Nuclear Weapons In a New Century: Facing the Emerging Challenges

March 6 and 7, 2007
UCLA

Ronald W. Burkle Center for International Relations at UCLA
Welcome

“The most spectacular event of the past half century is one that did not occur”

The 21st century has ushered in new security challenges to the international order, while older challenges persist. Among the most pressing is the threat of nuclear weapons. In accepting the Nobel prize for economics in 2005, Tom Schelling wrote the words above, remarking on the astonishing sixty years the world has enjoyed – astonishing because, despite possessing many thousands of nuclear warheads, the world has managed to refrain from using any of them in conflict.

We hope the same will be said after sixty more years. We have convened this conference at UCLA to examine the urgent nuclear challenges the world faces in the 21st century, and to explore solutions, or at least approaches, to these challenges. The situations in North Korea and Iran dominate the news today, but other problems exist as well. Tensions in South Asia, the accelerating demand for peaceful nuclear technology, the prospect of nuclear terrorism – these and many other threats are serious and difficult.

Are our existing multilateral regimes up to the task? Or will nations increasingly choose to take unilateral steps to prevent proliferation? While not all of the issues at stake in the field of nuclear proliferation can be addressed in a day-and-a-half, the conference format allows us to discuss many of the most significant. We have invited an outstanding set of speakers to UCLA, and I encourage each of you to attend as many of the panels as possible.

On behalf of UCLA, the Burkle Center for International Relations, the UCLA International Institute, and the University of California's Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, I am very pleased to welcome you to this exciting and timely event.

Kal Raustiala
Director
The Ronald W. Burkle Center for International Relations
Conference Program

March 6 2007

4:00 PM    Welcome Address    Grand Horizon Ballroom
            Kal Raustiala
            General Wesley K. Clark (Ret.)

4:15 – 5:30 PM    Opening Keynote Address    Grand Horizon Ballroom
                   William Perry
                   Moderated by David Sanger

March 7 2007

7:30 AM    Continental Breakfast    Grand Horizon Ballroom

8:15 AM    Welcome and opening remarks    Grand Horizon Ballroom

8:30-10:00 AM    Opening Plenary Panel
                   Is Proliferation Inevitable? And Do We Need a New Regime to Manage it?
                   Thomas Schelling
                   Albert Carnesale
                   George Miller
                   Etel Solingen
                   Shirley Jackson
                   Moderator: Doyle McManus

10:00 AM    Break

10:15-11:15 AM    Regional Threats: Iran    West Coast Room
                   Scott Sagan
                   Abbas Milani
                   Nikki Keddie
                   Moderator: General Lee Butler (Ret.)

                   Reginal Threats: North Korea    South Bay Room
                   Susan Shirk
                   Robert Templer
                   Ashton Carter
                   Moderator: Lee Feinstein

                   Regional Threats: India & Pakistan    Salon EFG
                   Greg Treverton,
                   Neil Joeck
                   Brigadier General Feroz Khan (Ret.)
                   Moderator: Peter Kovach
11:15 AM  **Break**

11:30-12:30 PM  **Other Challenges:**  West Coast Room

  *Does Peaceful Use Spur Proliferation?*
  *What does the India-US deal foretell?*
  Raymond Juzaitis
  Shirley Jackson
  Neal Joeck
  Moderator: George Miller

  **Other Challenges:**  South Bay Room

  *Revamping U.S. Force Structure*
  Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall
  Ron Lehman
  Ashton Carter
  Moderator: General Lee Butler (Ret.)

  **Other Challenges:**  Salon EFG

  *Nuclear Terrorism: Risks and Realities*
  Daniel Chivers
  Michael Levi
  Brian Jenkins
  Moderator: Amy Zegart

12:30 – 2:00 PM  **Lunch Break**  UCLA Dining Halls

12:30 – 2:00 PM  **Lunch Keynote Address – Robert Joseph**  Covel Commons Terrace

*By invitation only*

2:15-3:15 PM  **Addressing the New Proliferation Threats**  West Coast Room

  *International Agreements: Can the NPT be Modernized?*
  David Koplow
  Jack Beard
  Richard Falk
  Moderator: Neil Joeck

  **Addressing the New Proliferation Threats**  South Bay Room

  *Unilateral Action: Preemption & Prevention*
  Yoram Dinstein
  Bob Powell
  Thomas Schelling
  Moderator: Mike Intriligator
2:15 – 3:15 PM  
*Addressing the New Proliferation Threats*  
*Ad Hoc Multilateralism: The Security Council, Sanctions & Interdiction*  
Daniel Drezner  
Peter Cowhey  
Lee Feinstein  
Moderator: Etel Solingen

3:15 – 3:30  
Break

3:30-5:00 PM  
*Closing Plenary Panel*  
*Challenges for the Next Administration*  
Doyle McManus  
Joseph Cirincione  
Ashton Carter  
Phillip Bobbitt  
Susan Shirk  
Joby Warrick  
Moderator: General Wesley K. Clark (Ret.)

5:00 PM  
*Closing Reception*  
Covel Commons Terrace

Special Thanks to

**University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation**  
*Innovative, rigorous research into the causes of international conflict and cooperation*  

for their support of this conference.
Conference Speakers

JACK BEARD

Jack Beard, Professorial Lecturer, teaches Public International Law, National Security Law and a seminar on U.S. Constitution and Foreign Affairs. Beard graduated from The Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University with a Bachelor of Science in Foreign Service (1980). He received his J.D. from the University of Michigan Law School (1983) and his LL.M. in International and Comparative Law from the Georgetown University Law Center (1989). From 1990 to 2004, Beard served as Associate Deputy General Counsel (International Affairs), Office of the Secretary of Defense, and was responsible for legal matters related to activities in states of the Former Soviet Union and the Near East and South Asia Region; counter-proliferation and international nuclear material control activities; and programs assisting states in the dismantlement of weapons of mass destruction. He served as the senior legal advisor on U.S. Government delegations negotiating numerous international agreements in the former Soviet Union and the Near East and South Asia Region. Prior to joining the Office of General Counsel in 1990, he held several positions in the United States Government and was also previously engaged in private law practice in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Beard was Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University Law Center (from 1993 to 2004), where he received the Charles Fahy Distinguished Adjunct Professor Award in 2001, and Professorial Lecturer in International Law and Institutions at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University (1995 to 2004), where he won the Excellence in Teaching Award in 2003. He was Visiting Professor (on detail from the Office of the Secretary of Defense) at the Department of Political Science, U.S. Naval Academy, from 2002-04. His recent publications include: “A New Urgency about Anthrax: Recent Efforts to Prevent the Proliferation of Biological Weapons in the Former Soviet Union,” American Society of International Law, 96 Proceedings 275 (2002) and “America’s New War on Terror: The Case for Self-Defense,” 25 Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy, No. 2, 559 - 590 (Spring 2002).

PHILLIP BOBBITT

One of the nation's leading constitutional theorists, Professor Phillip Bobbitt's interests include not only constitutional law but also international security and the history of strategy. He has published six books: Tragic Choices (with Calabresi) (1978), Constitutional Fate (1982), Democracy and Deterrence (1987), U.S. Nuclear Strategy (with Freedman and Treverton) (1989), Constitutional Interpretation (1991), and most recently The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace and the Course of History (Knopf, 2002).

Bobbitt is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He is also a Fellow of the Club of Madrid. He is a Life Member of the American Law Institute, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Pacific Council on International Policy, the International Institute for Strategic Studies and the Executive Council of the American Society of International Law. He is a member of the Commission on the Continuity of Government. He has served as Law Clerk to the Hon. Henry J. Friendly (2 Cir.), Associate Counsel to the President, the Counselor on International Law at the State Department, Legal Counsel to the Senate Iran-Contra Committee, and Director for Intelligence, Senior Director for Critical Infrastructure and Senior Director for Strategic Planning at the National Security Council. He is a former trustee of Princeton University; and a former member of the Oxford University Modern History Faculty and the War Studies Department of Kings College, London. He serves on the Editorial Board of Biosecurity and Bioterrorism. For the Fall term 2005, he was the James Barr Ames Visiting Professor of Law at Harvard Law
School. For the Spring term 2007, he will be the Samuel Rubin Visiting Professor of Law at Columbia Law School.

Mr. Bobbitt holds a Ph.D. from Oxford, and J.D. degree from Yale and a AB from Princeton.

GENERAL LEE BUTLER (Ret.)

General Butler is retired from careers in military service, business and a public foundation. From 1991 to 1994, General Butler served as Commander-in-Chief of the United States Strategic Command and its predecessor organization, Strategic Air Command. In these positions, he was responsible for employment of the nation’s nuclear bombers and ballistic missiles, both land and sea-based; developing nuclear weapon target plans; and advising the President on response to nuclear attack on the United States.

General Butler’s career has spanned five decades and encompassed a wide variety of command and staff assignments. He is a rated pilot, navigator and parachutist with over 3,000 hours of flying time in 15 types of aircraft. He flew the F-4C in combat in Viet Nam and later served as aide-de-camp to General George Brown, the theater air commander and subsequent Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He served three tours in the Pentagon, commanded two B-52 wings, and was the Inspector General for Strategic Air Command.

General Butler’s Washington tours included responsibilities for strategic arms control negotiations, Congressional liaison, weapons systems acquisition and direction of operational forces. From 1987 to 1991, he served as the deputy and then the chief strategist and planner for U.S. armed forces under Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William Crowe and General Colin Powell. From this position, he was promoted to his fourth star and named commander of the nation’s strategic nuclear forces.

Born in 1939 at Fort Benning, Ga., he graduated in 1961 from the U.S. Air Force Academy, received an Olmsted Scholarship in 1965 and subsequently completed a Master’s Degree in International Affairs at the University of Paris, France. He served at the Air Force Academy as an Instructor and Assistant Professor of Political Science, and in the Executive Office of the President of the United States. He has received numerous awards and medals, including the Bronze Star, Distinguished Flying Cross, Legion of Merit, and various U. S. and foreign Distinguished Service Medals.

General Butler retired from active military service in 1994 and joined Peter Kiewit Sons, Inc., a privately held Fortune 500 company based in Omaha, Nebraska. After completing the Advanced Management Program at Harvard Business School, he was named President of Kiewit Energy Group, with responsibilities for diverse projects in the United States and South Asia.

Following the divestiture of the company’s energy holdings in 1998, General Butler retired from his second career. He and his wife, Dorene, subsequently formed the Second Chance Foundation, a public non-profit entity dedicated to promoting responsible, global reduction of nuclear dangers; and the Dorene and Lee Butler Family Foundation, to support their family’s program of charitable donations.

General Butler is a Director of the George and Carol Olmsted Foundation. He was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and served on the U.S. National Academy of Science’s Committee on International Security and Arms Control, the Rumsfeld Commission, the Canberra Commission; and numerous national and civic boards.
ALBERT CARNESALE

Albert Carnesale is Chancellor Emeritus of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), and currently holds professional appointment in the School of Public Affairs and in the Henry Samuel School of Engineering and Applied Sciences. (For this academic year, 2006-2007, he is on sabbatical leave from UCLA and is at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government.)

Carnesale’s research focuses on issues in international affairs and security, with emphasis on nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and on the implications of technological change for foreign and defense policy. He chairs the National Academy of Sciences Committee on Conventional Prompt Global Strike Capability, and is a member of the U.S. Secretary of Commerce’s Deemed Export Advisory Committee and Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s Advisory Board for National Security and Higher Education.

Carnesale served as Chancellor of UCLA from July 1, 1997 to June 30, 2006. As chief executive officer, he led an institution comprising more than 38,000 students and 27,000 faculty and staff; was responsible for all aspects of the University's mission of education, research, and service; managed an enterprise with an annual budget of $3.5 billion; and served as principal spokesman for the university community.

Prior to assuming the chancellorship of UCLA in 1997, Carnesale was at Harvard University for 23 years, serving as Provost of the University from 1994 to 1997. He held the Lucius N. Littauer Professorship of Public Policy and Administration at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, where he served as Academic Dean (1981-91), and Dean (1991-95). His earlier career included positions in the private sector and in government.

Carnesale represented the United States Government in high-level negotiations on defense and energy issues (including the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, SALT I), and consulted regularly for several government agencies and companies. He holds bachelor's and master's degrees in mechanical engineering and a Ph.D. in nuclear engineering, has been awarded three honorary doctorate degrees, and is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

ASHTON CARTER

Professor Ashton Carter is chair of the International Relations, Security, and Science faculty at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government. He is also Co-Director (with former Secretary of Defense William J. Perry) of the Preventive Defense Project, a research collaboration of Harvard and Stanford Universities.

Dr. Carter served as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy during President Clinton's first term. His Pentagon responsibilities encompassed: countering weapons of mass destruction worldwide, oversight of the U.S. nuclear arsenal and missile defense programs, policy regarding the collapse of the former Soviet Union (including its nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction), control over sensitive U.S. exports, and chairmanship of NATO’s High Level Group. He directed military planning during the 1994 crisis over North Korea’s nuclear weapons program; was instrumental in removing all nuclear weapons from the territories of Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus; directed the establishment of defense and intelligence relationships with the countries of the former Soviet Union when the Cold War ended; and participated in the negotiations that led to the deployment of Russian troops as part of the Bosnia Peace Plan Implementation Force.
Dr. Carter managed the multi-billion dollar Cooperative Threat Reduction (Nunn-Lugar) program to support elimination of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons of the former Soviet Union, including the secret removal of 600 kilograms of highly enriched uranium from Kazakhstan in the operation code-named Project Sapphire. Dr. Carter also directed the Nuclear Posture Review and oversaw the Department of Defense’s (DOD’s) Counterproliferation Initiative. He directed the reform of DOD’s national security export controls. His arms control responsibilities included the agreement freezing North Korea’s nuclear weapons program, the extension of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the negotiation of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and matters involving the START II, ABM, CFE, and other arms control treaties.

Dr. Carter was twice awarded the Department of Defense Distinguished Service Medal, the highest award given by the Department. For his contributions to intelligence, he was awarded the Defense Intelligence Medal. In 1987 Carter was named one of Ten Outstanding Young Americans by the United States Jaycees. He received the American Physical Society's Forum Award for his contributions to physics and public policy.

---

**DANIEL H. CHIVERS**

Daniel H. Chivers is a Ph.D. candidate in the Nuclear Engineering Department at the University of California at Berkeley and holds dual B.S. degrees in Electrical and Nuclear Engineering, also from UC Berkeley. His dissertation research involves increasing detection sensitivity for gamma-ray imaging systems for use in homeland security and nuclear materials accountancy programs.

As an NSF IGERT Fellow, he has taken part in many projects integrating nuclear technology and national security policy, where his focus has been on the implementation of nuclear forensics as a tool for credible deterrence of state-sponsored nuclear terrorism. As an undergraduate student, he performed research in radiation detection systems at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory's Nuclear Nonproliferation, Arms Control, and International Security (NAI) directorate. His research involved studying gamma ray trajectory sensing using gas-filled time-projection chambers and investigation of neutron background characteristics.

Before entering Berkeley, Chivers served for six years in the U.S. Navy as a nuclear reactor operator and spent several years in the embedded systems industry as a software engineer. During his naval service, he served as a staff instructor at the INEL SSG prototype reactor and as reactor controls leading petty officer on the USS Arkansas. His tenure on the Arkansas culminated in 1996 with a Naval Achievement Medal for actions performed during Operation Desert Strike.

---

**JOSEPH CIRINCIONE**

Joseph Cirincione is the author of Bomb Scare: The History and Future of Nuclear Weapons (Columbia University Press, 2007) and Vice President for National Security at the Center for American Progress in Washington, D.C. He also teaches at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service.

Mr. Cirincione is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and served for eight years as director for nonproliferation at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He worked for over nine years on the professional staff of the Armed Services
Committee and the Government Operations Committee in the U.S. House of Representatives.

One of America’s best known weapons experts, he is the author of over two hundred articles on defense, and the co-author of Contain and Engage: A New Strategy for Iran; Deadly Arsenals: Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Threats and Universal Compliance: A Strategy for Nuclear Security. He has given over one hundred speeches around the world in the past two years, and appears frequently on television, radio and in print. He was featured in the award-winning documentary, Why We Fight in 2006.

GENERAL WESLEY K. CLARK (RET.)

Wesley K. Clark is one of the nation’s most distinguished retired military officers. During thirty-four years of service he fought in Vietnam, helped train, organize and equip the US Army, helped lead the negotiations which ended conflict in Bosnia, and in his final duty as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, commanded the forces of nineteen nations in a victorious military campaign to end ethnic cleansing. He retired in 2000 and was a candidate for the 2004 Democratic Presidential nomination.

Since returning to the private sector in 2004, he has resumed activities as CEO of Wesley K. Clark & Associates, a strategic advisory and consulting firm. He is also Vice Chairman of James Lee Witt Associates, a leading consulting firm in the field of homeland security, business continuity and disaster mitigation. He is Chairman of Rodman and Renshaw, an investment bank based in New York and London. He is a general partner in Four Seasons Ventures, an investment fund dedicated to commercializing military technology. This fall he joined the UCLA’s Burkle Center for International Relations in UCLA’s International Institute as Senior Fellow. He remains an avidly sought speaker and writer, and serves as a Fox News commentator on foreign policy and military affairs. He is a member of the boards of directors of several private and public companies.

In his final military assignment, from July 1997 until May 2000, General Clark was NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Europe and simultaneously, Commander-in-Chief, US European Command. In this position General Clark commanded Operation Allied Force, NATO’s first major combat action, which saved 1.5 million Albanians from ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. In addition, he was responsible for the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia, and for all US military activities in eighty-nine countries of the US, Middle East and Africa, including 109,000 US service members and 150,000 civilians.

From June 1996 until July 1997, General Clark was the Commander-in-Chief, US Southern Command, where he was responsible for all US military activities in Latin America and the Caribbean. From April 1994 through June 1996, General Clark led a staff of over 300 professional as the Director of Strategic Plans and Policy, J-5, in the Joint Staff. Responsible on the Joint Staff for all US military strategic planning and interagency policy coordination, General Clark was the lead military negotiator in the Bosnia Peace Accords, wrote the 1995 US National Military Strategy, and led the team which prepared Joint vision 2010, which prescribed the future transformation of the US armed forces.

General Clark was the Commanding General of the 1st Cavalry Division, Fort Hood, Texas and he served as Deputy Chief of Staff for Combat Developments and Doctrine in the US Army’s Training and Doctrine Command. He also served as the Commanding General of the US Army’s National Training Center at Fort Irwin California and the Commander of the Army’s Battle Command Training Program, where he initiated competitive force-on-force computer-simulated command and control training for the senior officers of the United States Army.

In his earlier career, General Clark commanded an Armor Brigade and an Armor Battalion at Fort Carson Colorado, served as an Assistant Executive Officer to General Alexander M. Haig, then NATO’s Supreme
Allied Commander, Europe, served as a White House Fellow, with duty as Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget in the White House during the Ford Administration, taught Economics and Political Philosophy at the US Military Academy at West Point. As a Captain, he helped develop the education programs to create the all-volunteer Army. He has commanded three companies, including A/1-16 Infantry (m), where he was wounded in action, receiving the Silver Star and Purple Heart.

General Clark’s awards and honors include the Presidential Medal of Freedom, The State Department Distinguished Service Award; the US Department of Defense Distinguished Service Medal; five awards, The US Army Distinguished Service Medal; two awards, The Silver Star, the Legion of Merit; four awards, the Bronze Star; two awards, the Purple Heart, Honorary Knight Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (UK), Knight Grand Cross in the Order of orange-Nassau (Netherlands), Commander of the Legion of Honor (France), and high ranking awards from the governments of Germany, Italy, Spain, Canada, Belgium, Luxembourg, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Bulgaria, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Argentina and Morocco.

General Clark graduated first in his class from the United States Military Academy (B.S.) and completed degrees in Philosophy, Politics and Economics at Oxford University (B.A. and M.A.) as a Rhodes Scholar.

---

**PETER COWHEY**

Peter F. Cowhey is the UC San Diego Associate Vice Chancellor of International Affairs, and Dean and Qualcomm Professor of Communications and Technology Policy at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS). He is an internationally recognized expert in telecommunications and information policy and markets who also is a leader in building cooperative international arrangements for the management of security and economics issues.

Cowhey joined UCSD’s faculty in 1976 and became dean of IR/PS in July 2002. He was the director of the University of California system-wide Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) from 1999-2006. He is currently co-leader of the IGCC project on biological threats and public policy funded by the Carnegie Corporation. He holds a B.A. in foreign services from Georgetown University, and a M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from the University of California, Berkeley.

From 1985 to 1986 Professor Cowhey served as a member of the international planning group of AT&T International. After that he served as a member of the international telecom advisory board of A.T. Kearney where he advised on numerous client matters concerning the global industry. In 1994 Cowhey took leave from UC San Diego to join the Federal Communications Commission as the Commission's Senior Counselor for International Economic and Competition Policy. Later he became Chief of the International Bureau of the FCC and he led the Commission's work in the WTO negotiations on basic telecommunications services and new competition rules for international telecom services (including the Internet).

He has served as an adviser to major companies in the telecommunications and information technology industries and to leading international institutions. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a member of the International Advisory Board of the Grameen Foundation USA, and a member of the California Council on Science and Technology. He has also served as chairman of the board of Digital Partners, a global non-profit organization.
Yoram Dinstein

Dr. Yoram Dinstein is Professor Emeritus at Tel Aviv University. He is a former President the University (1991-1998), as well as former Rector (1980-1985) and former Dean of the Faculty of Law (1978-1980). He served twice (1999/2000 and 2002/2003) as the Charles H. Stockton Professor of International Law at the US Naval War College in Newport, RI. He was also a Humboldt Fellow at the Max Planck Institute of International Law in Heidelberg, Germany (2000/2001); a Meltzer Visiting Professor of Law at New York University (1985/1987); and a visiting Professor of Law at the University of Toronto (1976/1977). Professor Dinstein has given guest lectures in dozens of leading universities across the world. The University of Buenos Aires, the University of Chile, and the Hebrew Union College conferred on him honorary doctorates. The National University of Mexico (UNAM) awarded him the title of Distinguished Professor. Born in Tel-Aviv in 1936, Professor Dinstein obtained his legal education at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (where he graduated summa cum laude) and New York University. He started his career in Israel’s Foreign Service and served as Consul of Israel in New York and a member of Israel’s Permanent Mission to the United Nations (1966-1970). Even subsequent to becoming a full-time academic, Professor Dinstein has represented his country in various international fora, ranging from International Red Cross Conferences to the Sixth (Legal) Committee of the General Assembly.

Professor Dinstein is a Member of the Institute of International Law. He is Vice-President of Israel’s national branch of the International Law Association and of the Israel United Nations Association. Formerly, he served as Chairman of the Israel national branch of Amnesty International. He was also a member of the Executive Council of the American Society of International Law. At present he is a member of the Council of the San Remo International Institute of Humanitarian Law.

Professor Dinstein has written extensively on subjects relating to international law, human rights and laws of armed conflict. He is the founder and Editor of the Israel Yearbook on Human Rights (36 volumes of which have been issued – in English – since 1971). His other publications include a six-volume treatise (in Hebrew) on international law. His latest books in English are The Conduct of Hostilities under the Law of International Armed Conflict (2004) and War, Aggression and Self-Defence (4th ed., 2005), both published by Cambridge University Press. Professor Dinstein’s numerous writings are widely cited, and several have been translated into Spanish and French. His works are frequently referred to by the Supreme Court of Israel, and have been cited by the House of Lords and the Supreme Court of Canada.

Daniel W. Drezner

Daniel W. Drezner is associate professor of international politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. He is the author of All Politics is Global (Princeton University Press, 2007), U.S. Trade Strategy (Council on Foreign Relations, 2006), and The Sanctions Paradox (Cambridge University Press, 1999), as well as the editor of Locating the Proper Authorities (University of Michigan Press, 2003).

His work has appeared in numerous scholarly journals, as well as the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, and Foreign Affairs. He has previously held positions at the University of Chicago, the University of Colorado at Boulder, Civic Education Project, the RAND Corporation and the Treasury
Department. He has received fellowships from the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Council on Foreign Relations, and Harvard University.

Mr. Drezner received his B.A. from Williams College and his Ph.D. in political science from Stanford University. He keeps a daily weblog at [www.danieldrezner.com](http://www.danieldrezner.com).

---

**RICHARD FALK**

Richard Falk’s research in recent years has focused on various aspects of international relations, with an emphasis on the role of international law and institutions. His most recent books are *The Great Terror War* (2003), *Religion and Humane Global Governance* (2002), and *Human Rights Horizons* (2001).

Professor Falk is an Honorary Member of the Board of Editors of the *American Journal of International Law* and a Member of the Editorial Board of *The Nation* and *The Progressive*. He was a member of the Princeton faculty, with a joint appointment in the Woodrow Wilson School and the Department of Politics between 1961 and 2001.

Richard Falk is Albert G. Milbank Professor Emeritus of International Law at Princeton University and Visiting Distinguished Professor in Global and International Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. His most recent book, *The Great Terror War* (2003), considers the American response to September 11, including its relationship to the patriotic duties of American Citizens.

In 2001 he served on a three person Human Rights Inquiry Commission for the Palestinian Territories that was appointed by the United Nations, and previously, on the Independent International Commission on Kosovo. He is the author or coauthor of numerous books, including *Religion and Humane Global Governance; Human Rights Horizons; On Humane Governance: Toward a New Global Politics; Explorations at the Edge of Time; Revolutionaries and Functionaries; The Promise of World Order; Indefensible Weapons; Human Rights and State Sovereignty; A Study of Future Worlds; This Endangered Planet; coeditor of Crimes of War.*

Professor Falk serves as Chair of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation's Board of Directors and as honorary vice president of the American Society of International Law. Falk also acted as counsel to Ethiopia and Liberia in the Southwest Africa Case before the International Court of Justice. He received his B.S. from the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania; L.L.B. from Yale Law School; and J.S.D. from Harvard University.

---

**LEE FEINSTEIN**

Lee Feinstein is a senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy and international law at the Council on Foreign Relations. Feinstein was senior adviser for peacekeeping and peace enforcement policy in the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 1994-95. He served as a member and associate director of the policy planning staff under Secretary of State Warren Christopher and as principal deputy director of policy planning under Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright.

Feinstein served as a human rights adviser on the 2005 congressionally mandated Task Force on U.S. Interests and the United Nations, chaired by Newt Gingrich and George Mitchell, and was a principal drafter of that report. He was co-director of *Enhancing U.S. Relations with the UN*, an independent task force sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations and Freedom House in 2002. His articles on national
security and foreign policy have appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *the National Interest*, *the Financial Times*, *the Los Angeles Times*, *the Washington Post*, and other publications. He is the author of *Dafur and Beyond: What is Needed to Prevent Mass Atrocities*, a Council on Foreign Relations Special Report, published January 2007. Feinstein is a frequent guest commentator on television and radio and a regular contributor to TPMCafe. He serves on the board of directors of the private Arms Control Association, and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He is admitted to the practice of law in New York and Washington DC.

Mr. Feinstein has also been a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a transatlantic fellow at the German Marshall Fund, assistant director for research of the Arms Control Association, and adjunct professor at the City University of New York and the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University. He holds a law degree from Georgetown University, and a Master’s degree in political science from the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Mr. Feinstein speaks French and Russian. Born on Long Island in 1959, he lives with his wife, son, and daughter in McLean, Virginia.

---

**MICHAEL D. INTRILIGATOR**

Michael D. Intriligator, Ph.D, is Professor of Economics at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). He is also Professor of Political Science, Professor of Public Policy in the School of Public Policy and Social Research, and Co-Director of the Jacob Marschak Interdisciplinary Colloquium on Mathematics in the Behavioral Sciences, all at UCLA. He is also a Senior Fellow of the Milken Institute in Santa Monica. He has been a member of the UCLA faculty since 1963, teaching courses in economic theory, econometrics, mathematical economics, international relations, and health economics, and he has received several distinguished teaching awards.

Intriligator joined the UCLA faculty in 1963. From 1982 to 1992, he directed the UCLA Center for International and Strategic Affairs, the predecessor of the current Burkle Center for International Relations. His research focuses on economic theory, econometrics, health economics, and strategy and arms control. His most recent work has concerned health care reform, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, global security, and Russia's attempted transition to a market economy. He has served as an expert witness on health economic issues for over two decades, has testified before the U.S. Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the United Nations, and has been a consultant to organizations including the Center for National Securities Studies at the Los Alamos National Laboratory.

A member of the editorial boards of Economic Directions, Defense and Peace Economics and Conflict Management and Peace Science, Intriligator has authored or edited over 200 professional and general articles and scholarly texts. His standard work, *Mathematical Optimization and Economic Theory* is now in its 13th printing. A fellow of the Econometric Society, Intriligator is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Dr. Intriligator received his undergraduate S.B. degree in Economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1959; his M.A. degree at Yale University in 1960, where he was the recipient of the Woodrow Wilson Fellowship; and his Ph.D. in Economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1963.

Dr. Intriligator is the author of more than 200 journal articles and other publications in the areas of economic theory and mathematical economics, econometrics, health economics, reform of the Russian economy, and strategy and arms control, his principal research fields.
SHIRLEY ANN JACKSON

**Dr. Shirley Ann Jackson** is the 18th President of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N.Y., and Hartford, Conn., the oldest technological research university in the U.S.

Described by Time Magazine (2005) as “perhaps the ultimate role model for women in science,” President Jackson has held senior leadership positions in government, industry, research, and academe.

Since her arrival in 1999, Dr. Jackson has fostered an extraordinary renaissance at Rensselaer. This institutional transformation has included the hiring of more than 180 new faculty and a corresponding reduction in class size and student/faculty ratios; initiating and/or completing $500 million in new construction and renovation of facilities for research, teaching, and student life; a doubling of research awards; and innovations in curriculum, undergraduate research, and student life initiatives. President Jackson secured a $360 million unrestricted gift to the university (2001), launched the $1 billion Renaissance at Rensselaer Campaign (2004), and expanded the goal of the campaign to $1.4 billion (2006) when the initial goal was met earlier than anticipated.

Dr. Jackson is past president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) (2004) and former chairman of the AAAS Board of Directors (2005), a member of the National Academy of Engineering, a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Physical Society, and AAAS. She has advisory roles and involvement in several other prestigious national organizations. She serves as a Trustee of the Brookings Institution, a Life Member of the M.I.T. Corporation, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. She is a member of the Executive Committee of the Council on Competitiveness and serves on the board of Georgetown University. She also serves on the Board of Directors of the New York Stock Exchange (and is Chairman of the New York Stock Exchange Regulation Board), the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, and is a director of several major corporations including FedEx, IBM, and Marathon Oil.

She was appointed Chairman of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), 1995-1999, by U.S. President William J. Clinton. At the NRC, Dr. Jackson reorganized the agency and completely revamped its regulatory approach, by articulating and moving strongly to risk-informed, performance-based regulation. To foster collaboration and nuclear safety assistance worldwide, while at the NRC, she also spearheaded the formation of the International Nuclear Regulators Association and served as the group’s first chairman. Prior to that, she was a theoretical physicist at the former AT&T Bell Laboratories and a professor of theoretical physics at Rutgers University.

Dr. Jackson holds an S.B. in physics and a Ph.D. in theoretical elementary particle physics from M.I.T., and 40 honorary doctoral degrees.

Over the past several years, President Jackson has worked successfully to bring national attention to the underinvestment in basic research and to what she has dubbed the “Quiet Crisis” in America – the threat to the United State’s capacity to innovate due to the looming shortage in the nation’s science and technology workforce. The shortfall results from a record number of retirements on the horizon, and not enough students in the pipeline to replace them because fewer American students are studying science, mathematics, and engineering and fewer students are coming from abroad to study and stay. President Jackson notes that, if the U.S. is to maintain its leadership in science and technology, we must increase the number of people choosing to pursue careers in science and technology, and to do that, we must tap into all of the talent this nation has to offer, including women and minorities – what she calls the “underrepresented majority.”
President Jackson has urged a national focus on energy research as a focal point to excite and encourage greater interest in science and engineering careers, noting that “energy security is the space race of this millennium.”

BRIAN JENKINS

Brian Jenkins is Senior Advisor to the President of the RAND Corporation and one of the leading authorities on terrorism and international crime. He founded RAND's Terrorism Research Program in 1972 and later became the Director of RAND's Subnational Conflict Research Program. He has also chaired RAND's Political Science Department. In 1989, Mr. Jenkins joined KROLL Associates where, as Deputy Chairman of the corporation, he supervised investigative and security consulting work on terrorism. He has served as an advisor to the federal government and the private sector on the subject.

Mr. Jenkins is a former Army captain who served with the Special Forces in Vietnam and as a Green Beret in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam (1966-1970). In 1996, President Clinton appointed him to be a member of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security. From 1999 to 2000, he worked as an advisor to the National Commission on Terrorism and in 2000, he was appointed as a member of the US Comptroller General's Advisory Board. He is currently a special advisor to the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) and a member of the Board of Directors of the ICC's Commercial Crime Services.

Mr. Jenkins is the author of several books and chapters, including International Terrorism: A New Mode of Conflict, Deterrence and Influence in Counterterrorism: A Component in the War on al Qaeda and The Fall of South Vietnam. He has participated in interviews for numerous publications such as the Associated Press, The New York Times, The Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, and The Christian Science Monitor as well as for television and radio companies including CNN, NBC and NPR.

Mr. Jenkins received his B.A. in Fine Arts and his M.A. in History from the University of California at Los Angeles.

NEIL JOECK

Neil Joeck is a Senior Fellow at the Center for Global Security Research (CGSR) at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) and an Adjunct Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. He served from 2004 to 2005 as Director for Counter-proliferation Strategy at the National Security Council. Dr. Joeck was primarily responsible for India and Pakistan proliferation issues, but also worked on Cooperative Threat Reduction, the Nonproliferation Treaty Review Conference, and Department of Homeland Security and multilateral regime (CWC, BWC, MTCR) issues. From 2001-2003, he was a member of the Department of State Policy Planning Staff, where he was responsible for the India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and nuclear proliferation portfolios. He received the Meritorious Honor Award, and the Policy Planning staff the Superior Honor Award, for work on Afghanistan following September 11.

Dr. Joeck worked on India and Pakistan as a political analyst and group leader in Z Division at LLNL from 1987-2001. During that time, he took leave as a Research Fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London in 1996-1997. He served in 1999 as consultant to the Commission to Assess the Organization

Dr. Joeck received a Ph.D. and MA in political science from UCLA (1986), an MA from the Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University in Canada (1976), and a BA from the University of California, Santa Cruz (1973). In addition to classified reports for the US government, his publications include *Maintaining Nuclear Stability in South Asia*, Adelphi Paper #312 (Oxford University Press, 1997) and two edited books: *Arms Control and International Security* (with Roman Kolkowicz, Westview Press, 1984) and *Strategic Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia* (Frank Cass, 1986). He has contributed articles to *Comparative Strategy, Journal of Strategic Studies, International Herald Tribune, Los Angeles Times, Energy and Technology Review* and various chapters to edited books.

**ROBERT G. JOSEPH**

Robert Joseph has served as the Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security since June 2005. In this capacity, he reports directly to the Secretary of State as the principal officer for non-and counterproliferation matters, arms control, arms transfers, regional security and defense relations, and security assistance. His management responsibilities include oversight of three major bureaus: International Security and Nonproliferation; Political and Military Affairs; and Verification, Compliance and Implementation.

Previously, from January 2001 through November 2004, Ambassador Joseph served in the National Security Council as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Proliferation Strategy, Counterproliferation and Homeland Defense. In this capacity, he was responsible, under the supervision of the National Security Advisor, for developing and coordinating U.S. policies and strategies for preventing, deterring and defending against threats to the United States from weapons of mass destruction.

From 1992 until 2001, Dr. Joseph was Professor of National Security Studies and Director/Founder of the Center for Counterproliferation Research at the National Defense University. Earlier, he was U.S. Commissioner to the Standing Consultative Commission and Ambassador to the U.S.-Russian Commission on Nuclear Testing, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear Forces and Arms Control Policy, Nuclear Policy/Planning Officer at U.S. Mission to NATO, and Assistant Professor of International Relations/Strategic Studies at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tulane University, and Carleton College.

Dr. Joseph received his BA from Saint Louis University and his MA from the University of Chicago. He received his PhD from Columbia University. His recent awards include the National Defense University President’s Award for Individual Achievement and the National Nuclear Security Administration Gold Medal for Distinguished Service. He has also received the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Civilian Service (and Bronze Palm), and multiple Senior Executive Service Meritorious Achievements citations.

**RAYMOND J. JUZAITIS**

Raymond J. Juzaitis is Associate Director for Nonproliferation, Homeland and International Security (NHI) at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. In this role, he is responsible for organizations that provide expertise, analyses, and systems solutions to preclude the spread or use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Major areas of program emphasis include nonproliferation and global nuclear materials management, radiological, nuclear, chemical and biological countermeasures, infrastructure and force protection, and international assessments.
Ray’s career with the UC national laboratories spans nearly 30 years as a nuclear and chemical engineer with extensive experience in weapons and computational physics. Prior to joining LLNL’s nonproliferation program in 2004, he was at Los Alamos National Laboratory, first as a doctoral researcher, then as a staff scientist in the weapons program, and later holding various senior management positions, most recently Associate Director for Weapons Physics. During his Los Alamos tenure, he also held several senior advisory positions on assignment. From 1998 to 1999, he served as Senior Technical Advisor for the Office of Defense Programs, Department of Energy; from 1988-1990, he was Special Scientific Advisor to the Office of the Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Atomic Energy. His early career research interests included uranium enrichment technologies, computational nuclear reactor physics, and radiation transport simulation and analysis. Programmatic research was exclusively devoted to nuclear weapon design, testing, and analysis.

Ray is the recipient of three DOE Weapons Excellence Awards and is a member of the American Nuclear Society. He received his B.S.E. (1974) in chemical engineering from Princeton University (1974) and his M.E. (1976) and Ph.D. (1980) in nuclear engineering from the University of Virginia.

NIKKI KEDDIE

Nikki Keddie, Professor Emerita of History, UCLA has written about Iran and a variety of other subjects for decades. She is the author of several books, including Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran (1981), revised and updated as Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution (2003, 2006), and Middle Eastern Women: Past and Present (2007). Her biography of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani has influenced research on nationalism and liberation movements in the East. She has pioneered in writing on themes including secularism, fundamentalism and the place of women in Islamic Society. She was founding editor of the wide-ranging journal Contention: Debates in Society, Culture, and Science (1991-1996). She has had lifetime honors from the Middle East Studies Association, Encyclopaedia Iranica Foundation, and a prestigious 2004 prize from the International Balzan Foundation, which pays for six post-doctoral fellows at UCLA. Dr. Keddie received her BA from Radcliffe College, her MA from Stanford University and her PhD from the University of California at Berkeley.

BRIG. GENERAL FEROZ KHAN (RET.)

Feroz Hassan Khan is a former Brigadier general in the Pakistan Army, currently on the faculty of Department of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey California. He has served on numerous assignments in the United States, Europe, and South Asia. He has experienced combat action and command on active fronts on the Line of Control in Siachin Glacier and Kashmir. His last assignment was Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs, within the Strategic Plans Division, Joint Services Headquarters. Khan had been a key contributor in formulating Pakistan’s security policies on nuclear and conventional arms control and strategic stability in South Asia. He produced policy recommendations for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and represented Pakistan in several multilateral and bilateral arms control negotiations.

Among his academic degrees, Brigadier Khan holds a M.A. from the School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University, Washington DC. He has also been teaching as a visiting faculty at the Department of the Defense and Strategic Studies, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad. He has held a series of
visiting fellowships at Stanford University, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; the Brookings Institution; Center for Non-Proliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies and at the Cooperative Monitoring Center, Sandia National Laboratory.


DAVID A. KOPLOW

After graduating from Yale Law School in 1978, Professor David Koplow served first as an attorney-advisor, then as special assistant to the Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He has also served as secretary of the Lawyers Alliance for World Security and as a member of the Policy Board of Legal Counsel for the Elderly and the steering committee of Section 2 of the D.C. Bar. He has been at GULC since 1981. From 1997-99, while on leave from the Law Center, he served as Deputy General Counsel (International Affairs) at the Department of Defense. Professor Koplow teaches International Law I, and a seminar in the area of national security, arms control and non-proliferation. He also directs a clinic, the Center for Applied Legal Studies, which practices in the field of political asylum. He has written in the areas of international law, U.S. foreign affairs law, and arms control, especially regarding verification of compliance with arms control treaties. Professor Koplow holds a B.A. from Harvard, Queen's College at Oxford and a J.D. from Yale. His areas of expertise include international law, national security, arms control, political asylum.

PETER KOVACH

Peter Kovach is a member of the Senior Foreign Service and holds the rank of Minister-Counselor. Kovach currently is Diplomat in Residence at UCLA serving all of Southern California. He served recently as Counselor for Public Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, Director of the Office of Public Diplomacy for the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Director of the State Department's three Foreign Press Centers, Director of a secretariat that coordinated US government international public information efforts with allies and international organizations. Mr. Kovach has also served overseas in Tokyo, Japan; Amman, Jordan; Rabat, Morocco; Manama, Bahrain; and Sanaa, Yemen. He ran the International Visitor Leadership Program for North Africa, the Near East and South Asia and served as a senior director of communications policy both in the Near East Bureau and for the former United States Information Agency.
Kovach holds a Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy (ABD) from the Fletcher School; a Master of Arts in Asian Studies from UC Berkeley and a BA in history and Asian religions from Wesleyan University in Connecticut.

---

**RON LEHMAN**

Ron Lehman is the Director of the Center for Global Security Research (CGSR) at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) and also is the Chairman of the Governing Board of the International Science and Technology Center (ISTC), an inter-governmental organization headquartered in Moscow. He serves on the U.S. Department of Defense Threat Reduction Advisory Committee (TRAC), co-chairs the Policy Advisory Group on Non-Proliferation for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and is a member of the State Department's International Security Advisory Board. Dr. Lehman had been Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency from 1989 to 1993. Previously, Ron served in the Defense Department as Assistant Secretary for International Security Policy, in the State Department as Ambassador and U.S. Chief Negotiator on Strategic Offensive Arms (START I), and in the White House as Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

Ron Lehman was born in California's Napa Valley in 1946. He received his BA from Claremont McKenna College in 1968 and his PhD. from the Claremont Graduate University in 1975. He has been a Public Affairs Fellow of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University and, as an Adjunct Professor, taught graduate courses in Georgetown University's National Security Studies Program. Ron works for the University of California and is a member of LLNL's Institutional Bio-Safety Board and Homeland Security Working Group. He is also currently Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies of Claremont McKenna College. He is a member of the Atlantic Council, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

---

**MICHAEL A. LEVI**

Michael A. Levi is a fellow for science and technology at the Council on Foreign Relations and an Adjunct Assistant Professor of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University. His work focuses on a variety of areas at the intersection of science, technology, and foreign policy, including weapons of mass destruction, climate change, biotechnology, and science in the Islamic world.

Dr. Levi is author of the forthcoming book On Nuclear Terrorism (Harvard University Press, October 2007) which presents new principles for understanding and defending against potential nuclear plots. He is coauthor of the book The Future of Arms Control (Brookings, 2005) which proposed a new approach to controlling dangerous technologies in a world fraught by terrorism. He is also coauthor of the monograph Untapped Potential: U.S. Science and Technology Cooperation with the Islamic World, the first comprehensive assessment of science and technology in the Islamic world.

Dr. Levi has testified before Congress on multiple occasions. His essays have been published in Foreign Policy, Nature, Scientific American, and The New Republic, among others. His op-eds have appeared in the New York Times, Washington Post, Financial Times, and others. Between 2004 and 2006, he wrote a monthly online column on science and security for The New Republic. Dr. Levi is a regular guest on major television and radio programs and was a technical consultant to the acclaimed television drama 24.

Dr. Levi holds a PhD from the University of London (King’s College), where he was affiliated with the Department of War Studies and was the SSHRC William E. Taylor fellow. He holds an MA in physics from Princeton University, where he studied string theory and theoretical cosmology, and a BSc (Hons.) in mathematical physics from Queen’s University (Kingston). He lives in New York.

DOYLE McMANUS

Doyle McManus, Washington Bureau Chief of the Los Angeles Times, has reported for more than 25 years on national and international issues from Washington, the Middle East, Europe and Latin America.

McManus is a four-time winner of the National Press Club’s Edwin Hood Award for reporting on U.S. foreign policy, most recently in 2004 for stories on the U.S. occupation of Iraq. He has also won Georgetown University’s Weintal Prize and New York University’s Olive Branch Award for coverage of foreign affairs.

He is author or coauthor of three books including Landslide: The Unmaking of the President 1984-88, a bestseller listed by The New York Times among the most notable books of 1988. He appears frequently on PBS’s “Washington Week,” CBS’s “Face the Nation” and NPR’s “Weekend Edition Sunday.”

McManus has reported for the Los Angeles Times from bases in Los Angeles, Beirut, New York and Washington and became the paper’s Washington Bureau Chief in 1996. He joined the Times in 1978 after three years as a foreign correspondent for United Press International. He has also written for Foreign Policy, Time, Sports Illustrated and the London Daily Express.

McManus, 53, graduated in 1974 from Stanford University and was a Fulbright Scholar at the University of Brussels. He serves on the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, the Advisory Board of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford, and the Board of Visitors of the Merrill College of Journalism at the University of Maryland.

ABBAS MILANI

Abbas Milani is The Hamid and Christina Moghadam Director of Iranian Studies at Stanford University and a visiting professor in the department of political science. In addition, Dr. Milani is a research fellow and co-director of the Iran Democracy Project at the Hoover Institution. His expertise is U.S./Iran relations, Iranian cultural, political, and security issues.

Abbas was a professor of history and political science and chair of the department at Notre Dame de Namur University and a research fellow at the Institute of International Studies at the University of California at Berkeley. Milani was an assistant professor in the faculty of law and political science at Tehran University and a member of the board of directors of Tehran University's Center for International Studies from 1979 to 1987.
He was a research fellow at the Iranian Center for Social Research from 1977 to 1978 and an assistant professor at the National University of Iran from 1975 to 1977.


Milani has also translated numerous books and articles into Persian and English.

Milani's articles have been published in journals, magazines, and newspapers including the *Encyclopedia Iranica*, the *Hoover Digest*, *Iranshenasi*, the *Journal of the Middle East*, the *Middle East Journal*, the *New York Review of Books*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the *Times Literary Supplement*. He has been interviewed for radio and television, appearing on the BBC, CNN, KQED, Radio France, Radio Farda, Radio Free Europe, Radio and Television of Iran, and Voice of America.

He is a member of the American Association of Political Science, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and the Association of Iranian Studies.

Milani received his BA in political science and economics from the University of California at Berkeley and his PhD in political science from the University of Hawaii.

---

**GEORGE MILLER**

George Miller is the tenth Director of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, a position he assumed in March 2006, after a long and distinguished career in national security work at the Laboratory. While serving as Director, Dr. Miller is responsible for the management of the Laboratory and will lead the institution through its transition to a new management contractor.

Throughout his tenure, Dr. Miller has tackled a variety of management and scientific challenges in the interest of national security. For example, under Dr. Miller’s leadership as Associate Director for the National Ignition Facility, a new management team was assembled in 1999 with a new project execution plan that put it on track for completion in 2009. Through Dr. Miller’s stewardship, this $3.5 billion laser continues to meet all of its milestones on time and cost.

Prior to his position at NIF, Dr. Miller provided the leadership to integrate LLNL’s national security programs into a cohesive effort to meet U.S. national security objectives of maintaining the U.S. nuclear deterrent without nuclear testing, advance national nonproliferation and arms control goals through the development and application of effective scientific and technical solutions, and support DOD programs.

From 1985 until 1996, Dr. Miller led the Laboratory’s nuclear weapons program as a major participant in the development of the Stockpile Stewardship and Management Plan to ensure the safety, security and performance of the nation’s nuclear deterrent in the absence of testing. Dr. Miller applied his expertise as a weapons design physicist to assist in the development of the scientific capabilities necessary to maintain the nuclear deterrent without nuclear testing. He developed his scientific management skills as the project leader for the B77 nuclear weapon development and the W84 ground launched cruise missile.

Dr. Miller has represented the Laboratory’s national security programs to a wide variety of decision makers in the federal government, including members of the Executive Branch, Departments of Energy and Defense, and the U.S. Congress. In 1989, Dr. Miller provided scientific counsel to Secretary of Energy Admiral James D. Watkins while
on a temporary assignment to the Department of Energy as Special Scientific Advisor on Weapons Activities. He provides advice to the Commander of the United States Strategic Command through his membership on the USSTRATCOM Strategic Advisory Group and as Chairman of its Science and Technology Panel.

Dr. Miller holds memberships in the American Physical Society and Sigma Pi Sigma - National Physics Honor Society. He has received awards and honors from the National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship, Gulf- General Atomics Fellowship, and Sigma Pi Sigma.

Dr. Miller received his bachelor’s degree (1967), master’s degree (1969), and PhD (1972) all in Physics from the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Dr. Miller and his wife have two grown children and live in Livermore, California.

---

**WILLIAM J. PERRY**

William J. Perry, a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, is the Michael and Barbara Berberian Professor at Stanford University, with a joint appointment in the School of Engineering and the Institute for International Studies, where he is codirector of the Preventive Defense Project, a research collaboration of Stanford and Harvard Universities. His previous academic experience includes professor (halftime) at Stanford from 1988 to 1993, when he was the codirector of the Center for International Security and Arms Control. He also served as a part-time lecturer in the Department of Mathematics at Santa Clara University from 1971 to 1977.

Perry was the nineteenth United States secretary of defense, serving from February 1994 to January 1997. His previous government experience was as deputy secretary of defense (1993–94) and undersecretary of defense for research and engineering (1977–81).

Perry's business experience includes serving as a laboratory director for General Telephone and Electronics (1954–64); founding and serving as the president of ESL (1964–77); executive vice-president of Hambrecht & Quist (1981–85); and founding and serving as the chairman of Technology Strategies and Alliances (1985–93). He serves on the board of directors of Anteon International Corporation and several emerging high-tech companies and is chairman of Global Technology Partners.

Perry was born October 11, 1927, in Vandergrift, Pennsylvania. He attended grade school and high school in Butler, Pennsylvania. He received his B.S. and M.S. degrees from Stanford University and his Ph.D. from Pennsylvania State, all in mathematics. He is a member of the National Academy of Engineering and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. From 1946 to 1947, Perry was an enlisted man in the Army Corps of Engineers and served in the Army of Occupation in Japan. He joined the Reserve Officer Training Corps in 1948 and was a second lieutenant in the army reserves from 1950 to 1955.

Perry has received numerous awards, including the Presidential Medal of Freedom (1997), the Department of Defense Distinguished Service Medal (1980 and again in 1981), and Outstanding Civilian Service Medals from the army (1962 and 1997), the air force (1997), the navy (1997), the Defense Intelligence Agency (1977 and 1997), the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (1981), and the coast guard (1997). He received the American Electronic Association's Medal of Achievement (1980), the Eisenhower Award (1996), the Marshall Award (1997), the Forrestal Medal (1994), and the Henry Stimson Medal (1994). The National Academy of Engineering selected him for the Arthur Bueche Medal (1996). He has been honored with awards from the enlisted personnel of the army, navy, and air force. Perry has received decorations from the governments of Germany, England, France, Korea, Albania, Poland, Ukraine, Bahrain, Slovenia, Hungary, and Japan.
ROBERT POWELL

Robert Powell is Robson Professor of Political Science at UC Berkeley and previously taught at the University of Michigan and Harvard. He specializes in the use of game theory to study international conflict and political conflict more generally. He is the author of Nuclear Deterrence Theory: The Search for Credibility (Cambridge University Press, 1990); In the Shadow of Power: States and Strategies in International Politics (Princeton University Press, 1999); “Nuclear Deterrence Theory, Nuclear Proliferation, and National Missile Defense” (International Security, 2003); and “The Inefficient Use of Power: Costly Conflict with Complete Information” (American Political Science Review, 2004). He holds a B.S. in mathematics from Harvey Mudd College; an M.Phil in international relations from Cambridge University; and a PhD in economics from Berkeley. He has been a Fulbright Scholar to the United Kingdom and is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

KAL RAUSTIALA

Kal Raustiala teaches courses in international law and international relations. He holds a joint appointment between the UCLA Law School and the UCLA International Institute, where he teaches in the Program on Global Studies, a multidisciplinary undergraduate program on globalization. In December 2006, he was appointed director of the UCLA Ronald W. Burkle Center for International Relations. The Burkle Center is UCLA's primary academic unit that fosters interdisciplinary research and policy-oriented teaching on the role of the United States in global cooperation and conflict, and military, political, social and economic affairs.

In addition to UCLA, Professor Raustiala has been a visiting professor at Harvard Law School, Columbia Law School, the Princeton Politics Department, and the University of Chicago Law School. He was a fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., a Peccei Scholar at the International Institute for Applied Systems in Vienna, Austria, and a fellow in the Program on Law and Public Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton. He is a member of the American Society of International Law and the Council on Foreign Relations and has served as a consultant on legal matters to numerous international organizations.

Professor Raustiala's recent publications include "The Evolution of Territoriality: International Relations and American Law," in Miles Kahler and Barbara Walter, eds, Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006); and "The Piracy Paradox: Innovation and Intellectual Property in Fashion Design" (with Chris Sprigman), forthcoming in the Virginia Law Review (December 2006). His article "Form and Substance in International Agreements", American Journal of International Law (July 2005), won the 2005 Francis Deak Prize from the American Society of International Law.
SCOTT D. SAGAN

Scott D. Sagan is a Professor of Political Science and Co-Director of Stanford's Center for International Security and Cooperation. Before joining the Stanford faculty, Dr. Sagan was a lecturer in the Department of Government at Harvard University and served as a special assistant to the Director of the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the Pentagon. He has also served as a consultant to the office of the Secretary of Defense and at the Los Alamos National Laboratory.


DAVID E. SANGER

David E. Sanger covers the White House for The New York Times and is one of the newspaper’s senior writers. In a 24-year career at the paper, he has reported from New York, Tokyo and Washington, covering a wide variety of issues surrounding foreign policy, globalization, nuclear proliferation, Asian affairs and, for the past five years, the arc of the Bush presidency. Twice he has been a member of Times reporting teams that won the Pulitzer Prize.

Before covering the White House, Mr. Sanger specialized in the confluence of economic and foreign policy, and wrote extensively on how issues of national wealth and competitiveness have come to redefine the relationships between the United States and its major allies. As a correspondent and then bureau chief in Tokyo for six years, he covered Japan's rise as the world's second largest economic power, and then its humbling recession. He also filed frequently from Southeast Asia, and wrote many of the first stories about North Korea's secret nuclear weapons program in the 1990's. He continues to cover proliferation issues from Washington.

Leaving Asia in 1994, he took up the position of chief Washington economic correspondent, and covered a series of global economic upheavals, from Mexico to the Asian economic crisis. He was named a senior writer in March, 1999, and White House correspondent later that year.

Mr. Sanger joined the Times in the Business Day section, specializing in the computer industry and high-technology trade. In 1986 he played a major role in the team that investigated the causes of the space shuttle Challenger disaster, writing the first stories about what the space agency knew about the potential flaws in the shuttle's design and revealing that engineers had raised objections to launching the shuttle. The team won the 1987 Pulitzer Prize for national reporting. He was a member of another Pulitzer-winner team that wrote about the struggles within the Clinton Administration over controlling exports to China.
In 2004, Mr. Sanger was the co-recipient of the Weintal Prize for diplomatic reporting for his coverage of the Iraq and Korea crises. He also won the Aldo Beckman prize for coverage of the presidency, awarded by the White House Correspondent’s Association. The previous year he won another of the association’s major prizes, the Merriman Smith Memorial Award, for coverage of the emergence of a new national security strategy for the United States. In 2004 he and four other colleagues also shared the American Society of Newspaper Editor’s top award for deadline writing, for team coverage of the Columbia disaster.

Mr. Sanger appears regularly on public affairs and news shows. Twice a week he delivers the Washington Report on WQXR, the radio station of the Times. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Aspen Strategy Group.

Born on July 5, 1960 in White Plains, N.Y., Mr. Sanger was educated in the public school system there and graduated magna cum laude in government from Harvard College in 1982.

---

**THOMAS C. SCHELLING**

**Thomas C. Schelling** received his AB in economics from the University of California, Berkeley, and his PhD from Harvard University. He spent the years 1948-53 in Europe (the Marshall Plan), the White House, and the Executive Office of the President; 1953-58 on the faculty of Yale University; 1958-59 with the RAND Corporation; 1959-90 at Harvard University (Department of Economics, Center for International Affairs, and John F. Kennedy School of Government); and 1990-2003 as Distinguished University Professor with the Department of Economics and the School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland. While at Harvard he founded and directed, from 1983 to 1990, the Institute for the Study of Smoking Behavior and Policy.

He has been elected to the National Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Medicine, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He is a Distinguished Fellow of the American Economic Association and was president of that Association, 1991. He received the Frank E. Seidman Distinguished Award in Political Economy, the National Academy of Sciences Award for Behavioral Research Relevant to the Prevention of Nuclear War, and honorary doctorates from the RAND Graduate School of Policy Analysis and Erasmus University Rotterdam. He was awarded the Bank of Sweden Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel for 2005.

He has published on military strategy and arms control, energy and environmental policy, climate change, nuclear proliferation, terrorism, organized crime, foreign aid and international trade, conflict and bargaining theory, racial segregation and integration, the military draft, health policy, tobacco and drugs policy, and ethical issues in public policy and in business. He has published nine books including The Strategy of Conflict (1960), Arms and Influence (1966), Micromotives and Macrobearavior (1977), and Strategies of Commitment (2006).

---

**ELIZABETH SHERWOOD-RANDALL**

**Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall** is a senior research scholar at CISAC and a senior adviser to the center's Preventive Defense Project. She is also Adjunct Senior Fellow for Alliance Relations at the Council on Foreign Relations and a 2004 Carnegie Scholar. Her work focuses on American national security challenges, including preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, defense leadership and management, and alliance politics.

Sherwood-Randall served as deputy assistant secretary of defense for Russia,
Ukraine and Eurasia during the first Clinton Administration (1994-1996). In this role, she developed and implemented regional security policy toward all the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union (NIS), including Russia, Ukraine, the Caucasus and Central Asia; established defense and military relationships with these states; conceptualized and implemented bilateral and multilateral defense and military cooperation programs with the NIS states; and established ties between these states and NATO. She played a key role in creating a cooperative context for denuclearization efforts in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan; for example, she planned a series of unprecedented military training exercises between the United States and Russia, between the United States and Ukraine, and between the United States and a combined force from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan. She was instrumental in extending NATO's Partnership for Peace program to all the states of Eurasia, and in building the foundation for cooperation between Russia and NATO in the joint peacekeeping operation in Bosnia, known as IFOR. For her work at the Pentagon, she was awarded the Department of Defense Distinguished Service Medal by then-secretary of defense William Perry. She has also served as a consultant to the Office of the Secretary of Defense and as a member of the Pentagon's Regional Centers' Board of Visitors, and as an advisor to the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory on its nonproliferation and arms-control initiatives in the former Soviet Union.

Prior to her government service, Sherwood-Randall served as co-founder and associate director of Harvard University's Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project, a research center based at the Kennedy School of Government that advocates U.S. and Western support for reform in the former Soviet Union. In this capacity, she developed and implemented initiatives to promote political, economic and military transformation, including assisting with reform in Russian cities, building an independent media, and promoting privatization. She previously served as chief foreign affairs and defense policy adviser to Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr., and as a guest scholar in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution. She also previously worked as a journalist and as editorial page editor of the Santa Fe New Mexican.


She received her Bachelor's Degree from Harvard College, magna cum laude, and a D.Phil. in international relations from Oxford University, where she was a Rhodes Scholar (California and Balliol, 1981).

SUSAN SHIRK

Susan Shirk is an Asia specialist, with an emphasis on Chinese politics, U.S.-China relations, and Pacific international affairs. Shirk is professor of political science at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS) at UC San Diego. A former director of IGCC (1991–1997), Shirk accepted an assignment at the U.S. Department of State in 1997, where she served as deputy assistant secretary for China in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. Shirk is the author of How China Opened Its Door: The Political Success of the PRC's Foreign Trade and Investment Reforms and The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China, and editor of Power and Prosperity: Economic and Security Linkages in the Asia Pacific. Shirk returned from her three-year term at the U.S. State Department in 2000 to become an IGCC research director. She was reappointed IGCC director in July 2006.
ETEL SOLINGEN


ROBERT TEMPLER

As Director of the International Crisis Group’s Asia Program, Robert Templer oversees projects covering Central Asia, South Asia, South East Asia and North East Asia. Crisis Group's Asia Program covers 18 countries from nine offices throughout the region. It has done considerable work on Islamism throughout Asia as well as developed reports on governance issues, post-conflict development, constitutional development and security sector reforms. Bob’s areas of expertise include: Islamic extremism, terrorism and conflict in Asia; Afghan reconstruction issues; political and social reforms in Pakistan; Central Asia; political developments in Myanmar; and, North Korea and nuclear proliferation. Bob has written extensively on Asian political issues and is the author of books on Vietnam and corruption.

GREGORY TREVERTON

Dr. Greg Treverton is a Senior Analyst at the RAND Corporation. He has directed RAND's Intelligence Policy Center, and its International Security and Defense Policy Center. His recent work has examined terrorism, intelligence and law enforcement with a special interest in new forms of public-private partnership. He has served in government for the first Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, handling Europe for the National Security Council and, most recently as vice chair of the National Intelligence Council, overseeing the writing of America's National Intelligence Estimates. His latest books are Reshaping National Intelligence for an Age of Information, Cambridge University Press, 2001; and New Challenges, New Tools for Defense Decisionmaking (edited), RAND, 2003. Treverton has taught courses on intelligence policy, security and governance at the Pardee RAND Graduate School. Greg received his Ph.D. in Public Policy from Harvard University.
JOBY WARRICK

Joby Warrick is a special-projects reporter with The Washington Post’s investigative unit. A Pulitzer Prize winner, he has specialized in coverage of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons since 2001, traveling to four continents to report on proliferation threats and trafficking in weapons components. His articles about weapons proliferation earned him the Overseas Press Club of America’s Bob Considine Award in 2004 for best newspaper interpretation of international affairs.

Warrick joined The Post in 1996, serving first as the newspaper’s national environmental reporter before being assigned to the investigative unit in 1999. While at The Post, he has written numerous investigative articles about public health and environmental issues ranging from nuclear-waste cleanup to E. coli outbreaks. His series of articles exposing radioactive hazards at a Kentucky uranium processing plant in 1999 was cited by Congressional leaders as an impetus behind the creation of the first national compensation program for ailing nuclear-weapons workers.

Before coming to The Post, Warrick was an enterprise reporter for The News & Observer of Raleigh, N.C., where he co-authored “Boss Hog,” a series of investigative stories that documented the political and environmental fallout caused by factory farming in the Southeast. The series won the 1996 “Gold Medal” Pulitzer Prize for public service and nine other national and regional awards, including citations by Investigative Reporters & Editors and the White House Correspondents’ Association.

Warrick worked for five years as a reporter for United Press International, and at age 29 was appointed UPI bureau chief in Vienna, Austria. While in Europe he covered the fall of the Berlin Wall, the overthrow of Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceaucescu and the collapse of other communist regimes in the former East Bloc. He also previously worked for the Philadelphia Inquirer and Delaware County (Pa.) Daily Times.

Warrick, 46, graduated summa cum laude from Temple University in 1982 with a B.A. in journalism. A native of North Carolina, he lives in suburban Washington with his wife and two children.

AMY ZEGART

Amy Zegart is an associate professor of public policy at the University of California, Los Angeles. She served on the Clinton Administration’s National Security Council staff in 1993, as a foreign policy advisor to the Bush-Cheney 2000 presidential campaign, and has been featured by The National Journal as one of the leading experts on intelligence reform. Her first book, Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS and NSC (Stanford University Press, 1999), won the highest national dissertation award in Political Science. She has written articles in leading academic journals about presidential commissions and the organizational weaknesses of U.S. national security agencies. Her second book, Spying Blind: The CIA, the FBI, and the Origins of 9/11, analyzes why the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation adapted poorly to the rise of terrorism after the Cold War. It will be published by Princeton University Press in September 2007.

Before pursuing an academic career, Zegart spent three years at McKinsey & Company, where she advised senior management in Fortune 100 companies about strategy and organizational effectiveness. A former Fulbright Scholar, she received an A.B. in East Asian Studies from Harvard and a Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford, where she studied under Condoleezza Rice. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and lives in Pacific Palisades, California with her husband and three children.
The Ronald W. Burkle Center for International Relations fosters cutting edge research and interdisciplinary and policy-oriented teaching on the contemporary world and the role of the United States in global security, military, political, social and economic affairs. In addition, the Center brings to campus internationally renowned policy makers and analysts to present their perspectives on issues of global importance.

The Burkle Center offers funding opportunities for both UCLA students and faculty undertaking research on international relations. The center also supports student-led initiatives such as the UCLA Darfur Action Committee and the UCLA Undergraduate International Relations Society.

Core financial support for the Center is provided by an endowment generously given by Ronald W. Burkle. Other major sources of support for BCIR include the UCLA International Institute, the University of California’s Institute on Global Cooperation and Conflict, the governments of the United States, Greece and Qatar, and many private donations.

http://www.international.ucla.edu/bcir