

# Who's Who in China's Economic Policy

*TIE's biennial survey of the backroom power structure*

## On Top in Beijing



President **Hu Jintao**, powerful but not quite in charge

Former President **Jiang Zemin**, clings to share of power through the Central Military Commission.



## Beijing's College of Cardinals

Premier **Wen Jiabao**, assigned special responsibility for Agricultural Reforms and Financial Reforms.

Senior Vice Premier **Huang Ju**, the top man for financial policy.

Vice Premier **Wu Yi**, the senior point person on WTO and trade issues.

Vice Premier **Zeng Peiyan**, senior point person on industry and state enterprises, also the final arbiter on the State Plan.

Vice Minister **Hui Liangyu**, the agricultural decision maker.

Finance Minister **Jin Renqing** has day-to-day control over financial macro-controls, statistics, and banking, but **Zhou Xiaochuan**, Governor of the People's Bank of China, handles most critical bank regulatory issues.

**Ma Kai**, Chairman of the State Development Reform Commission, and the ideological arbiter of all economic policies—to ensure they can be defended in terms of a “socialist market economy.”



*Zhou Xiaochuan, central bank governor, handles critical bank regulatory issues.*



## People's Liberation Army: Still Aggressive Capitalists

All branches are big players in the economy, although not as big as previously, because they once directly ran many manufacturing and agricultural projects to help finance the military. Officially the military has divested, under duress and direct orders of the Central Committee. Now a lot of “retired” generals and their children run the companies—crony capitalism at its most refined—often in joint ventures with local Communist Party officials.

## China's Wise Men

Various national and sub-national agencies do their own data collection and analysis, with research organizations linked to them that do contract research. University institutes and scholars also do contract research. China is evolving so that individual scholars are now as important as institutions. Jiang and Hu now regularly hold private briefings with just one or two scholars, for example. In foreign affairs, the most important research organizations are:

The **Chinese Institute of Contemporary International Relations**, **Lu Zhongwei**, president (said to be linked to the Ministry of State Security).

The **Academy of Social Sciences**, Beijing, has institutes that run the gamut of domestic and external issues. How much influence any one of them has on decision-making is open to question, but in general the Academy enjoys significant power.

The **Chinese Institute of International Studies**, Beijing, is run by the Foreign Ministry.

The **Shanghai Institute of International Studies**, director **Yu Xintian**, and vice president and senior fellow **Yang Jiemian**, brother of Ambassador to U.S. **Yang Jiechi**.

The **Institute of American Studies**. Director **Wang Jisi** is a major "America handler," always giving guest lectures in the United States. Very, very plugged-in with senior leadership.

The **Academy of Military Sciences** in Beijing, a big People's Liberation Army/Defense Ministry operation, which includes the **National Defense University**, especially the **Institute of Strategic Studies**, **Yang Yi**, director.



**Wang Jisi:**  
*Beijing's major  
"America handler."*

## Wise Men on the Taiwan Question

The key policymakers, aside from Jiang Zemin:

Members of the **Taiwan Affairs Leading Small Group**. **Hu Jintao** became the TALSG head and **Jia Qinglin**, chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, became deputy head.

(Membership turned over last year. To show the level of importance, previous members were: **Tang Jiaxuan**, a state councilor and former foreign minister; **Wang Gang**, director of the CCP central committee's general office; **Liu Yandong**, head of the CCP's united front work department; **Wang Daohan**, head of ARATS; **Chen Yunlin**, head of the Taiwan Affairs Office; **Xu Yongyue**, Minister of State Security; and **Xiong Guangkai**, deputy chief of staff for intelligence.)

A number of government and military agencies do U.S. and Taiwan analysis. In addition, there are several important research organizations. In Beijing, there is the **Taiwan Studies Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences**, **Yu Keli**, director.

The Chinese leadership is split between Beijing-types and the "Shanghai Clique" of Jiang Zemin. There are several outfits in Shanghai, important by definition, that provide an alternative stream of analysis. These include most prominently:

The **Shanghai Institute of East Asian Studies**, **Zhang Nianchi**, director, which has connections with the **Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences**, and **Shanghai Institute of Taiwan Studies**, **Yan Anlin**, director, which is under the **Shanghai Municipal Government's Taiwan Affairs Office**.

Finally, the **Institute of Taiwan Studies at Xiamen University**, **Liu Guoshen**, director, is well-respected.



*As Chairman of the  
Chinese People's  
Political Consultative  
Conference, Jia Qinglin  
is influential on  
Taiwan matters.*

# Washington's Top China-Watchers

## Most Influential Think Tankers

Officials past and future:

**Alan Romberg**, Stimson Center, former State Department spokesman

**Bates Gill**, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Freeman Chair

**Richard Bush**, Brookings Institution, and former President, American Institute on Taiwan

**Nick Lardy**, Institute for International Economics, everyone's guru

**Robert Sutter**, Georgetown University, former National intelligence officer for East Asia/CIA

**John Tkacik**, Heritage Foundation, ex-State Department, leading Taiwan lobby

**Nancy Bernkopf Tucker**, Georgetown University

**Bonnie Glaser**, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Defense Department consultant

**David "Mike" Lampton**, The Nixon Center

**Rear Adm. Eric McVadon (Ret.)**, Center for Naval Analyses

**Michael Swaine**, Carnegie Endowment

**Kurt Campbell**, Center for Strategic and International Studies, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense under Clinton

**Derek Mitchell**, Center for Strategic and International Studies

**Minxin Pei**, scholar, Carnegie Endowment

**Jim Steinberg**, Brookings Institution, former Deputy National Security Adviser to President Clinton

**Harry Harding**, George Washington University

**David Shambaugh**, George Washington University, wrote the book on People's Liberation Army arms

**Larry Wortzel**, Heritage Foundation, former military attaché, Beijing

**Jim Lilley**, American Enterprise Institute, former CIA, former Ambassador to Taiwan, etc.

**Andy Nathan**, Columbia University



*IIE's Nick Lardy, everyone's guru.*

## Pro-Taiwan Lobby

**John Tkacik**, Heritage Foundation

**Harvey Feldman**, Heritage Foundation, former U.N. Ambassador

**Mike Fonte**, Democratic People's Party D.C. representative

**Coen Blaauw**, Formosan Association for Public Affairs

**Therese Shaheen**, former President, American Institute in Taiwan

**Steve Solarz**, former chair, House Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee

**Bob Dole**, television pitchman, former Senator

**Bill Kristol**, editor of *The Weekly Standard*

**Greg Mastel**, trade attorney, former Senate Finance/Baucus staffer

**Doral Cooper**

**U.S.-Taiwan Business Council**

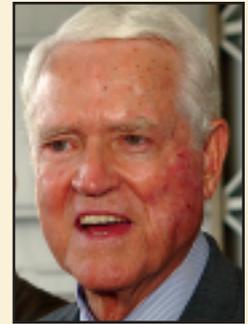
## Capitol Hill: Members

### BOMB THROWERS:

- Rep. Duncan Hunter (R-CA)**, Chairman, House Armed Services Committee
- Rep. Tom DeLay (R-TX)**, House Majority Leader
- Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA)**, House International Relations Committee
- Rep. Tom Lantos (D-CA)**, Ranking Member, House International Relations Committee
- Rep. Dan Burton (R-IN)**, House International Relations Committee
- Rep. Frank Wolf (R-VA)**, House Appropriations Committee
- Rep. Sherrod Brown (D-OH)**, House International Relations Committee
- Rep. Sandy Levin (D-MI)**, House Ways & Means Committee
- Sen. Jon Kyl (R-AZ)**, Chairman, Republican Policy Committee
- Sen. Fritz Hollings (D-SC)**, Ranking Member, Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee

### BUILDERS/CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICS:

- Sen. Diane Feinstein (D-CA)**, Senate Appropriations Committee
- Sen. Max Baucus (D-MT)**, Ranking Member, Senate Finance Committee
- Sen. Charles Grassley (R-IA)**, Chairman, Senate Finance Committee
- Sen. Richard Lugar (R-IN)**, Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
- Sen. Joe Biden (D-DE)**, Ranking Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
- Rep. Jim Leach (R-IA)**, House International Relations Committee
- Sen. Jay Rockefeller (D-WV)**, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
- Sen. Ted Stevens (R-AK)**, Chair, Senate Appropriations Committee
- Sen. Bill Frist (R-TN)**, Majority Leader



**Senator Fritz Hollings:**  
*One of the leading bomb throwers on China, retiring, will leave significant vacuum.*

## Capitol Hill: Key Staff

- Keith Luse**, Senator Lugar/Foreign Relations
- Frank Jannuzi**, Senator Biden/Foreign Relations
- Evelyn Farkas**, Senate Armed Services/Democrats
- Erin Conaton**, House Armed Services/Republicans
- Dennis Halpin**, House International Relations/Republicans
- Jamie McCormick**, House International Relations/Republicans
- Tim Punke**, Chief International Trade Counsel, Senator Baucus/Finance-Democrats
- Everett Eissenstat**, Chief International Trade Counsel, Senator Grassley/Finance-Republicans

- Nancy Stetson**, chief foreign policy aide to Senator Kerry
- Derek Chollet**, Senator Edwards
- Peter Yeo**, Representative Lantos, House International Relations/Democrats
- Tim Reif**, Chief Trade Counsel, Ways & Means/Democrats
- Angela Ellard**, Staff Director, House Ways & Means Trade Subcommittee/Republicans
- Kerry Dumbaugh**, Congressional Research Service
- Shirley Kan**, Congressional Research Service

**If John Kerry is elected, Nancy Stetson will be an important backroom player.**

## Pro-China Lobby

**U.S.-China Business Council, Bob Kapp**, President.

**Brent Scowcroft**, Ford, Reagan, and Bush I Administrations, National Security Council.

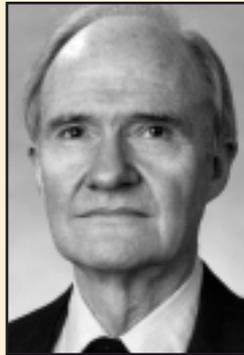
**Jim Sasser**, former Senator, Clinton's Ambassador to Beijing.

**Joe Prueher**, former CINCPAC, Clinton's Ambassador to Beijing following Sasser.

**Kevin Nealer**, Scowcroft Associates, former Senate staff.

**Sandy Berger**, Clinton's National Security Advisor.

**Jeff Bader**, Berger's Stonebridge International, ex-State Department, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, etc.



*Bush I's **Brent Scowcroft**, considered a power in pro-China lobby.*

## Resident Adults

In a crunch, everyone always listens to them:

**Carla Hills**, former U.S. Trade Representative

**Richard Bush**, Brookings Institution

**Alan Romberg**, Stimson Center

**Jim Lilley**, American Enterprise Institute

**Bob Sutter**, Georgetown University

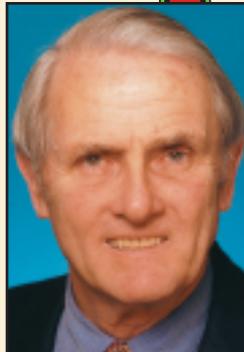
**Nick Lardy**, Institute for International Economics

**Bill Reinsch**, President, National Foreign Trade Council, former Clinton Administration Undersecretary of Commerce

**Stapleton Roy**, Kissinger Associates, former Ambassador to China

**Poppa**, aka **George H.W. Bush**, former President of the United States

***James Lilley**, AEI, considered an important expert.*



## Non-Government Bomb Throwers

**Frank Vargo**, National Association of Manufacturers

**Bill Kristol**, *The Weekly Standard*

**Bill Gertz**, *The Washington Times*

**Alan Tonelson**, columnist, U.S. Business and Industry Council

**Bill Triplett**, former Jesse Helms staffer

**U.S.-China Economic & Security Review Commission**

## Key Business Players

Companies, CEOs, and/or Washington reps who seriously play the China Game:

**Boeing: Tom Pickering**, government relations

**UPS: CEO Michael Eskew**, chairs U.S.-China Business Council

**Motorola**

**AIG: especially Chairman and CEO Hank Greenberg**

**New York Life**

**Microsoft**

**Caterpillar**

**Citibank**

**Intel: James Jarrett**, VP/Worldwide Government Affairs

**Alticor** (includes Amway): Chairman **Steve Van Andel**

**Daimler/Chrysler**

**Time Warner**

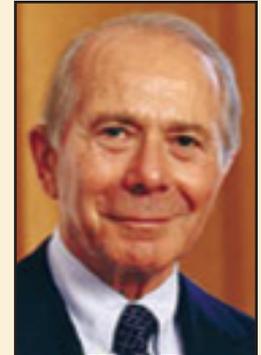
**Motion Picture Association of America**

**National Association of Manufacturers**

**U.S. Chamber of Commerce**

**Semiconductor Industry Association**

**National Foreign Trade Council**



*AIG top honcho **Hank Greenberg**, considered a serious player.*

## Who's Who in the Administration

Some better, some worse...

**Dubya** himself, personally set tone for China strategic partnership, criticisms of Taiwan.

**Richard Cheney**, Vice President.

**Lewis "Scooter" Libby**, Cheney's enforcer.

**Steve Yates**, Cheney's China expert.

**Karl Rove**, White House political director.

**Condi Rice**, National Security Advisor, just took first solo visit to China.

**Mike Green**, National Security Council Asia chief.

**Ford Hart**, China pro on loan to NSC from State Department.

**Faryar Shirzad**, NEC/NSC, rising star, ex-Senate Finance staff.

•••

**Colin Powell**, Secretary of State.

**Rich Armitage**, Deputy Secretary of State and author of Asia strategy blueprint.

**Jim Kelly**, Asst. Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

**Don Keyser**, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, the old China professional.

**Randy Schriver**, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, the rising star, Armitage protégé.

**Alan Larson**, Undersecretary of State for Economic, Business, and Agricultural Affairs.

•••

**Robert Zoellick**, U.S. Trade Representative.

**Charles Freeman**, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for China Affairs.

**Josette Shiner**, Deputy U.S. Trade Representative.

•••

**Don Evans**, Secretary of Commerce.

**Grant Aldonas**, Undersecretary of Commerce for International Trade, ex-Senate Finance.

**Hank Levine**, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Asia and the Pacific, International Trade Administration, Department of Commerce.

**Michelle O'Neill**, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Information Technology Industries.

•••

**Don Rumsfeld**, Secretary of Defense.

**Peter Rodman**, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs.

**Richard Lawless**, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Asian and Pacific Affairs.

**Mike Pillsbury**, special advisor to Rumsfeld.



**Faryar Shirzad**,  
*NEC/NSC rising star.*

## Most Influential Press China Watchers

**Bruce Stokes**, *National Journal*

**Joe Kahn**, *New York Times* Beijing bureau chief

**Dan Sneider**, *San Jose Mercury-News* syndicated columnist

**Chris Nelson**, *The Nelson Report*

**Dave Sanger**, *New York Times*

**Susan Lawrence**, *Far Eastern Economic Review*

**Charlie Snyder**, *Taipei Times*

**Neil King**, *Wall Street Journal*

**Bill Kristol**, *The Weekly Standard*

**Peter Brookes**, Heritage Foundation, columnist, *New York Post*

**Ted Alden**, *Financial Times*

**THE INTERNATIONAL  
ECONOMY**

**THE MAGAZINE OF  
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY**

2099 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

Suite 950

Washington, D.C. 20006

Phone: 202-861-0791

Fax: 202-861-0790

[www.international-economy.com](http://www.international-economy.com)