



March 15, 2001

The 2001 Morse Target®

WASHINGTON'S MOVERS AND SHAKERS ON JAPAN

The Morse Target has appeared periodically since 1990 to give the public a perspective on the people shaping the U.S.-Japan relationship. In *Washington-speak* these are the “Movers and Shakers” on Japan. The Target’s author is commentator and professor, Dr. Ronald Morse of Reitaku University, Japan. His past positions include director of the Asia Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and vice president of the Economic Strategy Institute. Dr. Morse receives advice on the Target from a wide range of Japan-watchers and works closely with the Japan Information Access Project.

As in the past, the Target is composed of five work domains, five ideological rings, and two levels of significance. The five groups are: The Bush Administration, Capitol Hill, K-Street Lawyers & Lobbyists, Media Land & Think Tanks, and Japan. The two levels (Movers and Shakers, and Other Significant Players) allow us to include key people who would not fit on the actual chart. The rings range from the inner “bull’s-eye” that indicates people who want a tough policy toward Japan (hard) to the outer ring that holds people more sympathetic to the Japanese position on issues (soft). All readers should understand that placement on the Target is not be a science, but an art borne of extensive discussions in both Washington and Tokyo and decades of experience reading the Washington tea leaves.

Placing people on the chart has been especially difficult at this time. First, there is a profound disappointment in the U.S. policy community with the Japanese government’s inability (not inactivity) to take any leadership role in their own economic crisis or in international matters. More important, the Bush Administration has been cautious in placing people in critical Asia policy positions. There are a number of ideological divides especially toward China and Korea in which only judicious political choices can resolve.

There also are new battle lines and definitions of what constitutes hard or soft on Japan. The hard-line “traditional” revisionists’ focused on the incompatibility of Japan’s economy with the rest of the world. Interestingly, their view that Japan’s economy operates from a safe haven and by unacceptably different competitiveness rules has become the accepted wisdom by all. The “new” armor-plated revisionists led by Rumsfeld’s Defense Department focus on Japan’s

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unreliability as a strategic partner and ally. The new security “Cherry Blossom” crowd led by Powell’s State Department and the NSC is sympathetic to Japan’s need for incremental change and believes that there is no alternative to Japan as an important regional ally.

You can contact Dr. Morse until July 2001 at:

International School of Economics and Business Administration
Reitaku University, Hikarigaoka, Kashiwa-shi, Chiba-ken 277-8686, Japan.
Office Tel: 0471-73-3466 (from outside Japan: 81-471-73-3466)
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The Morse Home Page: <http://www.reitaku-u.ac.jp/morse/>

After August 1, 2001:

Terasaki Professor of U.S.-Japan Relations

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University of California, Los Angeles
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Los Angeles, California 90095-1473
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NOTATIONS TO TARGET

^t Denotes nominations pending as of 3/14/01

*** Denotes members of the Japan Information Access Project**

The Japan Information Access Project is a membership nonprofit research center studying Japanese and Northeast Asian technology, security, and public policy issues with the United States. Membership is open to all.

<http://www.nmjc.org/jiap>

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WORK DOMAINS

(1) The Bush Administration

The Bush Administration has yet to fully staff its Asia policy-relevant positions, though many of the selections have been determined. Policy politics has delayed completion of the list below. The Bush Administration intends that Japan will be dealt with at higher official levels than during the Clinton years. There appear to be two ideological camps on Japan: the Powell/Armitage and the Cheney/Rumsfeld. Although most people point to the “*Armitage-Nye*” Report as a blueprint for a Bush Administration Japan-centric Asia policy, many of the assumptions in the report are doubtful, are overtaken by events, or are out of tune with the realities of Japanese politics.

The Bush Administration Movers and Shakers on Japan

Grant Aldonas[†] – Under Secretary of Commerce, International Trade Administration, former chief trade counsel Senate Finance Committee

Richard Armitage[†] – Deputy Secretary of State, formerly with Armitage Associates

Sen. Howard H. Baker, Jr.[†] – Expected Nominee for U.S. Ambassador to Japan, currently with the law firm of Baker Donelson. Also with the firm, Linda Daschle and former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger

Joshua Bolton – President’s Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy

George W. Bush – President

Andrew H. Card, Jr. – President’s Chief of Staff

***Wendy Cutler** – Assistant USTR for Japan.

Kenneth Dam[†] – Deputy Secretary of Treasury

Nancy Dorn – Principal Deputy to the Vice President for National Security

Gary R. Edson – Deputy Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs and Deputy National Security Advisor (NEC/NSC)

Donald L. Evans – Secretary of Commerce

***Michael Green**[†] – expected National Security Council Director for Japan/Korea

Alan Greenspan – Chairman, Federal Reserve

Thomas Hubbard – Acting Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

“Junkyard Dogs” – Participants in the Nye-Armitage Report, INSS Special Report: *The US and Japan: Advancing Toward A Mature Relationship*. See Lists “Team Armitage” for complete list of participants

James A. Kelly[†] – Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian & Pacific Affairs

Chris LaFleur – Deputy Chief of Mission, US Embassy in Japan

Lewis “Scooter” Libby – Chief of Staff, Office of the Vice President

Lawrence Lindsey – Assistant to the President for Economic Policy

“Lone Star Team” – Texas confidants of the President in Congress and the Administration

Andrew Marshall – Director, Office of Net Assessment, Defense Department

Paul O’Neill – Secretary of Treasury

John Neuffer, Deputy Assistant USTR for Japan

Torkel Patterson – Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Senior Director Office of Asian Affairs

Colin Powell – Secretary of State

Condoleezza Rice – Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Donald Rumsfeld – Secretary of Defense

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Robert G. Sutter – National Intelligence Officer for Asia, National Intelligence Council, CIA
John B. Taylor[†] – Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs
***Mary Tighe** – Director for the Office of Asian Affairs, National Security Council
***Robin White** – Director, Office of Japan Affairs, State Department
Paul D. Wolfowitz – Deputy Secretary of Defense
Robert Zoellick – US Trade Representative

Other Significant Players

Lois Boland – Legal Specialist, Office of Legislative and International Affairs, US Patent and Trademark Office
Stuart Chemtob – Special Counsel for International Trade, Antitrust Division, U.S. Department of Justice
Eric Edelman – Policy Adviser for National Security, Office of the Vice President
Carl Ford[†] – Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research
***Jean Heilman Grier** – Senior Counsel for Trade Agreements, Department of Commerce
Richard Haas[†] – Ambassador and Director of the Office of Policy Planning, Department of State
Phillipa Malmgren – National Economic Council, Financial Markets
Samantha Ravitch – Office of the Vice President, Asian Affairs
Michael Powell – Chairman, FCC
***Phyllis Genther Yoshida** – Senior Technology Policy Analyst, Department of Energy

(2) Capitol Hill

Members of Congress and their staff play an important role in reflecting the fears, concerns, and interests of the general public about Japan. Although Congress has generally been less outspoken in recent years on Japan issues, the unease felt throughout the U.S. about Japan's economic crisis is also evident on the Hill. Congressional staffers were active participants in a number of study groups on Japan and promise to play a strong role in shaping a more conservative Asia policy.

U.S. Congress Movers and Shakers on Japan

Sen. Max Baucus – (D-MT), Senate Finance Committee, Ranking Minority Member
Rep. Doug Bereuter – (R-NE) Vice-Chair, House Intelligence Committee
Sen. Jeff Bingaman – (D-NM) Senate Armed Services Committee
Rep. Phil Crane – (R-IL) Chair, Subcommittee on Trade, Committee on Ways & Means
Rep. Tom DeLay – (R-TX) Majority Whip, House of Representatives
Jim Doran – Professional Staff Member (Asia), Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Majority Staff)
Angela Ellard – Trade Counsel (Majority), Trade Subcommittee of House Ways and Means Committee
Bill Frymoyer – Senior Policy Advisor, House Democratic Policy Committee (Rep. Gephardt)
Rep. Richard Gephardt – (D-MO) House Minority Leader
Sen. Phil Gramm – (R-TX) Chair, Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee
Sen. Charles Grassley – (R-IA) Chair, Senate Finance Committee
Rep. J. Dennis Hastert – (R-IL) Speaker of the House

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Sen. Jesse Helms – (R-NC) Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Rep. Amo Houghton – (R-NY) Trade Subcommittee of House Ways and Means Committee; Co-Chair of Council of Foreign Relation Study Group on US-Japan Trade Relations, Robert Van Wicklin, Legislative Director

Rep. Henry Hyde – (R-IL) Chair, House International Relations Committee

***Frank Januzzi** – Professional Staff (Minority), Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Rep. Jim Leach – (R-IA) Chairman, Asia and Pacific Subcommittee of House International Relations Committee

Rep. Sander Levin – (D-MI) Ted Posener, Trade Counsel

Greg Mastel – Chief Economist and International Trade Policy Director, Senate Finance Committee

Jamie McCormick – Staff Director, Asia and Pacific Subcommittee of House International Relations Committee

***Dick Nanto** – Economics Division, Congressional Research Service (CRS), chairs an informal Japan Task Force that includes Mark Manyin, Richard Cronin, Bill Cooper, Larry Nitsch

***Drew Quinn** – Special Assistant to Chief of Staff, Office of Senator John D. Rockefeller IV (D-WV)

Al Santoli – Special Assistant on International Affairs, Office of Rep. Rohrbacher (R-CA)

***Randy Soderquist** – Legislative Assistant, Office of Sen. Jeff Bingaman (D-NM)

Sen. John D. Rockefeller IV – (D-WV) Ranking Minority Member Senate Finance International Trade Subcommittee; Co-Chair of Council of Foreign Relations Study Group on US-Japan Trade Relations

Rep. William Thomas – (R-CA) Chairman, House Ways and Means Committee

Rep. Craig Thomas – (R-WY) Chairman, East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee, Senate Foreign Relations Committee

***Ira Wolf** – Office of Senator Max Baucus

Other Significant Players

Dick Armey (R-TX) – House Majority Leader

Sen. Tom Daschle – (D-SD) Senate Minority Leader; Tim Hogan, Legislative Aide (Trade)

Everett Eissenstat – Legislative director for Rep. Kolbe (R-AZ) moving to Senate Finance staff

Richard Houghton – General Counsel, Senator Craig Thomas (R-WY)

Rep. Jim Kolbe – (R-AZ) House Appropriations Committee

Sen. Trent Lott – (R-MI) Senate Majority Leader

Nao Matsukata – Legislative Assistant, Senator Joseph Lieberman (D-CT)

Les Munson – Professional Staff Member (Asia), House International Relations Committee

Mieko Nakabayashi – Majority Staff, Senate Committee on the Budget

Brett O'Brien – Foreign Policy Advisor, House Democratic Policy Committee (Rep. Gephardt)

Matt Reynolds – Professional staff Asian and Pacific Subcommittee of House International Relations Committee moving to the House Committee on Rules

Sen. Trent Lott – (R-MI) Senate Majority Leader

Steel Caucuses – Senate chaired by Jay Rockefeller (D-WV) and Arlen Specter (R-PA); House chaired by Ralph Regula (R-OH) and John Murtha (D-PA)

Sen. Ted Stevens – (R-AK) Chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee

(3) K-Street Lawyers & Lobbyists

K-Street is Washington jargon for corporate representatives, lawyers, and lobbyists playing the Washington game. This is also the place where former government officials, taking advantage of the “revolving door” of political appointments, have turned their expertise, friendships, and insider knowledge into lucrative businesses. These “players” shift with Administrations. With Japan’s recent self-marginalization, interest in Japan waned. This has dampened dramatic, public lobbying activities to open Japan’s markets. The focus now is on working back channels and quiet dialogue.

K-Street Movers and Shakers on Japan

***Michael Armstrong** – Chair, US-Japan Business Council; Roger Swanson, President
American Automobile Manufacturers Association (AAMA)

***American Chamber of Commerce in Japan (ACCJ)**

William Barringer – Partner, Willkie, Farr, & Gallagher (represented Fuji)

“Dot-coms” – High Tech industry lobbyists

***Lt. General Charles W. Dyke (USA ret.)** - President, International Trade and Technology Associates. Wayne T. Fujito - President & Chief Operating Officer. *Published U.S. International Leadership in the 21st Century* (January 2001) co-edited by W. Bruce Weinrod (ITTA) and Paula J. Dobriansky (CFR) with contributions from Larry Lindsey and William Schneider, Jr. (both now have administration positions)

Maurice Greenberg – CEO, American International Group, Washington Office, Oakley Johnson, Senior VP, Corporate Affairs, Kevin Mulvey, Director, Government Affairs

***Kent Harrington** – Harrington/Fauver

Hogan & Hartsen – Law firm with close Administration ties, Partners: Clayton Yeutter, Mark McConnell, Warren H. Maruyama

Henry Kissinger – Kissinger McLarty Associates, now teamed with Mack McLarty former Clinton Chief of Staff

Robert Lighthizer – Partner, International Law and Policy, Skadden Arps, close Administration ties

Okinawan People – “The Cold War Island”

Lt. General Brent Scowcroft (USA ret) – Principal, The Scowcroft Group; Kevin G. Nealer, Principal, home to many Bush appointees, “think tank” Forum for International Policy

(<http://ffip.com>)

Frank Vargo – VP, Economic Policy, National Association of Manufacturers (NAM)

Jack Welch – CEO, General Electric Co.

***Alan Wm. Wolff** - Partner, Dewey Ballentine

Other Significant Players

***American Electronics Association (AEA)** – William Archey, President

***Maki Hasikawa** – Director of Japan Research, Dewey Ballentine

Guardian Industries – Ralph Gerson, President and CEO, Guardian International, Stephen Farrar, Director of International Business

Douglas Paal – President, Asia Pacific Policy Center

(4) Media Land & Think Tanks (Opinion leaders)

Washington, the town of ideas, information and commentary, has many people with an interest in Japan. Members of the press, think tank fellows, and academic scholars all compose this work domain.

Media Land & Think Tanks Movers and Shakers on Japan

American Enterprise Institute (AEI) – conservative think tank, home to Larry Lindsey, Amb. James Lilley, John Bolton, Arthur Waldron, David Asher, Lynne Cheney, James Glassman, Nick Eberstadt. <http://www.aei.org>

***David Asher** – Associate Director, Asia Program, AEI

Blue Team – Informal group of hard-liners on China, primarily conservative Hill staffers. Speculative list on Influential Reports & Teams page.

Cato Institute – libertarian think tank home to William A. Niskanen, Chairman, **Center for Trade Policy Studies** directed by Brink Lindsey (former counsel for Fuji Film at the law firm of Wilkie Farr) and Ted Galen Carpenter, VP, Defense and Foreign Policy Studies.

<http://www.cato.org>

Center for Strategic Studies (CSIS) – conservative think tank, home to William Breer, Gerrit Gong, Kurt Campbell, Tseuno Watanabe. <http://www.csis.org>

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) – establishment membership think tank, home to Michael Green, Robert Manning, Bruce Stokes. <http://www.cfr.org/p>

***Kurt Campbell** – Senior Vice President and Director, International Security Program, CSIS

Steven Clemons – Executive Vice President, New America Foundation; Director, Japan Policy Research Institute

***Patrick Cronin**^t – Director, Research and Studies, US Institute of Peace

Peter Ennis – Editor, *The Oriental Economist*

Thomas Freidman – Foreign Affairs Columnist, Op-Ed Page, *The New York Times*

Paul S. Giarra – Senior Analyst, Strategic Assessment Center, SAIC

Hoover Institution – Fellows include, Condeleeza Rice, John B. Talyor, William Perry, George Schultz, <http://www.hoover.org>

Institute for International Economics (IIE) – moderate think tank home to Fred Bergsten Adam Posen, Marus Noland, Gary Hafubauer, and Kimberly Ann Elliot. <http://www.iie.com>

***Japan Digest** – Ayako Doi, Kim Willenson, daily “must read” fax newsletter

***Ed Lincoln** – Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution

***RADM Mike McDevitt (ret)** – Director, Center for Strategic Studies, Center for Naval Analysis (CNA)

Joseph Nye – Dean, JFK School of Government, Harvard University

Richard Katz – *The Oriental Economist*

Mindy L. Kotler – Director, Japan Information Access Project, publishes *Japan Washington Watch*

Robert A. Manning – Director, Asian Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

***Chris Nelson** – *The Nelson Report* (the most read report on US-Japan policy)

Old Revisionists – Clyde Prestowitz (Economic Strategy Institute), Glen Fukushima (Cadence Design Systems, Japan), Chalmers Johnson (President, Japan Policy Research Institute and MITI)

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and the Japanese Miracle); Karel van Wolferen (Professor, University of Amsterdam), James Fallows (*The Atlantic Monthly*)

Adam Posen – Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics

James Przystup – Fellow, INSS, National Defense University

Rand – Issued, *Taking Charge: Bipartisan Panel Offers National Security Action Plan For The President-Elect*, Coordinated by Zalmay Khalilzad (corporate chair, international security). Paul O'Neill and Donald Rumsfeld are former chairman of the RAND Board of Trustees.

Bruce Stokes – Senior Fellow, Economic Studies, Council on Foreign Relations; Trade Columnist, *National Journal*; Convener US Council on Foreign Relations Study Group US-Japan Trade Relations

Gillian Tett – Correspondent, Tokyo Bureau, *Financial Times*

Laura D'Andrea Tyson – Chairs the Department of Economics and the Haas School of Business at the University of California, Berkeley

***Ezra Vogel** – Reischauer Center, Harvard University, retired

Other Significant Players

Michael Armacost – President, Brookings Institution, former US Ambassador to Japan

***William Breer** – Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Japan Chair

***William Clarke** – Japan Society, New York, President

* **Center of Northeast Asian Studies, The Brookings Institution** – moderate think tank [Michael Armacost, president; Bates Gill, Director; Catharin Dalpino, Deputy Director], Edward Lincoln. Primarily the opposition. http://www.brook.edu/fp/cnaps/center_hp.htm

***Eric Gangloff** – Executive Director, The Japan-US Friendship Commission

Paul A. Gigot – Potomac Watch Columnist, Editorial Page, *The Wall Street Journal*

George Melloan – Deputy Editor, International, Editorial Page, *The Wall Street Journal*

Naoko Nakamae – *The Economist*

Kongdan (Kati) Oh Hassig – Research Staff Member, Strategy, Forces, and Resources Division, Institute for Defense Analyses

David E. Sanger – International Economics Correspondent, *The New York Times*

Daniel Tarullo – Georgetown University Law Center, Adviser to the G-7 Group consulting firm

***Mark Tilton** – Purdue University

***Alan Tonelson** – Fellow, US Business & Industry Council

***Steve Vogel** – University of California, Berkeley

(5) The Outer Ring: Japan

In Washington, there are a number of Japanese nationals whose opinions are respected among their peers as well as among American insiders. Nearly every major Japanese company, bank, and government agency has a Washington office. Although most of the people listed below report to Japanese leaders about Washington events, their observations are equally important in shaping the perspectives of American opinion makers. The return to Tokyo several years ago of a number of senior, influential Japanese created a power vacuum that has yet to be filled. It appears that Japan as well as the United States has downgraded the relationship. In recognition of the good ties many Japanese have with American opinion leaders, several members of the Outer Ring, in this year's Morse Target are located in Japan and are institutions. These people and organizations have close links with officials in Washington and advocate views popular in the United States.

The Outer Ring Movers and Shakers on Japan

Center for International Political Economy (CIPE) – <http://www.cipeny.org>

Yoichi Funabashi – Chief diplomatic correspondent and columnist *Asahi Shimbun* (former Washington bureau chief)

Shinichi Goto – Toyota Motor North America

***Mariko Ikehara** – C-Net, Executive Director, Washington Office

Kiyoto Ido – Minister (Finance, MOF), Embassy of Japan

Tsutomu Ishii – Chief Washington Representative, Hitachi, Ltd.

Shintaro Ishihara – Governor of Tokyo Metropolitan Government, co-author with Akio Morita, of *The Japan That Can Say No: Why Japan Will Be First Among Equals*

Hitoshi Ito – MITI, Senior Special Representative

***Yoichi Kato** – Political Correspondent, *Asahi Shimbun*

Masanobu Katoh – Fujitsu, Ltd.

Shinichi Kitajima – Economic Minister (MOFA), Embassy of Japan

Yoshihisa Komori – Washington Bureau, *Sankei Shimbun*

Masanori Matsui – Bureau Chief, Nikkei Newspapers

METI – Japan-US New Economy Roundtable Conference plan

Katsuhide "Mike" Miyazawa – VP and General Manager, Washington Representative Office, Marubeni America

***Keiko Nishimoto** – Senior VP, Samuels International

Masaaki Sakamaki – Economic Counsellor (Telecommunications, MPT), Embassy of Japan

Hitoshi Shimura – Japan Center for International Finance (Ministry of Finance)

Yasuyuki Sugiura – Chief Washington Representative, Mitsubishi International

***Yuki Tada** – General Manager, Washington Representative Office, Nissho Iwai America Corporation (former assistant to former Nissho Iwai Chairman and current Bank of Japan Governor Masaru Hayami)

Hideaki Tanaka – Director, Keizai Koho Center, Washington, DC office of Keidanren's PR arm

Tsuneo Watanabe – Research Associate, CSIS (son of Kozo Watanabe)

Major General Noburu Yamaguchi (JGSDF) – Defense and Military Attaché, Embassy of Japan

***Kazutami Yamazaki** – Editor/Publisher, *Washington Watch*

Ryuichi Teshima – Bureau Chief, NHK

Toru Tokuhisa – Chief Representative, Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JCIC)

Shunji Yanai – Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan to the United States of America

Other Significant Players

***Kenichi Hattori** – Patent Attorney, Armstrong, Westerman, Hattori, McLeland & Naughton

Haruko Horigome – Senior Adviser, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld

Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE) – <http://www.jcie.or.jp>

Japan Forum for Strategic Studies (JFSS) – http://www.jfss.gr.jp/en/jfss_index_e.html

Tadahiko Nakamura – President, Galaxy Systems

Akihisa Nagashima – Democratic Party of Japan candidate and former fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations

Okazaki Institute – <http://www.glocomnet.or.jp/okazaki-inst/okazaki-eng.html>

Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS) – <http://village.infoweb.ne.jp/~rips/e-index.htm>

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SPG – Strategy Policy Group, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

SWC – Prime Minister Mori’s Security Wisemen’s Council

***Makiko Ueno** – Research Associate, Urban Institute

Influential Reports & Teams

Below are lists of participants in well-known reports of pre-election advice to publicize current wisdom on Japan and to highlight potential expert appointees for a new administration. Many of the people below now can be found the Administration. The most popular study group participant was Edward Lincoln, an expert on Japan’s economy at the Brookings Institution. Among the ten women contributing to these reports, none overlap across the study groups. Four Asian-Americans participated.

“Team Armitage” - The Armitage/Nye Report. “The United States and Japan: Advancing Toward a Mature Partnership”

(Positions as of October 2000)

Richard Armitage, Project Director

http://www.ndu.edu/ndu/sr_japan.html

Richard L. Armitage, Armitage and Associates

***Dan E. Bob**, Office of Senator William V. Roth, Jr.

Kurt M. Campbell, Center for Strategic and International Studies

***Michael J. Green**, Council on Foreign Relations

***Kent M. Harrington**, Harrington Group LLC

***Frank Jannuzi**, Minority Staff, Senate Foreign Relations Committee

James A. Kelly, Pacific Forum, Center for Strategic and International Studies

***Edward J. Lincoln**, Brookings Institution

Robert A. Manning, Council on Foreign Relations

Kevin G. Nealer, Scowcroft Group

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., JFK School of Government, Harvard University

Torkel L. Patterson, GeoInSight

James J. Przystup, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University

Robin H. Sakoda, Sakoda Associates

***Barbara P. Wanner**, French and Company (only woman)

Paul D. Wolfowitz, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University.

**Taking Charge: A Bipartisan Report to the President Elect on
Foreign Policy and National Security**

Directors: Frank Carlucci, Robert Hunter, Zalmay Khalilzad

<http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1306>

Gordon M. Adams, George Washington University
Kenneth L. Adelman, former Director, ACDA
J. Brian Atwood, Citizens International
Norman R. Augustine, retired Chairman and CEO of Lockheed Martin Corporation
Jeremy R. Azrael, RAND
Elizabeth Frawley Bagley, former U.S. Ambassador to Portugal and Department of State Senior Advisor
Robert Bates, former corporate secretary, Mobil Corporation
Barry M. Blechman, DFI International
Harold Brown, CSIS
Richard Burt, IEP Advisors, LLP
Daniel L. Byman, RAND
Frank C. Carlucci, The Carlyle Group
Ashton Carter, Harvard University
David S.C. Chu, RAND
Natalie W. Crawford, RAND
Lynn E. Davis, RAND
Thomas A. Dine, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
Marc Ginsberg, APCO Global Ventures
David C. Gompert, RAND Europe
Jerrold D. Green, RAND
William Harrop, former U.S. Ambassador
Robert E. Hunter, RAND
Jeffrey A. Isaacson, RAND
Bruce W. Jentleson, Duke University
Zalmay M. Khalilzad, RAND
F. Stephen Larrabee, RAND
Mel Levine, Gibson, Dunn, & Crutcher LLP
Samuel W. Lewis, American Academy of Diplomacy
Jessica Tuchman Mathews, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (*with dissent*)
Dave McCurdy, Electronic Industries Alliance
David A. Ochmanek, RAND
Diann H. Painter, former chief economist, Mobil Corporation
Angel Rabasa, RAND
Michael D. Rich, RAND
John E. Rielly, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
Robert Satloff, Washington Institute for Near East Policy
Jeremy Shapiro, RAND
David Skaggs, The Aspen Institute (*with dissent*)
Marin J. Strmecki, Smith Richardson Foundation
Loren B. Thompson, Lexington Institute
James A. Thomson, RAND
Ted Van Dyk, Claremont Graduate University and UCLA

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Edward L. Warner, RAND

Harlan K. Ullman, CNA and CSIS (*with comment*)

Future Directions for U.S. Economic Policy Toward Japan

Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations

Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Chair; M. Diana H. Newton, Project Director

http://www.cfr.org/public/pubs/Japan_TaskForce.html

Roger C. Altman, Evercore Partners, LLC

Michael H. Armacost, Brookings Institution

David A. Bartsch, General Electric Capital Corporation

Alan S. Blinder, Princeton University

***Daniel E. Bob**, Office of Senator William V. Roth Jr. (R-DE)

W. Bowman Cutter, Warburg Pincus

John S. Gardner, AT&T

Sol Hurwitz, Committee for Economic Development

Merit Janow, Columbia University

***Richard Katz**, *The Oriental Economist Report*

Roger M. Kubarych, Council on Foreign Relations

Patricia Kuwayama, Columbia University, J.P. Morgan

Michael Stuart Levin, e-STEEL

***Edward J. Lincoln**, Brookings Institution

Eugene A. Matthews, Nintai Capital

Janet Mullins Grissom, Ford Motor Company

M. Diana H. Newton, Council on Foreign Relations, Southern Methodist University

Stuart Oran, United Airlines

Douglas Haines Paal, Asia Pacific Policy Center

***Hugh T. Patrick**, Columbia University

Adam Posen, Institute for International Economics

Clyde Prestowitz, Jr., Economic Strategy Institute (ESI)

George Scalise, Semiconductor Industry Association

Joan E. Spero, Doris Duke Charitable Foundation

Daniel K. Tarullo, Georgetown University Law Center

Laura D'Andrea Tyson, University of California, Berkeley

***Ezra F. Vogel**, Harvard University

Michel Zaleski, e-STEEL, Harry Winston

John A. Zysman, University of California, Berkeley

Beginning: Recasting the U.S.-Japan Economic Relationship, Council on Foreign Relations

Project co-chaired by Sen. John D. Rockefeller IV, (D-WV) and Rep. Amo Houghton, (R-NY)

<http://www.cfr.org/public/resource.cgi?pub!3700>

***William Archey**, American Electronics Association

C. Fred Bergsten, Institute for International Economics

***Jeff Bingaman**, U.S. Senate (D-NM)

Steven C. Clemons, New America Foundation

W. Bowman Cutter, E.M. Warburg, Pincus & Co., LLC

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***Eric Gangloff**, Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission
***Michael Green**, Council on Foreign Relations
Amo Houghton, U.S. House of Representatives (R-NY)
Merit Janow, Columbia University
Charles D. Lake II, AFLAC Japan
***Edward Lincoln**, The Brookings Institution
Harald Malmgren, Malmgren Group
Philippa Malmgren, Warburg, Dillon, Read
Robert A. Manning, Council on Foreign Relations
Richard Medley, Medley Global Advisors
Margaret Mihori, Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission
Marcus Noland, Institute for International Economics
George R. Packard, U.S.-Japan Foundation
Clyde V. Prestowitz Jr., Economic Strategy Institute
Tim Regan, Corning, Inc.
Richard Rivers, Attorney
Jay Rockefeller, U.S. Senate (D-WV)
Sherman Robinson, International Food Policy Research Institute
Thomas C. Sawyer, U.S. House of Representatives, (D-Ohio)
Leonard Schoppa, University Of Virginia
***Ira Shapiro**, Long, Aldridge & Norman
James J. Shinn, Princeton University
Michael B. Smith, Global USA, Inc.
***Randall Soderquist**, Office of Senator Bingman
Jim Southwick, Dorsey & Whitney
Bruce Stokes, Council on Foreign Relations
Daniel Tarullo, Georgetown University Law Center
***Mark Tilton**, Purdue University
Roger Van Wicklin, Office of Representative Houghton
***Steven Vogel**, University of California, Berkeley
***Alan Wolff**, Dewey Ballantine LLP
***Ira Wolf**, Office of Senator Max Baucus

Scowcroft Team

(Selected Staff and Board Members of the Scowcroft Group)

<http://ffip.com>

Brent Scowcroft
Kevin Nealer
Gary Edson
Colin Powell
Condoleezza Rice
Richard Haas
Ken Juster
Howard Baker
Carla Hills
Robert Strauss
Lawrence Eagleburger

Blue Team

**Primarily an informal group of conservative congressional staffers
and disenchanted intelligence officials.**

No official public list exists and “membership” in the Team is unclear. Outgrowth of the 1998 *Cox Report* (Chris Cox, R-CA, <http://www.house.gov/coxreport>) “The Select Committee on U.S. National Security and Military/Commercial Concerns with the People’s Republic of China” a 700-page report on the transfer of sensitive U.S. technology to the PRC. The team believes that certain former government officials such as Kissinger, Haig, Scrowcroft, Cheney, Schultz, Eagleburger, Hills, Baker, and Vance have become too sympathetic to Communist China as the result of their business dealings.

Chris Cox, R-CA, Chairman of the Republican House Policy Committee

Jim Dorn, Professional Staff (Majority), Senate Foreign Relations

Richard Fisher, Jamestown Foundation, <http://www.jamestown.org>

Bill Gertz, *The Washington Times* (owned the Moon organization), <http://www.gertzfile.com>

Frank Gaffney Center for Security Policy, <http://www.security-policy.org>

Michael Pillsbury, National Defense University

Senator Jesse Helms, (R-SC)

Senator Joh Kyl, (R-AZ)

Senator Trent Lott, (R-MI)

Al Santoli, Special Assistant on International Affairs, office of Rep. Rohrabacher (R-CA)

Rep. Dana Rohrabacher, (R-CA)

William C. Triplett, Office of Senator Robert Bennett (R-UT)

Arthur Waldron, Director of Asian Studies, AEI

Rep. Curt Weldon, (R-PA)

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