

## Speaker Biographies

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**Jon B. Alterman** is Director and Senior Fellow of the Middle East Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Prior to joining CSIS, he served as a member of the Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State and as a special assistant to the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs. He served as an expert adviser to the Iraq Study Group (also known as the Baker-Hamilton Commission) and is a professorial lecturer at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and the George Washington University. Before entering government, he was a scholar at the U.S. Institute of Peace and at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. From 1993 to 1997, Mr. Alterman was an award-winning teacher at Harvard University, where he received his PhD in history. He also worked as a legislative aide to Senator Daniel P. Moynihan (D-NY), responsible for foreign policy and defense.

Mr. Alterman has lectured in more than 25 countries on subjects related to the Middle East and U.S. policy toward the region. He is the author or coauthor of four books on the Middle East, and the editor of two more. In addition to his academic work, he is sought out as a consultant to business and government and is a frequent commentator in print, on radio, and on television. His opinion pieces have appeared in the *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, *Asharq al-Awsat*, and other major publications. He is on the Board of Advisory Editors of the *Middle East Journal*, is a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of Arab Media and Society, and is a former international affairs fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he is now a life member. He received his AB from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

**Manpreet Singh Anand** is Global Policy Advisor at Chevron, providing policy analysis and guidance on emerging geopolitical and socioeconomic issues. Previously serving as a Senior Policy Advisor for the majority staff of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Anand had responsibility over South Asia, Central Asia, and energy and trade policy issues for the committee. Prior to working for the Committee, Mr. Anand worked in the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative on bilateral trade issues in South Asia. Mr. Anand also worked for the U.S. Agency for International Development where he worked on building public and private sector partnership initiatives towards development programs. Mr. Anand's experience in the private sector includes work as a consulting manager in the supply chain execution industry. Mr. Anand earned an MBA and an MA in International and Area Studies from the University of California, Berkeley, as well as a BS in Electrical Engineering from the University of Texas at Austin.

**C. Philip Andrews-Speed** is Professor of Energy Policy and Director of the Centre for Energy, Petroleum and Mineral Law and Policy. He spent fourteen years as a geologist in the international mining and petroleum industries before coming to the Centre in 1994, gaining an LLM in Energy Law and Policy, and joining the academic staff. Dr. Andrews-Speed leads the Centre's China Programme, which covers research, consultancy and professional training in the oil, gas, electricity and mining sectors. The focus of the research is on energy policy, regulation and reform, and on the interface between energy policy and international relations. Recent

publications include: *The Strategic Implications of China's Energy Needs* (Adelphi Paper 346, 2002) and *Energy Policy and Regulation in the People's Republic of China* (Kluwer Law International, 2004). April 2008 saw the publication of *International Competition for Resources: the Role of Law, the State and of Markets*, an edited compilation of papers written for the 30th anniversary of the Centre for Energy, Petroleum and Mineral Law and Policy.

**Dan Blumenthal** is Resident Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) and is on the Board of Advisors for The Project 2049 Institute and the Congressional US-China Working Group. He has served as Vice Chairman and Commissioner of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, as well as senior director for China, Taiwan, and Mongolia in the Secretary of Defense's Office of International Security Affairs. Before his service at the Department of Defense, Mr. Blumenthal practiced law at Kelley Drye & Warren LLP in New York. Mr. Blumenthal received his JD from Duke Law School, his MA from the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University, and his BA from Washington University.

**Kent Calder** is the Edwin O. Reischauer Professor at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Director of the Japan Studies Program, and Director of the Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies. He has previously served as special adviser to the U.S. ambassador to Japan, Japan Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, professor for 20 years at Princeton University, as well as lecturer and executive director of the U.S.-Japan Program at Harvard University. Dr. Calder received his PhD in Government at Harvard University, and his publications include *East Asian Multilateralism: Prospects for Regional Stability*, co-editor (2008); *Embattled Garrisons: Comparative Base Politics and American Globalism* (2007); *Pacific Defense* (1996); *Strategic Capitalism* (1993); *Crisis and Compensation* (1988); *The Eastasia Edge*, co-author (1982)

**Edward C. Chow** is Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, DC. He is an international energy expert with 30 years of oil industry experience from working in Asia, Middle East, Africa, South America, Europe and the former Soviet Union. He has developed policy and business strategy, and successfully negotiated complex, multi-billion dollar, international business ventures. He specializes in investments in emerging economies and international oil & gas. He has advised U.S. and foreign governments, major international oil companies, leading U.S. multinational corporations and European firms.

Mr. Chow spent 20 years with Chevron Corporation in U.S. and overseas assignments. He was head of international external affairs in headquarters in California. He played a leading role in negotiating the international commercial agreement to build a \$2.6 billion oil pipeline from Kazakhstan on the Caspian to the Russian Black Sea coast. While he was Chevron's principal international representative in Washington, he worked closely with the White House, Capitol Hill, federal departments and agencies, foreign governments, international financial institutions, and the foreign policy community on international economic policy affecting worldwide investments. Between 1989 and 1991, Mr. Chow was based in Beijing as Chevron's country manager for China.

**James Clad** is Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute and Professor of Near East and South Asian Studies at the National Defense University in Washington DC, where he works closely with national security strategists from Morocco, Pakistan, and other countries. He served in the U.S. government for several years, including as White House detail in Baghdad from April-June 2003.

He previously served as Professor of South and Southeast Asian Studies at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service (1995-2002) and a director at Cambridge Energy Research Associates (1997-2002). He wrote for the *Far Eastern Economic Review* in the 1980s, and has held fellowships from St. Antony's College/Oxford, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Woodrow Wilson International Center, and Harvard's Center for International Affairs.

Professor Clad's 1991 book *Behind the Myth: Business, Money and Power* in Southeast Asia (Harper Collins) critiqued Asian capitalism long before the 1997 financial collapse. His second book, *After the Crusade*, written in 1996, examined U.S. foreign policy during the Clinton administration. Clad has appeared frequently on NPR, CNN, the BBC, and CNBC news, as well as on *Nightline*, *MoneyLine*, and other programs. As a Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute, he concentrates on a project seeking ways to improve America's effectiveness in foreign interventions. He speaks fluent Spanish, Italian, Indonesian, and Amharic—the predominant Ethiopian language.

**Sumit Ganguly** is Professor at Indiana University in Bloomington and holds the Rabindranath Tagore Chair in Indian Cultures and Civilizations. He has previously been on the faculty of James Madison College of Michigan State University, Hunter College of the City University of New York and the University of Texas at Austin. Dr. Ganguly has also taught at Columbia University in New York City and has been a Fellow and a Guest Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, as well as a Visiting Fellow at the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University.

Dr. Ganguly's research and writing focused on South Asia has been supported by grants from the Asia Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the W. Alton Jones Foundation. He serves on the editorial boards of *Asian Affairs*, *Asian Survey*, *Current History*, *the Journal of Strategic Studies* and *Security Studies*. He is also the founding editor of both the *India Review* and *Asian Security*, two referred journals published by Taylor and Francis, London. Dr. Ganguly is the author, editor or co-editor of a dozen books on South Asia. His most recent books are *Fearful Symmetry: India and Pakistan Under the Shadow of Nuclear Weapons* (co-authored with Devin Hagerty) jointly published by Oxford University Press (New Delhi) and the University of Washington Press (Seattle) and *More Than Words: U.S.-India Strategic Cooperation Into the Twenty-First Century* (co-edited with Brian Shoup and Andrew Scobell) published by Routledge, London. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, New York and the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London. He is currently at work on a book, *India Since 1980*, under contract with Cambridge University Press, New York.

**Mikkal E. Herberg** is Research Director of the Energy Security Program at The National Bureau of Asian Research. He is also a Senior Consultant with PFC Energy, an international energy consulting firm located in Washington, DC; Adjunct Faculty member at the University of California, San Diego; and Adjunct Fellow at the Pacific Council on International Policy.

Previously, Mr. Herberg spent 20 years in the oil industry in Strategic Planning roles for ARCO, where from 1997 to 2000 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.

Mikkal Herberg writes and speaks extensively on Asian energy issues to the energy industry, governments, and major research institutions in the Asia-Pacific region and Europe, including the U.S., China, and Japan. He is cited frequently in the media, including *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, National Public Radio, *South China Morning Post*, *Asahi Shimbun*, *Reuters*, *NIKKEI News*, and *Caijing*.

**Jay Inslee** is the U.S. Representative of Washington's 1st Congressional District and is an advocate of environmental protection. He has been active in protecting roadless areas in national forests and previously led a successful campaign in the House to keep limits on oil-tanker traffic in Puget Sound. Since 2005, Congressman Inslee has used his seat on the House Energy and Commerce Committee to promote a cleaner energy future, the New Apollo Energy Act, and to advance other legislation that would reduce greenhouse-gas emissions. In March 2007, he was appointed to the 15-member Select Committee on Energy Independence and Global Warming, and he has served on the Select Committee for Energy Independence and Global Warming since then.

Congressman Inslee previously represented Washington's 4th Congressional District and served as a state legislator and prosecutor in Selah, Washington. He holds a BA in Economics from the University of Washington, as well as a JD from Willamette University.

**Roy D. Kamphausen** is Vice President for Political and Security Affairs and Director of NBR's DC Office. As Vice President for Political and Security Affairs, 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, DC.

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. 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. He co-authored the chapter "Military Modernization in Taiwan" in *Strategic Asia 2005-06: Military Modernization in an Era of Uncertainty* with Michael Swaine; wrote the chapter "PLA Power Projection: Current Realities and Emerging Trends" in *Assessing the Threat: The Chinese Military and Taiwan's Security* (2007),

with Justin Liang; and edited the volume *Right-Sizing the People's Liberation Army: Exploring the Contours of China's Military* (2007), with Andrew Scobell.

Mr. Kamphausen received a BA 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 a member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. He is married to Arminda (née Armitage) Kamphausen and together they have three children-Abigail, Hudson, and Delaney.

**Bo Kong** is Professorial Lecturer of International Policy and Director of the Global Energy and Environment Initiative (GEEI) at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He is a political economist who studies different dimensions of energy policy and energy governance. His current research focuses on China and comparative energy policy.

Additionally, Dr. Kong sits on the Council of the National Capital Area Chapter of the United States Association for Energy Economics (NCAC-USAE) and consults on Chinese companies' energy and mining operations in Africa for Ayrli Partners and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF).

Between May and August 2007, he was a visiting scholar at the Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD) in South Africa and conducted field research in Angola on China's petroleum investment. In 2005, he worked as a research fellow at the Center for Global Security of the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory (PNNL) in Seattle.

Dr. Kong received his BA in International Trade from Nankai University in Tianjin, China. After graduate studies at the Foreign Affairs University in Beijing and the Hopkins-Nanjing Center for Chinese and American Studies, he earned from SAIS his MA in American Foreign Policy and International Economics and PhD in China Studies and International Energy Policy.

**Flynt Leverett** is Senior Fellow and Director of the Geopolitics of Energy Initiative at the New America Foundation. He is a leading authority on U.S. foreign policy, the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, and global energy issues. From 1992 to 2003, he had a distinguished career in the U.S. 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. He left the Bush administration and government service in the spring of 2003 because of disagreements about Middle East policy and the conduct of the war on terror more generally. He is a consultant to the World Economic Forum's "Gulf Cooperation Council and the World 2025" scenarios project and to the Club of Madrid on global energy issues. He is a peer reviewer for the International Energy Agency's *World Energy Outlook*.

Among Dr. Leverett's many publications are *Dealing with Tehran: Assessing U.S. Diplomatic Options toward Iran* (2006) and *Inheriting Syria: Bashar's Trial by Fire* (2005). His op-eds and articles on Middle Eastern issues and global energy affairs have appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Financial Times*, *The National Interest*, *The Washington Quarterly*, and *The American Prospect*, among other publications. He has appeared on a wide range of news and public affairs programs as well as on *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*. He appears regularly before prominent academic and policy fora in the United States, Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, and has provided expert testimony to the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee. He also speaks to distinguished business audiences worldwide. He holds a PhD in

Politics from Princeton University and is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute of Strategic Studies.

As Senior Fellow and Director of the Geopolitics of Energy Initiative of the American Strategy Program at the New America Foundation, Dr. Leverett studies the implications of structural shifts in global energy markets for international politics and the international economy.

**Fareed Mohamedi** is a Partner of PFC Energy. He heads the Markets and Country Strategies department, which houses PFC Energy's expertise in evaluating the investment risk faced by international oil companies and the political-economic drivers shaping oil and gas sector policies in petroleum producing countries. Mr. Mohamedi also manages PFC Energy's oil market analysis team which is renowned for its analysis of OPEC oil market management strategies. He helped develop PFC Energy's expertise on national oil companies.

Mr. Mohamedi has been at PFC Energy since 1990. He has also worked at Moody's Investors Service as the lead country analyst for a number of petroleum and gas producing countries, at the Institute of International Finance in the Middle East and Asia departments, at the World Bank's Africa department, at Wharton Econometrics Forecasting Associates' Middle East service and at the economic research section of the Ministry of Finance and National Economy in Bahrain. In the 1970s, he managed several parts of his family business which had branches in Bahrain, UAE, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Qatar.

Mr. Mohamedi holds an MA in Arab Studies from the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University and a BA in Economics from Western Michigan University.

**Hormoz Naficy** is a London-based oil and gas consultant and Managing Director of Petroventures Advisory Limited.

He started his career in the public sector of Iran, in 1973, and held a number of senior positions including that of Director General for International Affairs, in the Ministry of Industry and Mines. In 1981 he joined the private sector here in the United Kingdom and has worked for a number of international oil companies, as Manager, Land and Contract at Murphy Oil, Senior Advisor, New Ventures at Saga Petroleum and Vice President, Business Development at Hydro Zagros, the Iranian subsidiary of Norsk Hydro. He is a co-founder of Azar Energy, the first Iranian private sector oil company operating in the upstream, and is currently on its Board.

Mr. Naficy has written extensively on energy and related matters and has been a regular guest speaker at international oil and gas conferences. He is a Fellow of the Energy Institute in the United Kingdom, and holds a BA and an MA in Economics, from the University of Rhode Island in the United States.

**Paul J. Saunders** is Executive Director of The Nixon Center. In addition to being the Center's chief operating officer, he directs its U.S.-Russian Relations Program and works on other issues, including energy and climate change, U.S.-European relations, and the role of democracy in U.S. foreign policy. He is also Associate Publisher of the foreign policy magazine, *The National Interest*, published bi-monthly by The Nixon Center, and Publisher of *National Interest online*.

Mr. Saunders served in the Bush Administration from 2003–2005 as Senior Advisor to the Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs. In that capacity, he worked on a broad range of transnational issues, in particular with respect to Russia, Ukraine, the former Soviet Union, as well as Iraq, China and India.

Mr. Saunders served as Director of The Nixon Center from 1997–2003, and was Assistant Director of the Center from its founding in 1994 until 1997. In 2000, he was a Senior Policy Advisor to the Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, established by the Republican Policy Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives. He has written extensively for major newspapers and journals, and is a frequent commentator in national media, including *CNN*, *Fox*, and *MSNBC*. Mr. Saunders is co-author of "America, Russia and the Greater Middle East Challenges and Opportunities" with Nixon Center Program Director Geoffrey Kemp.

**Jean-François Seznec** is Visiting Associate Professor at Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies. His research centers on the influence of the Arab-Persian Gulf political and social variables on the financial and oil markets in the region. He is focusing on the industrialization of the Gulf and in particular the growth of the petrochemical industry. He is Senior Advisor to PFC Energy in Washington, DC. He earned an MIA from Columbia University in 1963, as well as an MA and PhD from Yale University in 1994. He has published and lectured extensively on Petrochemicals and energy based industries in the Gulf and their importance in world trade. He is interviewed regularly on national TV, radio and newspapers, as well as by the foreign media.

Dr. Seznec has 25 years experience in international banking and finance of which ten years were spent in the Middle East, including two years in Riyadh at SIDF and six years in Bahrain covering Saudi Arabia. Dr. Seznec is a founding member and Managing Partner of the Lafayette Group LLC, a US based private investment company. He uses his knowledge of business in the Middle East and the United States to further his analysis of the Arab-Persian Gulf.

**Jonathan Shrier** is Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary and Acting Assistant Secretary for the Office of Policy and International Affairs (PI) at the US Department of Energy. In this role, he is the primary policy advisor to the Secretary, Deputy Secretary, and Under Secretary of Energy on domestic and international policy development and implementation as well as DOE policy analysis and activities.

Previously, Mr. Shrier served as the Director for International Energy Security at the National Security Council and the National Economic Council. In this capacity, he was also the principal climate change advisor to Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs Daniel M. Price from the beginning of the Major Economies Meeting (MEM) process. The MEM process aims to bring the world's largest users of energy and producers of greenhouse gases together around a new approach to confronting climate change and energy security. Mr. Shrier also advised the President's National Security Advisor and the Director of the National Economic Council on all international energy policy matters and guided interagency work on U.S. international energy policy. In addition, he also helped to launch the Strategic Economic Dialogue with China, led by Treasury Secretary Henry M. Paulson, and helped to establish the Ten Year Framework for Energy and Environment Cooperation between the United States and China.

Mr. Shrier is a career Foreign Service Officer from the State Department, with nearly two decades of government service. Before moving to the National Security Council, he was Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Economic, Business, and Agricultural Affairs. Prior to that, he was Director for Investment Affairs at the U.S. Trade Representative's Office. Mr. Shrier has spent the bulk of his career working on or in China, including three tours of duty at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing. Mr. Shrier has also served in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

Mr. Shrier has an MBA, with a Mark of Merit, from the University of London; an MSc in International Relations, with a Mark of Distinction, from the London School of Economics; and a BA with High Honors in Government from Dartmouth College.

**Robert Sutter** is Visiting Professor of Asian Studies at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. Prior to taking this full-time position, Dr. Sutter specialized in Asian and Pacific Affairs and US foreign policy in a US government career of 33 years involving the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of State, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He was for many years the Senior Specialist and Director of the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division of the Congressional Research Service. He also was the National Intelligence Officer for East Asia and the Pacific at the US Government's National Intelligence Council, and the China Division Director at the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

A PhD graduate in History and East Asian Languages from Harvard University, Dr. Sutter taught part-time for over thirty years at Georgetown, George Washington, Johns Hopkins Universities, or the University of Virginia. He has published 17 books, numerous articles and several hundred government reports dealing with contemporary East Asian and Pacific countries and their relations with the United States. His most recent book is *The United States in Asia* (Rowman and Littlefield 2008).