

THE REV. DR. CHRISTOPHER ASHLEY FORD

Hudson Institute
1015 15th Street NW, 6th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20005

EDUCATION

Yale Law School: J.D. 1995; *Benjamin Scharps Prize*; *Thomas I. Emerson Prize*

Oxford University: D.Phil. 1992 (International Relations); Rhodes Scholar

Harvard University: A.B. 1989 (Government/International Relations) *summa cum laude*; Phi Beta Kappa (inducted junior year); *Charles J. Bonaparte Prize*; *Eric Firth Prize*; *Thomas T. Hoopes Prize*

EXPERIENCE

Hudson Institute:

- Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Technology & Global Security (from September 2008)

The New Atlantis

- Contributing Editor (from 2009)

U.S. Department of State:

- United States Special Representative for Nuclear Nonproliferation (2006-08)
- Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Verification, Compliance, and Implementation (2003-06)

United States Senate:

- **Senate Select Committee on Intelligence:** General Counsel (2003), Minority Counsel (2001-02)
- **Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations:** Minority Chief Counsel and Staff Director (2001), Chief Counsel and Staff Director (2000-01), Senior counsel (1998-99), Counsel (1998)
- **Governmental Affairs Committee:** Chief Investigative Counsel (1999-2000)
- **U.S. Senator Susan M. Collins (R-ME):** National Security Advisor (1998-99)
- **Special Investigation (Campaign Finance):** Investigative Counsel (1997)

Special Court for Sierra Leone: Appellate Litigation Advisor (October 2002)

Intelligence Oversight Board, The White House: Assistant Counsel (May-October 1996)

Shea and Gardner: Associate (1995-96; 1996-97)

Central European University (Prague, Czechoslovakia): Lecturer in International Relations (Summer 1992)

MILITARY SERVICE

Intelligence Officer, United States Navy Reserve, 7/94 to present; current rank Lieutenant Commander (non-drilling IRR since 2007)

SOCIAL/RELIGIOUS SERVICE

Zen Peacemaker Order: Lay Chaplain (ordained 3/19/10 by Roshi Joan Halifax, Upaya Zen Center, Santa Fe, New Mexico)

PUBLICATIONS AND SPEECHES

"Counter-Terrorism as a U.S. National Security Priority," in *KAS Auslandinformationen* (forthcoming)

"The NPT Regime and the Challenge of Shaping Proliferator Behavior" (chapter in forthcoming book by U.S. Navy Postgraduate School Center for Conflict Studies)

"South Asian Stability and Nuclear Weapons Proliferation," *National Security Policy Proceedings*, vol.3 (Fall 2010) (forthcoming)

"Chinese Conceptions of Global Order," remarks to Hudson Institute event (July 14, 2010)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?p=358>

"Dove v ail Trattato di Non Proliferazione Nucleare? Un punto di vista Americano," *Nomos & Khaos, Rapporto Nomisma 2009-2010* (Rome: Osservatorio Scenari Strategici e di Sicurezza, 2010), at pp.177-90

"Iran's Coming Nuclear 'Opacity,'" presentation to event sponsored by the National Defense University Foundation (June 22, 2010) <http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?p=326>

"Nonproliferation in Strategic Asia," presentation to roundtable event at the Asia Policy Forum (June 18, 2010) <http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?p=319>

"Complexity Science: Challenges for Policymakers," presentation to Madrona Institute (June 10, 2010)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?p=293>

The Mind of Empire: China's History and Modern Foreign Relations (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2010) [380pp.]
<http://www.kentuckypress.com/viewbook.cfm?ID=1628&Group=1>

"Why Not Nuclear Disarmament?" *The New Atlantis* (Spring 2010) at pp.3-20
<http://www.thenewatlantis.com/publications/why-not-nuclear-disarmament>

"Tomorrow's Disarmament Debates," presentation to a Hudson Institute side event at the 2010 NPT Review Conference (May 18, 2010) <http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20100520>

"An Alternative Civil Society View of Nuclear Deterrence," presentation to the 2010 NPT Review Conference (May 7, 2010) <http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20100510>

"Assessing the NPT Debates So Far," remarks to conference sponsored by the Partnership for a Secure America and Hudson Institute (May 24, 2010)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?p=254>

"After the Security Summit and the RevCon: What Next?" remarks to the Congressional Nuclear Security Caucus (April 29, 2010) <http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20100429>

"Some Thoughts on NPT 'Guardians,' 'Spoilers,' and 'Free Riders,'" remarks to the Stimson Center and the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (April 28, 2010)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20100428>

Testimony before the U.S. House of Representative, Committee on Foreign Affairs (April 21, 2010)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20100423>

"Controlling Nuclear Materials Worldwide: Assessing the Summit," remarks to conference sponsored by Partnership for a Secure America and Hudson Institute (April 14, 2010)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20100414>

"The U.S. Nonproliferation Agenda and the 2010 NPT Review Conference," remarks at the Sandia National Laboratory (March 24, 2010) <http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20100326>

"Waiting for Obama's Policy on Nukes," *AOL News* (March 8, 2010)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20100308>

"Devil in the Details: Nuclear Command and Control in a Nuclear-Armed Middle East," remarks at Hudson Institute conference (February 24, 2010)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20100224>

"East Asia and Proliferation: Storm Warnings?" remarks to conference sponsored by the Partnership for a Secure America and Hudson Institute (February 22, 2010)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20100222>

"Perspectives Upon a Nuclear Iran" (with S. Enders Wimbush), *Pajamas Media* (January 14, 2010)
http://www.hudson.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=publication_details&id=6698&pubType=HI_Opeds

"Living in the 'New Normal' of Counter-Terrorism," remarks to a conference sponsored by the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs and Hudson Institute (December 10, 2009)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20091216>

"To Repair, Reconstruct, or Re-imagine the NPT Regime" in *Strategic Asia 2009-2010* (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2009), at 261

"Strengthening the NPT Review Process: Substance is Key," remarks to the United Nations Conference on Nonproliferation and Disarmament Issues, Jeju Island, Republic of Korea (November 16, 2009)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20091123>

"Diplomatic Challenges for the U.S. Nuclear Posture Review," remarks at a conference sponsored by the Los Alamos National Laboratory and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (October 21, 2009) <http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20091028>

"Same Planet, Different Worlds? The U.S. Nuclear Consensus and the Diplomatic Conventional Wisdom," remarks to Hudson Institute workshop on the report of the Strategic Posture Review Commission (October 21, 2009) <http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20091023>

"Learning to Speak Disarmament in the Language of Security," remarks at the Hoover Institution (September 29, 2009) <http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=200909>

"Nuclear Disarmament, Nonproliferation, and the 'Credibility Thesis,'" Hudson Institute Paper (September 2009),
http://02e18f7.netsolhost.com/New_Paradigms_Forum/Documents_and_Links_files/Ford%20Hudson%20Paper%20on%20Credibility.pdf

"Nuclear Technology Rights and Wrongs: The NPT, Article IV, and Nonproliferation: Lessons from Strategic Politics in Asia" (chapter in forthcoming book by Nonproliferation Policy Education Center, <http://www.npec-web.org/Frameset.asp?PageType=Single&PDFFile=20090601-Ford-NuclearRightsAndWrongs&PDFFolder=Essays>)

"Test Ban Treaty, Take Two," *The New Atlantis* (Summer 2009), at 112
<http://www.thenewatlantis.com/publications/test-ban-treaty-take-two>

"Nukes and the Vow: Security Strategy as Peacework," *Upaya Compassionate Action Network* (July 2009) <http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20090715>

"Prospects and Challenges for East-West Arms Cooperation on Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Disarmament," remarks to the Aspen Institute of Contemporary German Studies (June 10, 2009)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20090610>

"Nonproliferation and Technology Rights: Why Article IV Doesn't Have to be the NPT's Suicide Note," presentation to NGO side-event at 3rd Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2010 NPT Review Conference, United Nations, New York (May 8, 2009)
http://www.hudson.org/files/documents/2009_NPT_PrepCom_Article_IV_NPT.pdf

"Strengthening the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime" (panel discussion), Council on Foreign Relations, New York (May 8, 2009),
http://www.cfr.org/publication/19381/strengthening_the_nuclear_nonproliferation_regime.html

"Speaking Candidly About Nonproliferation and Disarmament," presentation to 3rd Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2010 NPT Review Conference, United Nations, New York (May 5, 2009),
<http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/legal/npt/prepcom09/ngostatements/ChrisFord.pdf>

"Five Plus Three: How to Have a Meaningful and Helpful Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty," *Arms Control Today* (March 2009), at 24, http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2009_03/Ford

"Proliferation Logics and Our Nuclear Future in the 21st Century," *Asia Policy*, no.7 (January 2009), at 114.

"International Negotiations: A Tool to Serve our Interests," (with Douglas Feith) Hudson Institute series on *Perspectives for the New Administration*,
<https://www.hudson.org/Bookstore/itemdetail.cfm?item=3054>

"Transformative Leadership in Arms Control and Nonproliferation," Hudson Institute series on *Perspectives for the New Administration*,
<https://www.hudson.org/Bookstore/itemdetail.cfm?item=3058>

"Relations Between Intelligence Analysts and Policymakers: The Lessons of Iraq" Hudson Institute series on *Perspectives for the New Administration*,
<https://www.hudson.org/Bookstore/itemdetail.cfm?item=3068>

"Transformative Leadership in Arms Control and Nonproliferation," paper presented at Wiston House, Wilton Park, United Kingdom (December 15, 2008)

"Mumbai Made Clear the Dangers of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation," *Pajamas Media* (December 6, 2008), http://www.hudson.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=publication_details&id=5905

"Is Torture Ever Justified?" expert contribution to *Opposing Views*,
<http://www.opposingviews.com/questions/is-torture-ever-justified>.

"Is China a Threat to the United States?" expert contribution to *Opposing Views*, <http://www.opposingviews.com/questions/is-china-a-threat-to-the-us>

"Deterrence To - and Through - 'Zero': Challenges of Disarmament and Proliferation," paper presented to the Nonproliferation Forum at the Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C. (November 14, 2008)

"Dilemmas of Nuclear Force 'De-Alerting,'" paper presented to the International Peace Institute, New York, NY (October 7, 2008)

"A New Paradigm: Shattering Obsolete Thinking on Arms Control and Nonproliferation," *Arms Control Today* (November 2008), at 12, http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2008_11/ford

"Christopher A. Ford Responds," *Nonproliferation Review*, vol.15, no.3 (October 2008), at 418, http://cns.miis.edu/npr/pdfs/153_correspondence.pdf

"India's Nuclear Technology" (letter to the editor), *The Economist* (September 13, 2008), at 22, http://www.economist.com/opinion/displaystory.cfm?story_id=12202431&fsrc=rss

"Debating Disarmament: Interpreting Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons," *Nonproliferation Review*, vol.14, no.3 (November 2007), at 402, <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~content=a782478774~db=all~jumptype=rss>

"Disarmament and Non-Nuclear Stability in Tomorrow's World," *Mongolian Journal of International Affairs* (September 2007), at 63 (see also <http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20070831>)

"Past as Prism: China and the Shock of Plural Sovereignty," *Joint Forces Quarterly*, no.47 (4th Quarter 2007), at 14

"A Nonproliferation Bestiary: Typology and Analysis of Nonproliferation Regimes," *NYU Journal of International Law and Politics*, vol.39, no.4 (Summer 2007), at 937

"Nuclear Nonproliferation and Unique Issues of Compliance - Compliance Assessment and Compliance Enforcement: The Challenge of Nuclear Noncompliance," *ILSA Journal of International and Comparative Law*, vol.12, no.2 (Spring 2006), at 583

"The Naval Intelligence Underpinnings of Reagan's Maritime Strategy," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol.28, no.2 (April 2005), at 379-409 [Honorable Mention (runner-up) for the Eller Prize from the U.S. Naval Historical Center]

The Admirals' Advantage: U.S. Navy Operational Intelligence in World War II and the Cold War (U.S. Naval Institute Press, March 2005) [219 pp.]

"September 11 and the Imperative of Reform in the U.S. Intelligence Community," in *Final Report of the Joint Inquiry into the September 11 Terrorist Attacks* (December 10, 2002) (drafter of "Additional Views" for Senator Richard Shelby), <http://intelligence.senate.gov/shelby.pdf>

"Challenges and Dilemmas of Racial and Ethnic Identity in American and Post-Apartheid South African Affirmative Action," *Human Rights and Discrimination*, vol.1 (A.J. Van Der Walt, ed.) (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1997), at 124 [reprint of UCLA Law Review article below]

"Watching the Watchdog: Security Oversight Law in the New South Africa," *Michigan Journal of Race and Law*, vol.3, no. 1 (Fall 1997)

"Challenges and Dilemmas of Racial and Ethnic Identity in American and Post-Apartheid South African

Affirmative Action," *UCLA Law Review*, vol.43, no.6 (August 1996)

"Dinosaur's Dilemma," *Naval Institute Proceedings* (September 1996) [2nd Honorable Mention, Colin L. Powell Joint Warfighting Essay Contest], at 78

"Preaching Propriety to Princes: Grotius, Lipsius, & Neo-Stoic International Law," *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* vol.28, no.2 (Spring 1996)

"The Indigenization of Constitutionalism in the Japanese Experience," *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, vol.28, no.1 (Winter 1996)

"Executive Prerogatives in Federal Indian Jurisprudence: The Constitutional Law of Tribal Recognition," *Denver University Law Review*, vol.73, no.1 (1995)

"Siyar-ization and Its Discontents: International Law and Islam's Constitutional Crisis," *Texas International Law Journal*, vol.30, no.3 (Summer 1995)

"War Powers As We Live Them: Congressional-Executive Bargaining Under the Shadow of the War Powers Resolution," *Journal of Law and Politics*, vol.11, no.4 (1995)

"Adjudicating *Jus Cogens*," *Wisconsin International Law Journal*, vol.13, no.1 (Fall 1994)

"Judicial Discretion in International Jurisprudence: Article 38(1)(c) and 'General Principles of Law,'" *Duke Journal of Comparative and International Law*, vol.5, no.1 (1994)

"Administering Identity: The Determination of 'Race' in Race-Conscious Law," *California Law Review*, vol.82, no.5 (October 1994)

NEW PARADIGMS FORUM ESSAYS

Links to essays on the *New Paradigms Forum* website (www.NewParadigms.Forum.com) may be found at http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?page_id=237. Essays include:

- "The Inflation of 'National Security'" (7/12/10)
- "The Officer Krupke Theory of Proliferation" (6/30/10)
- "A Conveniently Partial Iranian Arms Embargo" (6/17/10)
- "*Wikileaks*, Secrets, and Hypocrisy" (6/16/10)
- "Cracks in the Shell of Globalist Treaty-Universalism" (6/7/10)
- "Cyber Operations: Some Policy Challenges" (6/3/10)
- "The 2020 NPT Review Conference Final Document" (6/1/10)
- "Lowry & Ford: An Exchange on Iran and NPT Outliers" (5/13/10)
- "'New START' Eliminates Arms Limits for Seven Years" (5/11/10)
- "More on 'New START': An Insider Responds, and Ford Comments" (5/3/10)

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- "Does 'New START' Fumble Reloads and Rail-Mobile ICBMS?" (4/26/10)
- "The 'New START' Agreement: 'Reduced by a Third' ... Or Not?" (4/9/10)
- "Obama's Nuclear Review Is, Shockingly, Not Awful" (4/7/10)
- "The Obama NPR: Issue-by-Issue Account and Comments" (4/7/10)
- "The Obama Nuclear Review: Initial Reactions" (4/6/10)
- "Ford Responds to Lowry: Nuclear Modernization" (4/2/10)
- "Post-START Numbers and Nuclear Modernization" (3/30/10)
- "Controlling Nuclear Materials Worldwide" (3/1/10)
- "An Exchange on Arms Control Verification" (2/26/10)
- "Nonproliferation, Arms Control, Disarmament, and 'Sally Field Diplomacy': The Obama Administration's First Year" (1/21/10)
- "Some Thoughts on How *Not* to do WMD Intelligence: Lessons of Politicization After Iraq" (1/4/10)
- "Unpacking the Nobel Speech: Just War, Multilateralism, and Nuclear Compliance Enforcement" (12/12/09)
- "The Promise and Problems of Security Council 'Automaticity'" (12/7/09)
- "More Iranian Safeguards Violations: What will the IAEA Do?" (11/20/09)
- "ElBaradism and the Iranian Goal of a *Fait Accompli*" (10/17/09)
- "The Dawn of Network Warfare: Whither Deterrence?" (10/14/09)
- "Law, Iran, and The Bomb" (10/7/09)
- "Not Too Impressive an Improvisation: Assessing the Iranian Nuclear Talks of October 1, 2009" (10/2/09)
- "Assessing the Final U.N. Security Council Resolution on Nonproliferation and Disarmament" (9/25/09)
- "Analysis of the Obama Administration's Draft U.N. Security Council Resolution on Nonproliferation and Disarmament" (9/15/09)
- "Obama's Chance to Set Things Straight on Nuclear Technology Rights" (9/14/09)
- "Getting Ready to Get 'Space Weapons' Wrong" (8/27/09)
- "Of 'Wet Work' and Congressional Reporting: The Scandal That (Apparently) Wasn't" (8/2/09)
- "Assessing the Bush-Obama Doctrine of 'Global' Counter-Terrorist War" (7/28/09)

- "Ford Responds to Russ Wellen's Questions on FMCT" (7/28/09)
- "FMCT Verification: 'Effective' or Not?" (7/20/09)

SELETED SPEECHES AND PRESENTATIONS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

"The 2010 NPT Review Cycle So Far: A View from the United States of America,"
<http://merln.ndu.edu/archivepdf/wmd/State/98382.pdf>, remarks at Wilton Park, UK (December 20, 2007)

"Nuclear Disarmament and the 'Legalization' of Policy Discourse in the NPT Regime,"
http://cns.miis.edu/cns/activity/071129_nprbriefing/index.htm, remarks to conference sponsored by the
Nonproliferation Review (November 29, 2007)

"In Praise of Complexity: Some Thoughts on Disarmament Ethics in the Real World," remarks to 19th Annual
 United Nations Conference on Disarmament Issues, Sapporo, Japan (August 27, 2007)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20070827>

"A Work Plan for the 2010 Review Cycle: Coping with Challenges Facing the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty,"
 remarks to 2007 NPT Preparatory Committee meeting, Vienna, Austria (April 30, 2007)
<http://merln.ndu.edu/archivepdf/wmd/State/84044.pdf>

Achieving and Sustaining Nuclear Weapons Elimination, <http://www.state.gov/t/isn/rls/other/81943.htm>,
 paper in preparation for 2007 NPT Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) meeting (March 17, 2007)

Facilitating Disarmament, <http://www.state.gov/t/isn/rls/other/81949.htm>, paper in preparation for 2007
 NPT PrepCom (March 17, 2007)

The United States and the fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (3/17/07)
<http://www.newparadigmsforum.com/NPFtestsite/?m=20070317>