked in India from 2006-7 and has also lived in Thailand, Great Britain, Benin, Cameroon, and Burkina Faso.



THE NATIONAL BUREAU
of ASIAN RESEARCH

SEATTLE & WASHINGTON, D.C.

1215 FOURTH AVENUE, SUITE 1600
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98161 USA
PHONE 206-632-7370, FAX 206-632-7487

1301 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE NW, SUITE 305
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004 USA
PHONE 202-347-9767, FAX 202-347-9767

NBR@NBR.ORG, WWW. NBR.ORG

**The National Bureau of Asian Research is a nonprofit, nonpartisan
research institution dedicated to informing and strengthening policy.**