

## THE REVOLVING DOOR

*“Think tanks provide a steady stream of experts to serve in incoming administrations and on congressional staffs,” a function that is “critical in the American political system,” says State Department Director of Policy and Planning Richard Haass. In addition, he says, “think tanks provide departing officials with institutional settings in which they can share insights gleaned from government service” and “remain engaged in pressing foreign policy debates.”*

*Following is a list of some prominent Americans who have served both in government and in think tanks:*

**James Baker:** Honorary Chairman of the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy at Rice University in Texas

*Formerly:* Secretary of State for the first Bush Administration (1989-1992), Secretary of the Treasury and Chairman of the President’s Economic Policy Council (1985-1988).

**C. Fred Bergsten:** Director of the Institute for International Economics

*Formerly:* Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1981), Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs (1977-1981), Senior Fellow at The Brookings Institution (1972-1976), Senior Director for International Economic Affairs at the National Security Council (1969-1971), the Council on Foreign Relations (1967-1968).

**John Bolton:** Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security

*Formerly :* Vice President of the American Enterprise Institute, and Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs (1989-1993).

**Zbigniew Brzezinski:** Counselor for the Center for Strategic and International Studies

*Formerly :* President Carter’s National Security Adviser (1977-1981).

**Paula Dobriansky:** Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs

*Formerly :* Senior Vice President and Director of the Council on Foreign Relations Washington office, Associate Director of Policy and Programs at the U.S. Information Agency, Director of European and Soviet Affairs at the National Security Council.

**Lee Feinstein:** Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy and International Law at the Council on Foreign Relations

*Formerly :* Principal Deputy Director of the State Department Policy Planning Staff in the Clinton Administration.

**Leslie Gelb:** President of the Council on Foreign Relations

*Formerly :* Senior Associate of the Carnegie Endowment (1980-1981), Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs (1977-1979), Senior Fellow at Brookings (1969-1973), Director of Policy and Planning at the State Department (1967-1969).

**Morton H. Halperin:** Senior Fellow and Director of U.S. Foreign Policy and of the Center for Democracy and Free Markets at the Council on Foreign Relations

*Formerly :* Director of the State Department’s Policy Planning Staff (1998-2001), Senior Vice President of the Century Foundation/Twentieth Century Fund (1997-1998), Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Democracy at the National Security Council (1994-1996), Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment (1992-1994), Senior Fellow at Brookings (1969-1973), Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (1967-1969).

**Richard Holbrooke:** Counselor at the Council on Foreign Relations

*Formerly* : Assistant Secretary of State for Europe (1994-1996), President Clinton's Special Envoy to Bosnia and Kosovo, President Carter's Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (1977-1981), Managing Editor of the Carnegie Endowment's quarterly journal "Foreign Policy" (1972-1976).

**Kim Holmes:** Assistant Secretary of State-designate for International Organization Affairs

*Formerly* : Vice President of The Heritage Foundation, Senior Fellow at the Fletcher School's Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis.

**Martin Indyk:** Director of the Brookings Institution's Saban Center for Middle East Policy

*Formerly* : Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs (1997-2000).

**James Kelly:** Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

*Formerly* : President of the Pacific Forum of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Honolulu, President Reagan's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for Asian Affairs at the National Security Council (1986-1989), Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (East Asia and Pacific).

**Zalmay Khalilzad:** President Bush's Special Envoy on Afghanistan and Special Assistant for Southwest Asia, Near East and North Africa for the National Security Council

*Formerly* : Director of the Strategy, Doctrine and Force Structure program for RAND's Project Air Force (1993-1999); Assistant Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and Planning (1991-1992), Senior Political Scientist at RAND (1991-1992), Special Advisor to the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs on the Iran-Iraq war and the Soviet war in Afghanistan (1985-1989).

**Henry Kissinger:** Secretary of State (1973-1977) and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs in the Nixon and Ford Administrations (1969-1975), Study Director for the Council on Foreign Relations' Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy program (1955-1956).

**Lawrence Korb:** Senior Fellow and Director of National Security Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations

*Formerly* : Assistant Secretary of Defense (1981-1985).

**Jessica Matthews:** President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

*Formerly* : Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and Director of the CFR's Washington program (1993-1997), Deputy Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs (1993), founding Vice President and Director of Research at the World Resources Institute (1982-1993), and Director of the Office of Global Issues for the National Security Council (1977-1979).

**Richard Perle:** Resident Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, Chairman of the Defense Department's Defense Policy Board

*Formerly* : Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy (1981-1987).

**Peter Rodman:** Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

*Formerly* : Director of National Security Programs at the Nixon Center (1995-2001), Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and National Security Council Counselor (1987-1990), Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff (1984-1986).

**George Shultz:** Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow at the Hoover Institution

*Formerly* : Secretary of State in the Reagan Administration (1982-1989), Chairman of President Reagan's Economic Policy Advisory Board (1981-1982), Secretary of the Treasury (1972-1974), Nixon Administration's Secretary of Labor (1969-1970).

**Richard Solomon:** President of the U.S. Institute of Peace

*Formerly* : Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (1989-1992); Director of Policy and Planning at the State Department (1986-1989); senior staffer on the National Security Council (1971-1976).

**Helmut Sonnenfeldt:** Director of the Atlantic Council of the United States and guest scholar at Brookings

*Formerly* : Counselor at the State Department (1974-1977), Nixon Administration's National Security Council senior staffer (1969-1974).

**Gene Sperling:** Senior Fellow for Economic Policy and Director of the Center on Universal Education at the Council on Foreign Relations

*Formerly* : President Clinton's National Economic Adviser and head of the National Economic Council (1996-2000)

**James Steinberg:** Vice President and Director of Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution

*Formerly* : Clinton Administration Deputy National Security Adviser (1996-2000), Director of Policy and Planning at the State Department (1994-1996), a senior analyst at RAND (1989-1993).

**Strobe Talbott:** President of The Brookings Institution

*Formerly* : Deputy Secretary of State in the Clinton Administration (1994-2001), Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs on the National Security Council (1993-1995). ©