# **ASHTON B. CARTER**

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# **CURRENT POSITION**

Chair, International & Global Affairs faculty John F. Kennedy School of Government Harvard University

Ford Foundation Professor of Science and International Affairs John F. Kennedy School of Government Harvard University

Co-Director (with William J. Perry) Preventive Defense Project Harvard & Stanford Universities

# **PREVIOUS POSITIONS**

1998 - 2000	Senior Advisor to the North Korea Policy Review U.S. Department of State
1993 - 1996	Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy U.S. Department of Defense
1990 - 1993	Director, Center for Science and International Affairs Harvard University
1988 - 1990	Professor, and Associate Director, Center for Science and International Affairs Harvard University
1986 - 1988	Associate Professor Harvard University
1984 - 1986	Assistant Professor Harvard University
1982 - 1984	Research Fellow, Center for International Studies Massachusetts Institute of Technology
1981 - 1982	Program Analysis and Evaluation, Office of the Secretary of Defense The Pentagon

#### ASHTON B. CARTER

#### **PREVIOUS POSITIONS** (continued)

1980 - 1981	International Security and Commerce Program Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress
1979 - 1980	Research Associate, Theoretical Physics Rockefeller University, New York
1977 - 1979	Physics Instructor ("Tutor" in the Oxford system) Oxford University – Quantum Mechanics and Relativity
1976	Experimental Research Associate, Brookhaven National Laboratory
1975	Experimental Research Associate, Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory

# **EDUCATION**

1976 - 1979	Oxford University
	Ph.D., Theoretical Physics
	Rhodes Scholar
	Senior Scholar, St. John's College
	Best Participant Prize, NATO Center for Subnuclear Physics

1972 - 1976 Yale University
B.A., summa cum laude
Honors in Medieval History
Honors in Physics
Phi Beta Kappa
Andrew D. White Essay Prize in European History

# HONORS

Defense Intelligence Medal, from the Defense Intelligence Agency, April 1998.

*Distinguished Public Service Medal*, Department of Defense (awarded twice) The highest award of the Department of Defense, "For exceptionally distinguished service to the Nation as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy," July 1994 and December 1995.

*Forum Award,* American Physical Society, "For his clear and lucid exposition of the physics issues in the nuclear arms race and his unique ability to combine his physics background and good judgment to clarify the technical parameters of these important public policy issues," 1988.

Ten Outstanding Young Americans, United States Jaycees, 1987.

See above under "Education"

## **MEMBERSHIPS AND AFFILIATIONS**

Trustee, The MITRE Corporation, 2006-present
MIT Lincoln Laboratories Advisory Board, 1998-present
National Missile Defense White Team, 1998-present
Draper Laboratory Corporation, 2000-present
Senior Partner, Global Technology Partners, LLC, 1998-present
Chair, National Security Strategy and Policies Expert Working Group, Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States, 2008-present
Consultant to Goldman Sachs on international affairs and technology matters, 1997-present
Aspen Strategy Group, 1997-present
Council on Foreign Relations , 1989-present
Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1989-present
American Physical Society, 1976-present
International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1997-present
National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, 1998-present

# FORMER MEMBERSHIPS

Co-Chair, Review Panel on Future Directions for DTRA (Defense Threat Reduction Agency) Missions and Capabilities To Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction, 2007-2008 Senior Associate, International Security Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2003-2008 National Security Advisory Group to Senate Democratic Leadership, U.S. Congress, 2003-2008 International Security Advisory Board to the Secretary of State, 2006-2008 Miretek Systems, Inc. Board of Trustees, 1997-2007 Markle Foundation Task Force on National Security in the Information Age, 2002-2006 National Academy of Sciences Committee on Science and Technology for Countering Terrorism, 2001-2003 Threat Reduction Advisory Committee, U.S. Department of Defense, 1998-2002 Defense Science Board, 1991-93, 1997-2001 Defense Policy Board, U.S. Department of Defense, 1997-2001 National Academy of Sciences, Committee on International Security and Arms Control, 1990-1993 Board of Trustees, The MITRE Corporation, 1989-93 American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Committee on International Security Studies, 1987-1992 American Association for the Advancement of Science, Committee on Science, Arms Control, and National Security, 1984-1991 White House, President's Council of Advisers on Science and Technology, Panel on National Security, 1990-91 Carnegie Commission on Science, Technology, and Government, Advisory Council, 1990-93 Chairman of the Editorial Board, International Security, 1988-93 Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, Advisory Panel on START Verification Technologies, 1991-92 Board of Trustees, German Marshall Fund, 1992-93 Sandia National Laboratory, President's Advisory Council, 1992-93 Research Affiliate, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1984-93

# FORMER MEMEBERSHIPS (continued)

Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution, 1982-93 Adjunct Professor of Engineering and Public Policy, Carnegie-Mellon University, 1987-93 Advisory Panel on Military Uses of Space, Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress, 1985-86 Steering Group on Space Weapons, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1985-86 Core Study Group on the Effects of Military Efforts in Space, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, 1985-86 Consultant, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, 1986-1988 Selection Committee, MacArthur Foundation Fellowships in International Security, 1986-88 Selection Committee, MacArthur Foundation Grants for Research and Writing in International Security, 1987-88 Kistiakowsky Scholar, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1987-88 Commission on The Presidency and Science Advising, 1988 Council on Foreign Relations Study Group on the Premises of the NATO Alliance, 1989 Council on Foreign Relations Study Group on Business and Government in an Interdependent World, 1989 Joint Chiefs of Staff Advisory Group on the Future of U.S.-Soviet Military Relations, 1988-89 Congressional Office of Technology Assessment Advisory Panel on START Verification Technologies, 1989-90 Defense Science Board Task Force on New Scenarios and Intelligence, 1990 National Academy of Sciences Panel on National Security Export Controls, 1990-91 National Research Council Naval Studies Advisory Committee on the Future of the Aircraft Carrier, 1990-91

# **PUBLICATIONS**

# BOOKS

*Keeping the Edge: Managing Defense for the Future.* Editor (with John P. White) and author of three chapters. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2001.

[translated into Chinese, Military History and Translation Office, MND, ROC, 2002]

*Preventive Defense: A New Security Strategy for America.* With William J. Perry. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1999.

[translated into Russian by arrangement with Brookings Institution Press, 2003] [translated into Arabic by arrangement with Brookings Institution Press, February/March 2002]

[translated into Chinese, CIP, 2000] [translated into Korean, Bestun Korea Agency, 2000]

Cooperative Denuclearization: From Pledges to Deeds. Editor with Graham Allison, Steven E. Miller, and Philip Zelikow. Cambridge, MA: Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, 1993.

A New Concept of Cooperative Security. With John D. Steinbruner and William J. Perry. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1992.

- Beyond Spinoff: Military and Commercial Technologies in a Changing World. With John Alic, Lewis Branscomb, Harvey Brooks and Gerald Epstein. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press, 1992.
- Soviet Nuclear Fission: Control of the Nuclear Arsenal in a Disintegrating Soviet Union. With Kurt Campbell, Steven Miller and Charles Zraket. Cambridge, MA: Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, November 1991.
- Ashton B. Carter on Arms Control. Kenneth W. Thompson, ed. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, January 1990.
- *Managing Nuclear Operations*. Editor (with John Steinbruner and Charles A. Zraket) and author of three chapters. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1987.
- Directed Energy Missile Defense in Space. Washington, DC: Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress, 1984.
- *Ballistic Missile Defense*. Editor (with David N. Schwartz) and author of two chapters. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1984.
- MX Missile Basing (with Classified Annex). Author of chapters on "Launch Under Attack"; "Ballistic Missile Defense"; "Air Mobile Basing"; "Land Mobile Basing"; and (with Theodore Postol)
   "Command, Control, and Communications". Washington, DC: Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress, 1981.

#### ARTICLES

- "Defense Strategy and Budget in the Post-Bush Era." The Instruments and Institutions of American Purpose, Kurt M. Campbell and Jonathan Price, eds. Washington, DC: The Aspen Institute, 2009 (forthcoming).
- "Defense Management Challenges for the Next American President." Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs 53, no. 1 Winter 2009 (forthcoming).
- "Defense Management Challenges in the Post-Bush Era." In *William B. Ruger Chair of National* Security Economics Papers Number 3: Defense Strategy and Forces: Setting Future Directions, ed. Richmond M. Lloyd, William B. Ruger Chair of National Security. Newport, RI: Naval War College, 2008.
- Meeting the Challenge: U.S. Policy Toward Iranian Nuclear Development. With Amb. Daniel Coats, Sen. Charles Robb, Adm. (Ret.) Gregory Johnson, Gen. (Ret.) Ronald Keys, Edward Morse, Steve Rademaker, Amb. Dennis Ross, Henry Sokolski, Gen. (Ret.) Chuck Wald, and Kenneth Weinstein. U.S. Policy Toward Iranian Nuclear Development. 19 September 2008.
- "Strengthening our Strategy Against WMD." With Robert G. Joseph. *The Boston Globe*, 14 August 2008, A-15.

- Trip Report: Strategic Security Issues Delegation to Taiwan and the People's Reupublic of China June 22-July 1, 2008. With William J. Perry, et al. 17 July 2008.
- Ensuring Security in an Unpredictable World: Project on National Security Reform Preliminary Findings. With David M. Abshire, Norman R. Augustine, Robert D. Blackwill, Dennis C. Blair, Charles G. Boyd, Daniel W. Christman, Wesley K. Clark, Ruth A. David, Michèle Flournoy, Leon Fuerth, Newt Gingrich, James R. Locher III, James M. Loy, Jessica Tuchman Mathews, John McLaughlin, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Carlos Pascual, Thomas R. Pickering, Brent Scowcroft, Jeffrey H. Smith, James B. Steinberg, and Ken Weinstein. July 2008.
- "Military Elements in a Strategy to Deal with Iran's Nuclear Program." Center for a New American Security Working Papers, June 2008.
- Review Panel on Future Directions for Defense Threat Reduction Agency Missions and Capabilities to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction. With Robert G. Joseph, et al. March 2008.
- "China's Rise in American Military Strategy." With William J. Perry. In *China's March on the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Report of the Aspen Strategy Group*, Kurt M. Campbell and Willow Darsie, eds. Washington, DC: The Aspen Institute, 2007, 107-117.
- "America's Strategic Response to China's Military Modernization." With Jennifer C. Bulkeley. *Harvard Asia-Pacific Review* 9: 1 (Winter 2007).
- Reducing Nuclear Threats and Preventing Nuclear Terrorism. With William J. Perry (chair), Graham Allison, Joseph Cirincione, Thomas E. Donilon, Robert Einhorn, Michele A. Flournoy, Leon Fuerth, Robert Gallucci, Ernest Moniz, George Perkovich, Wendy R. Sherman (members). National Security Advisory Group, 19 October 2007.
- Report on Discouraging a Cascade of Nuclear Weapons States. With Gordon Oehler, Michael R. Anastasio, Robert Monroe, Keith B. Payne, Robert Pfaltzgraff, William Schneider, and William Van Cleave, International Security Advisory Board, 19 October 2007.
- "The Day After: Action Following a Nuclear Blast in a U.S. City." With Michael M. May and William J. Perry. *The Washington Quarterly* no. 30: 4 (Autumn 2007), 19-32.
- "After the Bomb." With William J. Perry and Michael M. May. *The New York Times*, 12 June 2007, A-24.
- "The Day After: Action in the 24 Hours Following a Nuclear Blast in an American City." With Michael M. May and William J. Perry. Report based on April 19, 2007 workshop hosted by the Preventive Defense Project, Harvard and Stanford Universities, 31 May 2007.

"China on the March." With William J. Perry. The National Interest, no. 88 (March-April 2007), 16-22.

"How Washington Learned to Stop Worrying and Love India's Bomb." *Foreign Affairs* (foreignaffairs.org), 10 January 2007.

"Plan B for Iran: What if Nuclear Diplomacy Fails?" With William J. Perry. Report based on May 22, 2006 workshop hosted by the Preventive Defense Project, Harvard and Stanford Universities, 10 September 2006.

"America's New Strategic Partner?" Foreign Affairs 85, no. 4 (July-August 2006), 33-44.

- "The Case for a Preemptive Strike on North Korea's Missiles." With William J. Perry. *TIME* (*time.com*), 8 July 2006.
- "If Necessary, Strike and Destroy." With William J. Perry. The Washington Post, 22 June 2006, A-29.
- "Toolbox: Containing the Nuclear Red Zone Threat." With Stephen A. LaMontagne. *The American Interest* 1, no. 3 (Spring 2006), 28-40.
- "A Fuel-Cycle Fix." With Stephen A. LaMontagne. *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (January-February 2006), 24-25.
- "The U.S. Military: Under Strain and at Risk." With William J. Perry (chair), Madeleine K. Albright, Graham T. Allison, Samuel R. Berger, Gen. Wesley K. Clark, Thomas E. Donilon, Michele A. Flournoy, John D. Podesta, Susan E. Rice, Gen. John M. Shalikashvili, Wendy R. Sherman, Elizabeth D. Sherwood-Randall and James B. Steinberg (members). National Security Advisory Group, January 2006.
- "The Essential Features of a Focused Strategy to Deal with the Proliferation Challenge: What Has Been Done and What Is to Be Done?" In *The Challenge of Proliferation: A Report of the Aspen Strategy Group*, Kurt M. Campbell, ed. Washington, DC: The Aspen Institute, 2005, 141-152.
- "Origins of the Nunn-Lugar Program." Presentation to the Presidential Conference on William Jefferson Clinton, Hofstra University. 11 November 2005.
- "New Approaches for Addressing the Threat of WMD Proliferation." Presentation to conference on Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Tufts University, Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy. 21 October 2005.
- "Interim Report on Nuclear Threat Reduction and the Fuel Cycle." Memo to Senator Richard G. Lugar, Chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. With Ronald Lehman II (co-chair, with Ashton Carter), Robert Einhorn, Alan A. Foley, Arnold Kanter, David Kay, Susan Koch, Lawrence Scheinman, and William Schneider, Jr (members). Policy Advisory Group on Nonproliferation, 1 July 2005.
- "Worst Weapons in Worst Hands: U.S. Inaction on the Nuclear Terror Threat since 9/11, and a Path of Action." With William J. Perry (chair), Madeleine K. Albright, Graham T. Allison, Samuel R. Berger, Gen. Wesley K. Clark, Thomas E. Donilon, Michele A. Flournoy, John D. Podesta, Susan E. Rice, Gen. John M. Shalikashvili, Wendy R. Sherman, Elizabeth D. Sherwood-Randall and James B. Steinberg (members). National Security Advisory Group, July 2005.

- "Worst People and Worst Weapons." Statement before The 9/11 Public Discourse Project's Hearings on "The 9/11 Commission Report: The Unfinished Agenda." 27 June 2005.
- "A Failure of Policy, Not Spying." The Washington Post, 5 April 2005, A-23.
- "Conversations with *The Forum:* Perspectives on Preemption and National Security." Interview with Dr. Ashton Carter. *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 29, no. 1 (Winter 2005), 9-12.
- "The Essential Features of a Focused Strategy to Deal with the Proliferation Challenge: What Has Been Done and What Is to Be Done?" In *The Challenge of Proliferation: A Report of the Aspen Strategy Group*, Kurt M. Campbell, ed. Washington, DC: The Aspen Institute, 2005, 141-152.
- "Overhauling Counterproliferation Intelligence." Statement before The Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction (The "Robb-Silberman" Commission). 4 October 2004.
- "How to Counter WMD." Foreign Affairs 83, no. 5 (September-October 2004), 72-85.
- "Overhauling Counterproliferation." *Technology in Society: An International Journal Special Issue: Technology and Science: Entering the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, George Bugliarello and A. George Schillinger, eds., 26, nos. 2/3 (April/August 2004), 257-269.
- "The Architecture of Government in the Face of Terrorism." *Countering Terrorism: Dimensions of Preparedness*, Arnold M. Howitt and Robyn L. Pangi, eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003, 17-36.
- "A Dedicated Organization in Congress." With Gerald L. Epstein. *Science and Technology Advice for Congress*, M. Granger Morgan and Jon M. Peha, eds. Washington, DC: RFF Press, 2003, 157-163.
- "Good Nukes, Bad Nukes." With Arnold Kanter, William J. Perry, and Brent Scowcroft. *The New York Times*, 22 December 2003, A-31.
- "Extremism, Economic Uncertainty and the Investment Implications of U.S. National Security Policy," *Greenwich Roundtable Quarterly.* Standard and Poors. 16 October 2003.
- "The Korean Nuclear Crisis: Preventing the Truly Dangerous Spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction." *Harvard Magazine*, September-October 2003, 38-41.
- "An American Security Policy: Challenge, Opportunity, Commitment." With William J. Perry (chair), Madeleine K. Albright, Samuel R. Berger, Louis Caldera, Gen. Wesley K. Clark, Michele A. Flournoy, Alfonso E. Lenhardt, John D. Podesta, Gen. John M. Shalikashvili, and Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall (members). National Security Advisory Group, July 2003.
- "A Prescription for Peace." Review of *No More Killing Fields: Preventing Deadly Conflict* by David A. Hamburg. *Science*, 30 May 2003, 1374.

- "The Loose Nukes Crisis in North Korea." Memorandum to the Senate Democratic Leadership from the National Security Advisory Group. With William J. Perry (chair), Madeleine K. Albright, Samuel R. Berger, Louis Caldera, Wesley Clark, Michele Flournoy, Alfonso E. Lenhardt, John D. Podesta, John Shalikashvili, and Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall (members), 5 March 2003.
- "A Scary Thought: Loose Nukes in North Korea." With William J. Perry and John M. Shalikashvili. *The Wall Street Journal*, 6 February 2003, A-18.
- "The Crisis Last Time." With William J. Perry. The New York Times, 19 January 2003, 4-13.
- Making the Nation Safer: The Role of Science and Technology in Countering Terrorism. With Lewis M. Branscomb, Richard D. Klausner, et al. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2002.

"Nuclear Over North Korea: Back to the Brink." The Washington Post, 20 October 2002, B-1 & B-5.

- *Protecting America's Freedom in the Information Age*. With Zoe Baird, James L. Barkdale, Philip Zelikow et al. (The Markle Foundation Task Force on National Security in the Information Age). Markle Foundation, October 2002.
- "Throw the Net Worldwide." The Washington Post, 12 June 2002, A-31.

"Counterterror's Management Style." The New York Times, 8 June 2002, A-27.

*Trip Report: Nunn-Lugar Sites in Russia.* A memo to colleagues of the Preventive Defense Project. 3 June 2002.

"A New Era, A New Threat." With Richard Lugar. Financial Times, 23 May 2002, 15.

- "Understanding Terrorism: A Harvard Magazine Roundtable." With Eva Bellin, Philip B. Heymann, David Little, Louise M. Richardson and Jessica E. Stern. *Harvard Magazine* (January-February 2002), 36-49.
- "Beyond the Counterproliferation Initiative." With L. Celeste Johnson. In *Twenty-First Century Weapons Proliferation: Are We Ready?*, Henry Sokolski and James M. Ludes, eds. Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001.
- "National Innovation to Combat Catastrophic Terrorism." In *FirePower in the Lab: Automation in the Fight Against Infectious Diseases and Bioterrorism*, Scott P. Layne, Tony J. Beugelsdijk, and C. Kumar N. Patel, eds. Washington, DC: Joseph Henry Press, 2001, 187-191.
- "National Security Strategy." In *American Military Strategy: Memos to a President, Philip D. Zelikow, ed. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001, 33-48.*
- "The Architecture of Government in the Face of Terrorism." *International Security* 26, no. 3, (Winter 2001/02), 5-23.

- "How Ridge can secure the homeland." The Boston Globe, 4 October 2001.
- "Keeping America's Military Edge." Foreign Affairs 80, no. 1 (January-February 2001), 90-105.
- "Adapting US Defence to Future Needs." Survival 41, no. 4 (Winter 1999-2000), 101-123.
- "Defining NATO's Purpose." With William J. Perry, and Hilary D. Driscoll. In *NATO at Fifty: Perspectives on the Future of the Atlantic Alliance*, Susan Eisenhower, ed. Washington, DC: The Center for Political and Strategic Studies, 1999: 21-26.
- "Beyond the Counterproliferation Initiative to a 'Revolution in Counterproliferation Affairs." With L. Celeste Johnson. *National Security Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 3 (Summer 1999), 88-90.
- "Grand Terrorism: A New Threat to National Security." Peter L. Hays et al., eds. *Countering the Proliferation and Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998: 273-279.
- *Fulfilling the Promise: Building an Enduring Security Relationship Between Ukraine and NATO*. With Steven E. Miller and Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall. Cambridge, MA and Stanford, CA: Preventive Defense Project publications 1, no. 4 (1998).
- "Catastrophic Terrorism: Tackling the New Danger." With John M. Deutch and Philip Zelikow. *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 6 (November-December 1998), 80-94.
- Catastrophic Terrorism: Elements of a National Policy. With John M. Deutch and Philip Zelikow. Preventive Defense Project publications, vol. 1, no. 6, Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), Stanford University, October 1998.
- *The Content of U.S. Engagement with China.* With William J. Perry. Cambridge, MA and Stanford, CA: Preventive Defense Project publications 1, no. 2 (July 1998).
- "Move Closer to China, Not Far, for Security." With John M. Deutch and William J. Perry. USA Today, 11 June 1998.
- NATO After Madrid: Looking to the Future. With Coit D. Blacker, Warren Christopher, David A. Hamburg, and William J. Perry. Cambridge, MA and Stanford, CA: Preventive Defense Project publications 1, no. 1 (June 1998).

"No Nukes? Not Yet." With John M. Deutch, Wall St. Journal, 4 March 1997.

"Cooperative Security and the Former Soviet Union: Near-Term Challenges." With Steven E. Miller. In *Global Engagement: Cooperation and Security in the Twenty-first<sup>t</sup> Century*, Janne E. Nolan, ed. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1994.

- "The Imperatives for Cooperation." With Janne E. Nolan, John D. Steinbruner, Kenneth Flamm, Steven E. Miller, David Mussington, and William J. Perry. In *Global Engagement: Cooperation and Security in the Twenty-first Century*, Janne E. Nolan, ed. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1994.
- "The Role of Intelligence in Managing Proliferation." With Robert D. Blackwill. In *New Nuclear Nations: Consequences for U.S. Policy*, Robert D. Blackwill and Albert Carnesale, eds. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1993.
- "The Soviet Arsenal and the Mistaken Calculus of Caution." With Graham T. Allison and Philip D. Zelikow. *The Washington Post* 29 March 1992.
- "Reducing the Nuclear Dangers from the Former Soviet Union." *Arms Control Today* 22, no. 1 (January-February 1992).
- *Finding Common Ground: U.S. Export Controls in a Changed Global Environment.* With Roland W. Schmitt et al. Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 1991.
- "Technical Demarcations for ASAT and BMD Systems." With Donald L. Hafner and Thomas H. Johnson. In *Peaceful and Non-Peaceful Uses of Space: Problems of Definition for the Prevention of an Arms Race*, Bhupendra Jasani, ed. New York: Taylor & Francis, 1991.
- "Emerging Themes in Nuclear Arms Control." Daedalus 120, no. 1 (Winter 1991).
- "Command and Control of Nuclear Forces." In *A Primer for the Nuclear Age*, Graham T. Allison et al., eds. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, CSIA Occasional Paper, no.6 (1990).
- "New Scenarios for American Defense." Defense Science Board, report of the Scenarios and Intelligence Task Force, September 1990.
- *New Thinking and American Defense Technology*. With William J. Perry. Report of the Carnegie Commission on Science, Technology, and Government. August 1990.
- "Analyzing the Dual Use Technologies Question." Harvard University, Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program Discussion Paper 89, no. 5 (1989).
- "Permitted and Prohibited Space Testing Under the ABM Treaty." In *Technologies for Security and Arms Control: Threats and Promises*, ed. Eric H. Arnett. American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1989.
- "Telecommunications Policy and National Security." In *Changing the Rules: Technological Change, International Competition, and Regulation in Communications*, Robert Crandall and Kenneth Flamm, eds. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1989, 221-253.

"Underlying Military Objectives" and "Limitations and Allowances for Space-Based Weapons." In *Defending Deterrence: Managing the ABM Treaty Regime into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, An American Academy of Arts and Sciences Study*, Antonia Chayes and Paul Doty, eds. Pergamon-Brassey, 1989, 17-26; 132-135.

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- "A New Era in Science Advising." Science and Technology Advice to the President, Congress, and Judiciary, William T. Golden, ed. Pergamon, 1988.
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- "The Structure of Possible U.S.-Soviet Agreements Regarding Missile Defense." In *On the Defensive?: The Future of SDI*, Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and James A. Schear, eds. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988, 141-171.
- "Current and Future Military Uses of Space." In *Seeking Stability in Space: Anti-Satellite Weapons and the Evolving Space Regime*, Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and James A. Schear, eds. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987.
- "Interpreting the ABM Treaty: Agreed Limitations on Military Activities in Space." *Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs*, Gmunden am Traunsee Austria, 1-6 September 1987.
- *Crisis Stability and Nuclear War* (with others). American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Cornell University Peace Studies Program, January 1987.
- "Military Uses of Space." In *The High Technologies and Reducing the Risk of War*, H. Guyford Stever and Heinz R. Pagels, eds. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 489, (1986).
- "The Relationship of ASAT and BMD Systems." *Daedalus* 114, no. 2 (Spring 1985).
- "Command and Control of Nuclear War." Scientific American 252, no. 1 (January 1985), 32-39.
- "Satellites and Anti-Satellites: The Limits of the Possible." *International Security* 10, no. 4, (Spring 1984).
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- "The Industry of Defense,' *The Defense Industry* by Jacques S. Gansler," *Foreign Service Journal* (July-August 1982).
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- "Perturbative QCD in a Covariant Gauge." With C.H. Llewellyn Smith. *Nuclear Physics*, B162 (1980): 397-439.
- "Weak  $\Delta I = 1/2$  Rule and the Dynamical Higgs Mechanism." With Heinz Pagels. *Physical Review Letters* 43, no. 25 (December 1979): 1845-1847.
- "The Vocabulary of Social and Political Association in Twelfth Century Flanders." Senior Thesis in History at Yale University, 1976.
- "Polarization of Prompt Muons Produced at P<sub>t</sub> = 2.15 GeV/c by 400-GeV Proton Interactions." With M.J. Lauterbach, et al. *Physical Review Letters* 37, no. 21 (22 November 1976): 1436-1438.
- "Polarization of Prompt Muons." With R.K. Adair, et al. *Physical Review Letters* 36, no. 17 (26 April 1976): 1011-1013.
- "Production of Prompt Muons in the Forward Direction by 400-GeV Proton Interactions." With R.K. Adair, et al. *Physical Review Letters* 35, no. 24 (15 December 1975): 1613-1616.
- "Quarks, Charm and the Psi Particle: A review of recent development in high energy physics." *Yale Scientific*. 50 no. 1 (October 1975).
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#### **CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY**

- "Actions Now for the Day After: Findings of the Preventive Defense Day After Project." Testimony before the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, U.S. Senate. 110<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session. 15 April 2008.
- "Assessing the India Deal." Testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. 26 April 2006.
- "The India Deal: Looking at the Big Picture." Testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. 2 November 2005.
- "Implementing a Denuclearization Agreement with North Korea." Testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. 15 July 2004.

- "Seven Steps to Overhaul Counterproliferation." Testimony before the Armed Services Committee, U.S. House of Representatives. 17 March 2004.
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- "Alternatives to Letting North Korea Go Nuclear." Testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. 6 March 2003.
- "Three Crises with North Korea." Testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. 4 February 2003.
- "Arms Control and Nuclear Terrorism: A Global Coalition Against Catastrophic Terrorism." Testimony on the Moscow Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions (SORT) before the Armed Services Committee, U.S. Senate. 1 August 2002.
- "Roles for the White House and the New Department." Testimony on the Relationship between a Department of Homeland Security and the Intelligence Community before the Governmental Affairs Committee, U.S. Senate, 26 June 2002.
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