

APPENDIX II

BACKGROUND OF COMMISSIONERS

Daniel M. Slane, Chairman

Daniel Slane was reappointed to the Commission by House Republican Leader John Boehner for a two-year term expiring on December 31, 2011. Chairman Slane was unanimously elected as the Commission's Chairman for the 2010 report cycle.

Chairman Slane served for two years on active duty as a U.S. Army Captain in Military Intelligence; in addition he served for a number of years as a case officer with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Chairman Slane worked in the White House during the Ford Administration.

In 1996, Chairman Slane became a member of the Board of Trustees of the Ohio State University, and was chairman from 2005–2006. Ohio State University is the nation's largest university, with an annual budget of over \$4 billion. He is also the former chairman of University Hospital, a 1,000 bed regional hospital in Columbus, and the former chairman of the James Cancer Hospital, a National Cancer Institute Comprehensive Cancer Center. Chairman Slane serves on the board of two financial institutions and a number of nonprofit organizations.

Chairman Slane is the founder and co-owner of the Slane Company, whose principal business includes real estate development, lumber, and furniture. Chairman Slane has extensive international business experience, including operating a business in China. Prior to becoming a member of the Commission, Chairman Slane manufactured plywood and related wood products at factories in Harbin, Dalian, and Balu (Pizhou), China. In 2007, he sold his interest in that company.

Chairman Slane received a Bachelor of Science in Business Administration and a Juris Doctorate from the Ohio State University. He holds a Master's Degree in International Law from the Europa Institute at the University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands. Chairman Slane is a member of the Ohio Bar and formerly a partner in the law firm of Grieser, Schafer, Blumenstiel, and Slane.

Carolyn Bartholomew, Vice Chairman

Carolyn Bartholomew was reappointed to the Commission by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi for a two-year term expiring on December 31, 2011. Vice Chairman Bartholomew was elected as the Commission's vice chairman for the 2010 report cycle and previously served as the Commission's Chairman for the 2007 and 2009 report cycles and served as the vice chairman for the 2006 and 2008 report cycles.

Vice Chairman Bartholomew has worked at senior levels in the U.S. Congress, serving as counsel, legislative director, and chief of staff to now House Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi. Vice Chairman Bartholomew was a professional staff member on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. She was also a legislative assistant to then-U.S. Representative Bill Richardson.

In these positions, Vice Chairman Bartholomew was integrally involved in developing U.S. policies on international affairs and security matters. She has particular expertise in U.S.-China relations, including issues related to trade, human rights, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Vice Chairman Bartholomew led efforts in the establishment and funding of global AIDS programs and the promotion of human rights and democratization in countries around the world. The vice chairman was a member of the first Presidential Delegation to Africa to Investigate the Impact of HIV/AIDS on Children, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations Congressional Staff Roundtable on Asian Political and Security Issues.

In addition to U.S.-China relations, the vice chairman's areas of expertise include terrorism, trade, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, human rights, U.S. foreign assistance programs, and international environmental issues.

Currently, Vice Chairman Bartholomew serves on the Board of Directors of the Kaiser Aluminum Corporation and the nonprofit organizations Polaris Project and Asia Catalyst.

Vice Chairman Bartholomew received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Minnesota, a Master of Arts in Anthropology from Duke University, and a Juris Doctorate from Georgetown University Law Center. The vice chairman is a member of the state bar of California.

Daniel A. Blumenthal

Daniel Blumenthal was reappointed to the Commission by Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell for a two-year term expiring December 31, 2011. Commissioner Blumenthal served as the Commission's vice chairman for the 2007 report cycle.

Commissioner Blumenthal was the country director for China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, later becoming a senior director for China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mongolia during the first term of President George W. Bush. Commissioner Blumenthal developed and implemented defense policy toward China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mongolia. Commissioner Blumenthal was awarded the Office of the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Public Service.

Prior to joining the Defense Department, Commissioner Blumenthal was an associate attorney in the Corporate and Asia Practice Groups at Kelly Drye & Warren LLP. Earlier, he was an editorial and research assistant for *Near East Policy*.

Today, Commissioner Blumenthal is a resident fellow in Asian Studies at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, and a research associate with the National Asia Research Program. He is a member of the Academic Advisory Group of the Congressional U.S.-China Working Group and has been a member

of the Project 2049 Institute's Board of Advisors since 2008. In addition, Commissioner Blumenthal has written extensively on national security issues.

Mr. Blumenthal received a Master of Arts in International Relations and International Economics from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and a Juris Doctorate from Duke University.

Peter T.R. Brookes

Commissioner Brookes was reappointed to the Commission by House Republican Leader John Boehner for a two-year term expiring December 31, 2011.

Commissioner Brookes served in the George W. Bush Administration as the deputy assistant secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Affairs. Prior to joining the Bush Administration, Commissioner Brookes was a professional staff member with the Committee on International Relations in the U.S. House of Representatives. Before his service in the Congress, Commissioner Brookes worked in the Central Intelligence Agency and for the State Department at the United Nations.

Now, Commissioner Brookes is a senior fellow at The Heritage Foundation and works to develop and communicate the foundation's stance on foreign policy and national security affairs through media appearances, research, published articles, congressional testimony, and speaking engagements. Commissioner Brookes writes for the *New York Post* and is a contributing editor for the *Armed Forces Journal* and *Townhall* magazines. Commissioner Brookes has published more than 300 articles in over 50 newspapers, journals, and magazines.

Commissioner Brookes is the author of *A Devil's Triangle: Terrorism, Weapons of Mass Destruction and Rogue States*. Commissioner Brookes has made many appearances as a commentator on television and radio, and has been quoted by many of the world's largest newspapers and magazines. He is a frequent public speaker both in the United States and abroad, including testifying before both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives on foreign policy, defense, and intelligence issues as an administration official and a private citizen.

Commissioner Brookes is a decorated military veteran, having served on active duty with the U.S. Navy in Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East. He is a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, the Defense Language Institute, the Naval War College, and the Johns Hopkins University.

Robin Cleveland

Commissioner Cleveland is a principal with Olivet Consulting. Commissioner Cleveland has three decades of legislative, management, budget, and policy experience in national security and international economic and development affairs. She has served as the counselor to the president of the World Bank and as the associate director of the Office of Management and Budget at the White House. In addition, Commissioner Cleveland has worked in a variety of positions serving U.S. Senator Mitch McConnell on the Senate Intelligence Committee, Foreign Relations Committee, and Ap-

ropriations Committee. During her tenure in the White House, Commissioner Cleveland co-led the interagency effort to develop two presidential initiatives: the Millennium Challenge Corporation and the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief. These efforts reflect her experience linking policy, performance, and resource management.

Commissioner Cleveland graduated from Wesleyan University with honors.

Jeffrey L. Fiedler

Commissioner Fiedler was reappointed to the Commission by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi on December 16, 2009, for a third term expiring December 31, 2011. Commissioner Fiedler is Assistant to the general president, and director, Special Projects and Initiatives, for the International Union of Operating Engineers. Previously, he was President of Research Associates of America (RAA) and the elected President of the Food and Allied Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO ("FAST"). This constitutional department of the AFL-CIO represented ten unions with a membership of 3.5 million in the United States and Canada. The focus of RAA, like FAST before it, was organizing and bargaining research for workers and their unions.

He served as a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council committees on International Affairs, Immigration, Organizing, and Strategic Approaches. He also served on the Board of Directors of the Consumer Federation of America and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

In 1992, Commissioner Fiedler co-founded the Laogai Research Foundation (LRF), an organization devoted to studying the forced labor camp system in China. When the foundation's executive director, Harry Wu, was detained in China in 1995, Commissioner Fiedler coordinated the campaign to win his release. He still serves as a director of the LRF.

Commissioner Fiedler has testified on behalf of the AFL-CIO before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House International Affairs Committee and its various subcommittees, as well as the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee concerning China policy. He attended three of the American Assembly conferences on China sponsored by Columbia University and has participated in a Council on Foreign Relations task force and study group on China. He has been interviewed on CBS, NBC, ABC, CNN, and CNBC on China policy, international trade issues, human rights, and child labor.

A Vietnam veteran, Commissioner Fiedler served with the U.S. Army in Hue in 1967-68. He received his B.A. in Political Science from Southern Illinois University. He is married with two adult children and resides in Virginia.

The Honorable Patrick A. Mulloy

Commissioner Patrick Mulloy has served four two-year terms as a commissioner and was reappointed in 2009 by Senate Democratic Leader Harry Reid for a new two-year term expiring December 31, 2011.

Commissioner Mulloy served as assistant secretary of Commerce for Market Access and Compliance in the department's International Trade Administration during the Clinton Administration. As assistant secretary, Commissioner Mulloy directed a trade policy unit of over 200 international trade specialists, which focused worldwide on removing foreign barriers to U.S. exports and on ensuring that foreign countries complied with trade agreements negotiated with the United States. This activity involved discussions both in the World Trade Organization and with individual governments. Commissioner Mulloy traveled extensively, meeting with foreign leaders to advance market-opening programs in the European Union, China, India, Taiwan, Indonesia, Canada, and Central and South America. He was also appointed by President Clinton to serve as a member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Before becoming assistant secretary, Commissioner Mulloy held various senior positions on the staff of the U.S. Senate Banking Committee, including chief international counsel and general counsel. In those positions, he contributed to much of the international trade and finance legislation formulated by the committee, such as the Foreign Bank Supervision Enhancement Act of 1991, the Export Enhancement Act of 1992, the Defense Production Act Amendments of 1994, and titles of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 that dealt with foreign bribery, foreign investment, exchange rates, and export controls.

Prior to his work in the Senate, Commissioner Mulloy was a senior attorney in the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, where he directed a staff of lawyers and economists, who supervised participation of U.S. oil companies in the Paris-based International Energy Agency. In earlier duties at the Justice Department, he represented the United States in a variety of cases related to federal environmental laws, including criminal and civil enforcement actions in various U.S. District Courts, several Circuit Courts of Appeal, and the U.S. Supreme Court.

Commissioner Mulloy began his public service career as a Foreign Service Officer, where he served in the Department of State's Office of United Nations Political Affairs, the Office of International Environmental and Oceans Affairs, and as vice counsel in the U.S. Consulate in Montreal, Canada.

Today, Commissioner Mulloy is a consultant to the president emeritus of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation and is an adjunct professor of International Trade Law at the law schools of Catholic University and George Mason University. He is a member of the Asia Society and the Washington International Trade Association and serves on the Advisory Board of the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress. He has several times testified on international trade and investment matters before committees of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives.

Commissioner Mulloy, a native of Kingston, Pennsylvania, holds an LL.M. from Harvard University Law School, a Juris Doctorate from the George Washington University Law School, a Master of Arts from the University of Notre Dame, and a Bachelor of Arts from King's College. Commissioner Mulloy is a member of the District of Columbia and Pennsylvania Bars. He resides in Alexandria,

Virginia, with his wife Marjorie, and they have three adult children.

The Honorable William A. Reinsch

Commissioner William Reinsch was reappointed to the Commission by Senate Democratic Leader Harry Reid for a term expiring December 31, 2011.

Commissioner Reinsch served as under secretary for Export Administration in the U.S. Department of Commerce. As head of the Bureau of Export Administration, later named the Bureau of Industry and Security, Commissioner Reinsch was charged with administering and enforcing the export control policies of the U.S. Government, including its anti-boycott laws. Major accomplishments during his tenure included refocusing controls regarding economic globalization, most notably on high-performance computers, microprocessors, and encryption, completing the first revisions of the Export Administration regulations in over 40 years. In addition, he revised the interagency process for reviewing applications and permitted electronic filing of applications over the Internet. During this time, Commissioner Reinsch delivered more than 200 speeches and testified 53 times before various committees of the Congress.

Before joining the Department of Commerce, Commissioner Reinsch was a senior legislative assistant to Senator John Rockefeller and was responsible for the senator's work on trade, international economic policy, foreign affairs, and defense. He also provided staff support for Senator Rockefeller's related efforts on the Finance Committee and the Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee.

For over a decade, Commissioner Reinsch served on the staff of Senator John Heinz as chief legislative assistant, focusing on foreign trade and competitiveness policy issues. During that period, Senator Heinz was either the chairman or the ranking member of the Senate Banking Committee's Subcommittee on International Finance. Senator Heinz was also a member of the International Trade Subcommittee of the Finance Committee. Commissioner Reinsch provided support for the senator on both subcommittees. This work included five revisions of the Export Administration Act and work on four major trade bills. Prior to joining Senator Heinz's staff, Commissioner Reinsch was a legislative assistant to Representatives Richard Ottinger and Gilbert Gude, acting staff director of the House Environmental Study Conference, and a teacher in Maryland.

Today Commissioner Reinsch is president of the National Foreign Trade Council. Founded in 1914, the council is the only business organization dedicated solely to trade policy, export finance, international tax, and human resources issues. The organization represents over 300 companies through its offices in New York City and Washington.

In addition to his legislative and private sector work, Commissioner Reinsch served as an adjunct associate professor at the University of Maryland University College Graduate School of Management and Technology, teaching a course in international trade and trade policy. He is also a member of the boards of the Middle East

Institute, the Executive Council on Diplomacy, and KHI Services, Incorporated.

Commissioner Reinsch's publications include "Why China Matters to the Health of the U.S. Economy," published in *Economics and National Security*; and "The Role and Effectiveness of U.S. Export Control Policy in the Age of Globalization" and "Export Controls in the Age of Globalization," both published in *The Monitor*. In addition, Commissioner Reinsch has published "Should Uncle Sam Control U.S. Technology Exports," published in *Insight Magazine*; "Encryption Policy Strikes a Balance," published in the *Journal of Commerce*; and "Building a New Economic Relationship with Japan," published with others in *Beyond the Beltway: Engaging the Public in U.S. Foreign Policy*.

The Honorable Dennis C. Shea

Commissioner Dennis Shea was reappointed by Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell for a two-year term expiring December 31, 2010. An attorney with more than 20 years of experience in government and public policy, he is the founder of Shea Public Strategies LLC, a government relations firm based in Alexandria, Virginia. Before starting the firm, he served as vice president for Government Affairs—Americas for Pitney Bowes Inc., a Fortune 500 company.

Commissioner Shea's government service began in 1988, when he joined the Office of Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole as counsel, subsequently becoming the senator's deputy chief of staff in the Office of the Senate Majority Leader. In these capacities, he advised Senator Dole and other Republican senators on a broad range of domestic policy issues, was involved in the drafting of numerous pieces of legislation, and was recognized as one of the most influential staffers on Capitol Hill. In 1992, Commissioner Shea's service with Senator Dole was interrupted when he ran for Congress in the Seventh District of New York.

During the 1996 elections, Commissioner Shea continued to help shape the national public policy debate as the director of policy for the Dole for President campaign. Following the elections, he entered the private sector, providing legislative and public affairs counsel to a wide range of clients while employed at BKSH & Associates and Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson, and Hand.

In 2003, Commissioner Shea was named the executive director of the President's Commission on the United States Postal Service. Many of the commission's recommendations were subsequently adopted in the landmark 2006 postal reform legislation.

In 2004, Commissioner Shea was confirmed as assistant secretary for Policy Development and Research at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. As assistant secretary, Commissioner Shea led a team responsible for conducting much of the critical analysis necessary to support the department's mission. In 2005, Commissioner Shea left to serve as senior advisor to Senator Elizabeth Dole in her capacity as chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

Commissioner Shea received a J.D., an M.A. in History, and a B.A. in Government, from Harvard University. He is admitted to the bar in New York and the District of Columbia. The Commis-

sioner currently resides in Alexandria, Virginia, with his wife Elizabeth and daughter Juliette.

Peter Videnieks

Commissioner Videnieks has served on the Commission since January 2007.

Prior to his appointment, Commissioner Videnieks served on the staff of Senator Robert Byrd as an advisor on international affairs and energy issues. He also served on the staffs of the U.S. Trade Deficit Review Commission and the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. Commissioner Videnieks was previously a contracting officer for NASA, the Department of Justice, and a Division Director with U.S. Customs. He has also served as a revenue officer with the IRS.

Commissioner Videnieks received his Bachelor of Arts in Economics from the University of Maryland and his Master of Science in Administration with a concentration in procurement and contracting from the George Washington University. Born in Latvia, Commissioner Videnieks lives with his wife Barbara on a farm in Northern Virginia.

Michael R. Wessel

Commissioner Michael R. Wessel, an original member of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, was reappointed by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi for a two-year term expiring December 31, 2010.

Commissioner Wessel served on the staff of House Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt for more than two decades, leaving his position as general counsel in March 1998. In addition, Commissioner Wessel was Congressman Gephardt's chief policy advisor, strategist, and negotiator. He was responsible for the development, coordination, management, and implementation of the Democratic leader's overall policy and political objectives, with specific responsibility for international trade, finance, economics, labor, and taxation.

During his more than 20 years on Capitol Hill, Commissioner Wessel served in a number of positions: as Congressman Gephardt's principal Ways and Means aide, where he developed and implemented numerous tax and trade policy initiatives. He participated in the enactment of every major trade policy initiative from 1978 until his departure in 1998. In the late 1980s, he was the executive director of the House Trade and Competitiveness Task Force, where he was responsible for the Democrats' trade and competitiveness agenda as well as overall coordination of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988.

Commissioner Wessel was intimately involved in the development of comprehensive tax reform legislation in the early 1980s and every major tax bill during his tenure. Beginning in 1989, he became the principal advisor to the Democratic leadership on economic policy matters and served as tax policy coordinator to the 1990 budget summit. In 1995, he developed the Ten Percent Tax Plan, a comprehensive tax reform initiative that would enable roughly four out of five taxpayers to pay no more than a 10 percent

rate in federal income taxes; the principal Democratic tax reform alternative.

In 1988, he served as national issues director for Congressman Gephardt's presidential campaign. During the 1992 presidential campaign, he assisted the Clinton presidential campaign on a broad range of issues and served as a senior policy advisor to the Clinton Transition Office. In 2004, he was a senior policy advisor to the Gephardt for President Campaign and later co-chaired the Trade Policy Group for the Kerry presidential campaign. In 2008, he was publicly identified as a trade and economic policy advisor to the Obama presidential campaign.

He has coauthored a number of articles with Congressman Gephardt and a book, *An Even Better Place: America in the 21st Century*. Commissioner Wessel served as a member of the U.S. Trade Deficit Review Commission in 1999–2000, a congressionally created commission charged with studying the nature, causes, and consequences of the U.S. merchandise trade and current account deficits.

Today, Commissioner Wessel is president of The Wessel Group Incorporated, a public affairs consulting firm offering expertise in government, politics, and international affairs. He was formerly the executive vice president at the Downey McGrath Group, Incorporated. Commissioner Wessel is a member of the Board of Directors of Goodyear Tire and Rubber.

Commissioner Wessel holds a Bachelor of Arts and a Juris Doctorate from the George Washington University. He is a member of the bar of the District of Columbia and Pennsylvania and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He and his wife Andrea have four children.

Larry M. Wortzel, Ph.D.

Larry Wortzel was reappointed by House Republican Leader John Boehner for a two-year term expiring December 31, 2010. Wortzel has served on the Commission since November 2001, was the Commission's chairman for the 2006 and 2009 report cycles, and served as vice chairman for the 2009 report cycle.

A leading authority on China, Asia, national security, and military strategy, Commissioner Wortzel had a distinguished career in the U.S. Armed Forces. Following three years in the Marine Corps, Commissioner Wortzel enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1970. His first assignment with the Army Security Agency took him to Thailand, where he focused on Chinese military communications in Vietnam and Laos. Within three years, he had graduated from the Infantry Officer Candidate School and the Airborne and Ranger schools. After four years as an infantry officer, Commissioner Wortzel shifted to military intelligence. Commissioner Wortzel traveled regularly throughout Asia while serving in the U.S. Pacific Command from 1978 to 1982. The following year, he attended the National University of Singapore, where he studied advanced Chinese and traveled in China and Southeast Asia. He next worked for the under secretary of Defense for Policy, developing counterintelligence programs to protect emerging defense technologies from foreign espionage. Also, the Commissioner managed programs to gath-

er foreign intelligence for the Army Intelligence and Security Command.

From 1988 to 1990, Commissioner Wortzel was the assistant army attaché at the U.S. embassy in Beijing, where he witnessed and reported on the Tiananmen Massacre. After assignments as an army strategist and managing army intelligence officers, he returned to China in 1995 as the army attaché. In December 1997, Commissioner Wortzel became a faculty member of the U.S. Army War College, and served as the director of the Strategic Studies Institute. He retired from the army as a colonel.

Before his appointment to the U.S.-China Commission, Commissioner Wortzel served as the director of the Asian Studies Center and vice president for foreign policy at The Heritage Foundation.

Commissioner Wortzel's books include *Class in China: Stratification in a Classless Society*; *China's Military Modernization: International Implications*; *The Chinese Armed Forces in the 21st Century*; and *Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese Military History*. Commissioner Wortzel regularly publishes articles on Asian security matters.

A graduate of the Armed Forces Staff College and the U.S. Army War College, Commissioner Wortzel earned his Bachelor of Arts from Columbus College and his Master of Arts and PhD. from the University of Hawaii. He and his wife, Christine, live in Williamsburg, Virginia. They have two married sons and two grandchildren.

Michael R. Danis, Executive Director

Michael Danis served as an intelligence officer with the Defense Intelligence Agency for the past 25 years. Before joining the U.S.-China Commission, Mr. Danis managed the agency's technology transfer division. This division is the U.S. government's sole analytical entity tasked with producing intelligence assessments regarding all aspects of foreign acquisition of U.S. controlled technology and high-technology corporations. Mr. Danis also established and led a unique team of China technology specialists producing assessments on China's military-industrial complex and the impact of U.S. export-controlled and other foreign technology on Chinese weapons development programs. While serving in the U.S. Air Force, Mr. Danis was twice temporarily assigned to the Office of the Defense Attaché in Beijing.